

CLYDE ARBUCKLE'S
HISTORY OF
SAN JOSÉ





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CLYDE ARBUCKLE'S HISTORY OF SAN JOSÉ

. . . chronicling San José's founding as California's earliest *pueblo* in 1777, through exciting and tumultuous history which paved the way for today's metropolitan San José.

The culmination of a lifetime of research by the dean of San José history, Clyde Arbuckle.

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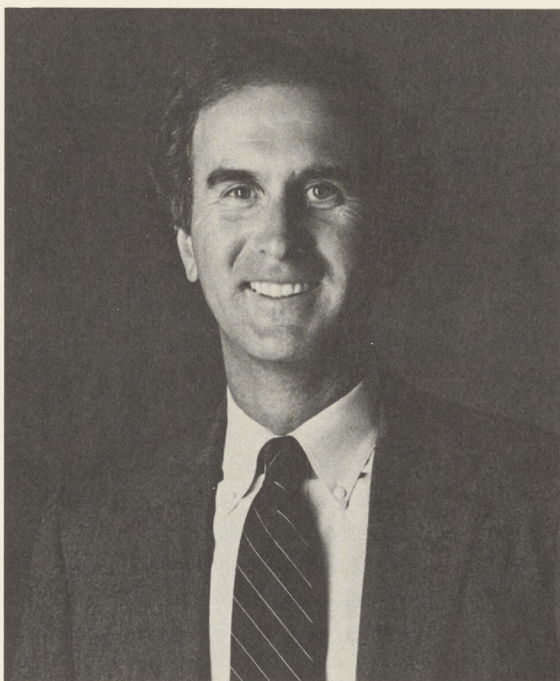
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FOREWORD



Although San Jose is one of the newest of cities, it is one of the oldest of communities in the State of California. It has a history both rich and varied. From the Spanish Conquistadors to the Mission padres to the mountain men 'voyageurs' to the 49'ers, San Jose has been a glowing hope for the future. And so it remains. Here in this beautiful valley, one group of travellers after another have found a tremendous opportunity to fulfill their dreams. It has provided a vision of a better life to those who arrived as overland emigrants in covered wagons or in tempest-

tossed boats from lands at the other side of the Pacific Rim. It has always stood for things simple and profound: freedom and hope.

Those things that occurred in our past are more valuable to the present than any other commodity. This has been a rapid and at times dizzying journey, from the Llano de los robles to the Valley of Heart's Delight to Silicon Valley, but it has been a journey filled with certain constants. The pueblo of San Jose is quite visible in the agricultural hub of early Twentieth century San Jose, just as that entrepreneurial place is present in the rising metropolitan high technology center of our own time. Whether it was cattle on the mission pasture or cherries and prunes in a crate or information onto a chip, San Jose has always been innovating, and improving. We remain so today. As we reap the benefits of a preeminent City of the future, we must never forget the lessons and values of our past. For generations San Jose has been the destination of choice and a wonderful home for my family and hundreds of thousands of others. In these pages we will relive the founding and emergence of our City as recounted by one who knows it better than any other. Enjoy the trip.

Tom McEnery
Mayor Tom McEnery

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has been many years in writing and production, and many individuals and organizations have contributed to it in the form of advice, assistance, the loan of pictures, and the clarification of facts.

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Twelve years ago, Clyde Arbuckle was commissioned by the City of San Jose to write a definitive history of the city. Those who know Clyde admire and are sometimes astonished by his vast and detailed knowledge of the founding of California's earliest pueblo and its people from 1777 to the present.

Thus, we waited for the scheduled completion date in 1975 for an announcement that the manuscript was finished. The completion date was extended one year, then two, then four—then no date was targeted. During this period, I had worked with Clyde on a number of projects, admired him as a man, studied with him as a student, and, fortunately, developed a strong bond of friendship.

In 1983, I met with Mayor Tom McEnery and City Manager Francis Fox and explained the necessity for the publication of this book. With their assistance and encouragement, Clyde's manuscript was furnished to me for editing.

Certain portions of the original manuscript have been revised, or removed, because of a lack of pertinency, not in the San Jose geographical area, or because of repetition. Thus, for the serious student who wishes to follow the original manuscript, copies are available at the California Room of the San Jose Public Library, at the San Jose Historical Museum, or at San Jose State University, Sourisseau Academy.

There are quite a number of people whom I wish to thank for their generous assistance. First, his honor, Mayor McEnery, and the staff at the Historical Museum, particularly Mignon Gibson, Nancy Falby, and Helen Kuesel. Shirly Montgomery was most generous with the use of her photos, and particularly to artist Paul Yoshikawa at Concept and Design Associates who designed the book.

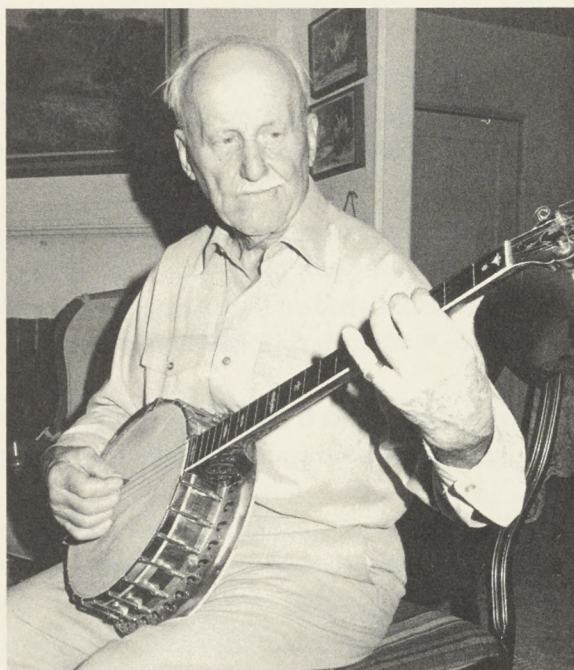
Myrna and Sinclair Cohen of Contemporary Resources set the type for production. Particularly, to my son, David McKay, and to his staff at Smith & McKay Printing, who continuously realized the need for a completion date and production schedules.

Finally, to my wife, Harriet Duzet, who has offered moral support, encouragement, and editorial assistance through the duration of this grand historical project.

Leonard McKay, Editor

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

by Leonard McKay



Clyde Arbuckle with his banjo at his home on Franquette Street.

Anyone who has ever met Clyde Arbuckle has been impressed by his encyclopedic knowledge of San Jose, Santa Clara County, and the West. Thus, this book has been eagerly awaited and a bit of Clyde's vast historic information has been preserved.

The author was born in 1903, the grandson of one of the earliest pioneer parties to cross the great plains, the formidable Rockies, the vast deserts, and finally the high and rugged Sierra Nevada, before making their way to the "Llanos de los Robles," the Santa Clara valley. So his knowledge of the West was born into his blood, and has flowed lively for more than eighty years.

He can remember the great earthquake of '06 when his bed went sailing across the room shortly after 5:00 a.m. He attended grammar and high schools in Santa Clara and San Jose (and, later, San Jose State College), supplementing the meager family income by delivering newspapers on his bicycle every day. Arising at 4:30 a.m., he would

ride to San Jose to pick up his newspapers, load the papers into his "Anderson bags," and strike out on his route through the Cottage Grove, Hillsdale, and southern Willow Glen areas, delivering papers on the way, all done in time to put in a full day at school.

This proved to be an excellent conditioning for his later prowess as a championship bike racer with the Garden City Wheelmen. Somewhere in here, he managed to find time to become a professional banjo plucker appearing with local musical groups.

Clyde frequently speaks of the time "when he earned his living honestly." He's referring to the fact that he worked for years with the Railway Express, first driving a horse team and later a truck. He learned the location of every business house and private dwelling, and is still able to recall stories about those residents.

In 1945 he was named San Jose City Historian and Museum Director, and began teaching for the San Jose Adult Center in 1949. Forty years later he is still City Historian, and is still teaching for the Metropolitan Adult Education Program.

Earlier literary efforts include a collaboration with Ralph Rambo on "Ranchos of Santa Clara County," major contributions to the Mercury Centennial Edition of 1952, a weekly column for years in the Mercury entitled "Nostalgia," and many feature articles in historical publications.

In 1982 Helen and Clyde celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary and have two children. Helen, too, is a frequent contributor to magazines, and her themes are usually historical, particularly emphasizing woman's role in the western saga.

Arbuckle has received many honors, an honorary degree from San Jose State College, and has held office in nearly every historical society in the area. He was third President of the Conference of California Historical Societies, a statewide organization. He is a frequent and sought-after speaker who always delivers an entertaining lecture.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	EXPLORATION	1
2	GOVERNMENT	19
3	GROWTH	53
4	SAN JOSÉ AS STATE CAPITAL	73
5	TRANSPORTATION	91
6	WHEAT & CATTLE	135
7	FRUIT	151
8	WINE	173
9	HEAVY INDUSTRY	183
10	EDUCATION	199
11	BANKING	225
12	RELIGION	247
13	FIRE FIGHTING	297
14	POLICE	313
15	CRIME	329
16	WAR	351
17	COMMUNICATION	371
18	PRESS	395
19	PARKS	415
20	THE ARTS	435
21	AIR AGE	465
22	MEDICINE	481
23	UTILITIES	495
	SPANISH GLOSSARY	514
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	515
	INDEX	517

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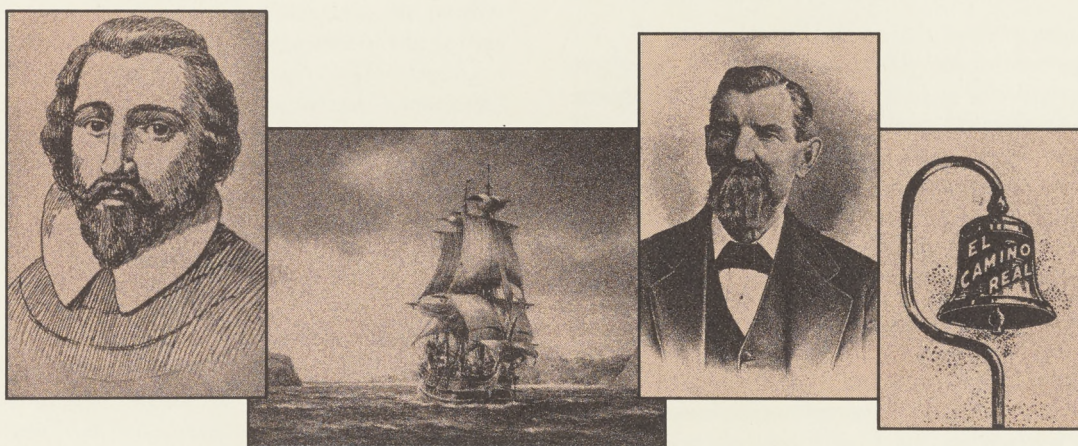
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1

EXPLORATION



1
BAYBORN



On Monday afternoon, November 6, 1769, a company of Spanish explorers composing the vanguard of European civilization reached what is now known as the Santa Clara Valley near the present Palo Alto.

They represented Spain's initial effort to frustrate Russian designs on Alta California. But neither their leaders nor scouts had a clear idea of where they were. They knew only that they were seeking a vaguely described "Harbor of Monterey," mentioned by chief pilot Francisco Bolanos of the Viscaino Expedition of 1602. Their 51-year-old commander, Captain Gaspar de Portolá, had come up from México four months earlier with orders from Visitador-general José de Galvez to found settlements at San Diego and Monterey.

Portolá rode with the overland contingent of his combined land and sea expedition, scheduled to rendezvous at San Diego. As first governor of "New California," he had charge of all civil and military affairs, leaving matters of religious administration to Padre Junípero Serra who had accompanied him.

The founding of San Diego detained Portolá only a few days. On July 14 he struck the trail again, headed for Monterey with about half of his original force. His roll of *distinguidos* (distinguished men) included Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, Ensign Miguel Costansó, Sergeant José Francisco Ortega, and chaplains Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez. His work force consisted of 33 soldiers, 15 Baja California Indians, two personal servants, seven muleteers, and 200 horses and mules.

Save where the Sierra de Santa Lucia forced them far inland, Portolá and his company kept as close as practicable to the shoreline for most of their journey. They expected to meet a supply ship—the *San Antonio*—at Monterey, but were taking no chances. They brought along enough provisions to last them six months, a good thing because they did not see the *San Antonio* again until they got back to San Diego. Also, traveling by land, they failed to recognize the harbor of Monterey, and pushed on to what is now Pacifica, in San Mateo County. There they turned inland on November 4.

Portolá changed direction at this point because Ortega, scouting ahead, had sighted a "great estuary" a relatively short distance to the east two days earlier. Crespi, who soon afterward viewed this "estuary" from a high ridge, noted that it "ran far along into the land, eight or ten leagues . . ." He also observed that it would hold all the navies of Europe.

To get a closer look at this body of water, the explorers took a southeasterly course through the troughlike hollow now occupied by San Andreas and Crystal Springs reservoirs. Then, following a stream that flowed eastward to the plain of the "estuary," they soon reached their "furthermost camp" from San Diego. It was on the north bank of Arroyo San Francisco (now San Francisquito), not far from a giant redwood tree that took the name *Palo Alto*.

The main body of the party rested at this turnaround point from the 6th to the 11th of the month while Ortega and eight soldiers scouted around the southern end of the "estuary"—perhaps as far as the present San Leandro. The 11th found them all retracing their steps to the coast, where they headed south, still in quest of Monterey. And though they again failed to identify this elusive harbor, they planted a great wooden cross where they thought it should be.

Portolá and all of his company reached San Diego safely on January 24, 1770. They were pleased to learn that on July 16, two days after their departure northward, Serra had founded Mission San Diego de Alcalá, first of Alta California's 21 Franciscan missions. But in their disappointment at not finding Monterey, they hardly thought they had earned undying fame for themselves as discoverers. Five years had to elapse before they learned that the "great estuary" they sighted from the San Mateo hills in 1769 was San Francisco Bay.

Portolá found conditions at San Diego anything but satisfactory. Supplies necessary for such a project were close to non-existent; food was short to the point of starvation. He and Serra set March 20 as the deadline for abandoning the settlement and returning to México if the situation did not improve.

Fortunately, however, the *San Antonio* arrived just one day before the deadline with an abundance of everything needed.

EXPLORATION

Portolá thereupon vigorously resumed the Monterey project. With Serra and Costansó aboard as passengers, he dispatched the *San Antonio* there on April 16. He struck out over his old northward trail the next day, taking with him Fages, Crespi, 19 soldiers, two muleteers, and "five natives."

The overland party arrived at Monterey on May 24, well ahead of the *San Antonio*, which did not appear until the 31st. This time there was no mistake. The port was right where the cross was planted seven months earlier. Compass bearings and careful inspection of the terrain, as well as the ease with which the *San Antonio's* pilot found the place, proved it.

On June 3, following religious services, Portolá took formal possession of the province in the name of Carlos III, King of Spain. Mission San Carlos Borromeo and the Presidio of Monterey were established, and Monterey, as departmental military and religious headquarters, became the first capital of Alta California.

Portolá sailed for México on July 9, leaving Fages at Monterey as *comandante* of the California establishments.

Fages soon demonstrated the energy that characterized his career. He decided entirely on his own initiative to explore "the surroundings of this royal presidio," with getting around the "great estuary" to Point Reyes as his chief objective. As did Portolá, he accorded undue importance to this point, known to Spanish mariners since Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo first saw it in 1542.

Fages led two expeditions to attain this objective—1770 and 1772. The first marked initial entry into Santa Clara Valley from the south and opened up the first 75 miles of El Camino Real north of Monterey. The second resulted in the discovery of the Sacramento and San Joaquín Rivers. Neither led to Point Reyes.

The first left Monterey on November 21 with only six soldiers and one muleteer. Five days later, it broke camp near what is now Coyote and traveled northwesterly "some four leagues over good soil grown over with white and live oaks..." Near the

future San José, Fages reported "a very large village of wild heathen." That evening he noted that they camped at "the head of the estuary of San Francisco Harbor,"¹ near a stream that offered "some pools of very good fresh water."

On the 28th, near the present Berkeley, four soldiers sighted what they thought to be the "estuary mouth." Fages later confirmed their observation, but the "mouth" was too far away to discern, let alone describe, its features. Next day, convinced that they could not get to Point Reyes on this trip, Fages turned the party around and headed back to Monterey.

Though too busy elsewhere to do any exploring in 1771, Fages still felt that he could get through to Point Reyes by land. Finally, in March, 1772, he set out to prove it, accompanied by Padre Crespi, 12 soldiers, one muleteer, and one Indian.

For the first 125 miles he retraced his trail of 1770. By the 29th he had pushed far beyond his old turn-around point, skirting the south side of San Pablo Bay and the Strait of Carquinez. The next day, he knew he had gone about as far as he could go.

Meanwhile, in addition to bestowing a few place names, Crespi had carefully recorded the characteristics of the country traversed. He gave the name *San Bernardino* to that portion of the Santa Clara Valley south of Coyote, and *Llano de los Robles* to the portion north of Coyote.² Of the natives near the present Milpitas he wrote, "Over the plain we spied seven heathens, shouting as though from joy at seeing us; we left five villages to our right, each of them having six houses of spherical shape, with considerable numbers of heathens living in them. Lying on our left were some villages; we could not make out very well what they were like, or how many houses were in them, since they were a long way off." From

¹Fages still thought the harbor of San Francisco was on the ocean side of San Francisco (or San Mateo) Peninsula.

²*San Bernardino* honored St. Bernardine of Sienna, 15th Century Franciscan; *Llano de los Robles* meant "Plain of Oaks." Both took their present name after the founding of Mission Santa Clara in 1777.

what is now Berkeley, he observed "the large mouth of the San Francisco Estuary," estimating it to be about three quarters of a league wide.

Near the present Antioch, Crespi and Fages jointly examined the nearer of two great rivers that they had sighted from a height some distance back. Both reported that the water at this stream's edge was "very deep," with Crespi noting that the soldiers sounded it with a pole "a fathom and half long." Crespi also wrote, "I named . . . this . . . river, the great River of our Seraphic Father St. Francis."³

After noting what Crespi called a "vast immensity of waters," Fages gave up hope of reaching Point Reyes by land. Too many impassable rivers, sloughs, and inlets blocked the way. He therefore dubbed his camp "Turnback" and, from it, began his retreat via the present Amador Valley, Pleasanton, and Mission Pass. Near what is now Mission San José he rejoined his original trail to complete his journey over what must have become a painfully familiar route.

Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada and Padre Francisco Palou were the next Spaniards to venture into the Santa Clara Valley. Rivera was by nature a rough, adventuresome explorer; Palou, a missionary filled with zeal for his church. They did not always agree but working together as diarists, they recorded several highly important discoveries.

Rivera had been under orders to explore "the harbor of San Francisco" for more than a year at the time he got around to doing so. And even then, he showed no inclination to rush himself. Having been with Portolá, he knew something of the area he had to investigate, and made sure he was well equipped. When he and Palou left Monterey on November 23, 1774, he took with him 16 soldiers, two servants, a sizable mule train, and enough provisions for 40 days.

On their third day out, Rivera and his company reached the low San Juan Bautista Hills, about four miles south of future San José. From the summit of these rises "of nothing but ground and grass," they viewed a spacious oak-carpeted plain. Palou especially noted "a great amount of trees running along the hills on the north side, which we thought must

belong to some river."⁴ That night they camped within what later became the corporate limits of the City of San José.

Rivera and Palou left the Fages Trail of 1770 and 1772 near the San Juan Bautista Hills on the 27th. After traversing what is now the Willow Glen area, they cut across the valley to pitch camp that evening near the present Sunnyvale. Palou wrote that this camp was in "a patch of white oaks, at which we found good grass for the animals, but no water." Rivera reported seeing only "three heathens" on the entire day's march.

About noon, on the 28th, they crossed Arroyo San Francisquito, at the present Palo Alto, halting on the Portola campground of 1769. Rivera recognized "the same creek and place where we had been at the time of the expedition, and from which we turned back . . ." Palou wrote, "we got across the creek, going deep down into it and up out again, and stopped at half past eleven . . . close to the creek . . ." He also noted that the "first expedition came to the same place, it being the farthest point reached by them." But ever the missionary, he lamented, "In all the day's march we have not seen a heathen . . ."

From here Rivera guided the party over the 1769 trail as far as San Andreas Lake, which he named in honor of the Holy Apostle St. Andrew. He then followed a somewhat zigzag course, going from one mountain top to another in hope of catching a satisfactory view of "the mouth of the estuary." December 4th found them on the ocean side of the peninsula. While recovering from a spell of exceedingly

³This stream bore the name Rio de San Francisco until 1805, when the exploring party of Gabriel Moraga renamed it San Joaquín (St. Joachim) in honor of the father of the Virgin Mary.

⁴This was probably "Arroyo Tulares de las Canoas" skirting the western and northern bases of the hills—or maybe the Guadalupe River, a quarter of a mile to the west. Either or both could have accounted for a swamp that almost trapped the party a short way out from its starting point the next day.

HEAVY INDUSTRY

mandin-Campen Co., operating under that name many years before passing entirely to Normandin ownership.

In 1876, James and George Fitzgerald opened their Alameda Carriage Factory near the western city limits line at the Alameda and St. Mary Street (now West Santa Clara and Autumn Streets). They had a lively out-of-town trade, turning out horse-drawn streetcars as well as buggies and wagons.

Next to Balbach, the German-born Greeninger was the best known of San José's vehicle manufacturers. He began in 1865 with a small buggy painting shop on the south side of St. John Street, about midway between First and Market. In 1878 he erected a two-story brick structure known as the Globe Building at what later became 28-32 West San Fernando Street. Here, in partnership with a buggy painter named Hugh Young, he began to manufacture wagons and carriages under the firm name of Globe Wagon and Carriage Works.

In 1891, after his son had acquired Young's interest in the firm, Greeninger bought a large lot on the northwest corner of San Pedro and San Fernando Streets. He erected a two-story brick structure 97 feet long by 90 feet wide on it, the final home of his carriage works. Greeninger is credited with inventing the goose-neck orchard truck, a reachless wagon that could turn around in its own length. He also developed an active, long-sustained interest in city and county politics that elicited from his opponents the epithets of "bossism" and "machine politician."

Most of these firms and their contemporaries came and went in normal business world succession. Those that did not end with death or retirement of their owners succumbed to sharp competition, business depression, or poor management. Of them all, only Normandin's successfully negotiated the transition from "oat burners" to internal combustion. It celebrated its centennial with Chryslers and Plymouths instead of buggies and lap robes.

Neither blacksmith nor vehicle maker, however, monopolized the "heavy field" for any great length of time. In 1852, Donald McKenzie and Charles W. Pomeroy established the San José Foundry, the city's

first shop capable of fabricating of metal anything heavier than a continuous wagon axle. Their main building, topped by two great water tanks, stood on the southwest corner of First and San Antonio Streets, flanked by lesser structures.

Though he later had John H. Bonner for a partner, McKenzie eventually took sole control of this plant, and it remained in his family for many years after his death in 1877. Geared largely to agricultural needs, it produced threshing machines, gang-plows, harrows, sowers, and windmills. At one time, it virtually monopolized the City's orders for fire hydrants, manhole covers, and gutter drains. Other products included cast iron columns and pilasters for buildings. By 1907, the San José Foundry had moved to 20 Vine Street, and from there to 525 San Augustine (now West St. John) Street. It was still flourishing at the latter location 119 years after its founding.

McKenzie virtually had the field to himself until an Irish immigrant named Joseph Enright established a foundry on the southeast corner of First and William Streets in 1864. Enright's firm could turn out about any kind of foundry work used in the local market, but the owner, an inventive chap, inclined to specialization. He invented Enright's Patent Strawburning Portable Engine for powering threshing machines. This "boiler and smoke stack" on wagon wheels, advertised as "the most perfect of its kind," found immediate favor among harvesters all over the state. Its inexpensive fuel—straw—came directly from the fields in which it operated. By 1881, more than 200 of them were in use; the manufacturer annually employed 60 men to produce enough of them to meet the demand. These machines alone fetched \$60,000 a year to his shop—twice that of McKenzie's overall income at the same time.

Enright had just hit his stride in 1868 when Frederick Kuchenbeiser and William Fruehling opened a foundry on the west side of Third Street midway between Santa Clara and San Fernando. Both had learned their trade well in Germany, and soon had a brisk business here.

Fruehling retired in 1873, but Kuchenbeiser carried on, stressing general foundry work instead of

agricultural implement production. He not only furnished vaults for the Bank of San José and the Commercial Savings Bank, but also the iron work for the State Normal School and other important San José buildings. The San Benito County Jail in Hollister, and Carter & Friedlander's Warehouse in Alviso, demonstrated his skill as an artificer in metals. As late as 1969, the beautiful ironwork fence in front of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church of San José bore the embossed name of Kuchenbeiser on its ornate posts.

The year 1872 brought a real specialist to the local foundry field. Louis Chaize, a native of France, opened the San José Brass Foundry on the west side of Market Street about half a block south of the present Post Street. But working only in brass, he at no time posed an economic threat to the town's iron foundries.

Miles of grain still carpeted the valley in 1875, when James R. Watkins and Jasper S. Scott of Redwood Township established their foundry and agricultural works on the south side of The Alameda between what are now Montgomery and Cahill Streets. They operated it as The Alameda Foundry until 1877, then disposed of it to a "joint stock company" known as The San José Agricultural Works. The latter firm sold out in 1878 to Frederick Altman, another of San José's ambitious young Germans.

During their brief association, Watkins and Scott turned out an abundance of hay forks, hay loaders, threshing machines, gang-plows, and road graders. Altman continued to produce the same items, especially the plows and road graders, which commanded a wide market. He also expanded into a heavier casting field, where he fabricated the beautiful cast iron balustrade that adorned the front steps of San José's City Hall from 1887 to 1958. His cast metal columns may be seen today adorning the store front of Schurra's Candy Factory at 848 The Alameda.

As each attained "a competence," most of these early foundrymen retired from business, either closing or disposing of their establishments. By 1892 Enright and Chaize had disappeared from the *Great Register*, and Altman, only 48 years of age, was listed as "Capitalist." Kuchenbeiser's departure in 1908 re-

duced the number of San José's *original* foundries to an almost non-competitive basis. Only the foundry established by Donald McKenzie and John Bonner survived long enough to celebrate its centenary. All others fell far short of that distinction.

Yet the town suffered no appreciable diminution of foundries. Frederick Caton's big red frame structure stood as a landmark at 573 West Santa Clara Street for many years. The West Julian Street foundry of Thomas J. Gavin became a unit of the Food Machinery Corporation. Harry Axford and Albert De Shields operated their Garden City Brass Foundry at 61 South Fourth Street (later moved to 504 Emory Street) as the 20th Century equivalent to Louis Chaize's establishment of the 1870's. Alfred C. and Thomas E. Kearney had their State Foundry and Pattern Works at 14 Stockton Avenue in 1919. Three years later, Alfred established his own independent Kearney Pattern Works at 40 South Montgomery Street, where he was still doing a prosperous pattern and bronze casting business in 1969.

None of these facilities, however, marked San José as another Pittsburgh or Lebanon. None could shape the hull of a great ship or fabricate girders for a giant bridge. Insofar as the Santa Clara Valley was concerned, such things had to wait until Joshua Hendy opened his huge iron works at Sunnyvale in 1907.

Moreover, the transition from wheat to fruit eliminated threshing machine manufacturers from this area, leaving the field to sales and repair representatives of Eastern producers of harvesting equipment. Colin B. Hay, for example, represented the Averill Machinery Company. His plant at 441 North San Pedro Street eventually specialized in bean threshers built by himself for use elsewhere in the state.

Manufacturers of fruit processing machinery next dominated the heavy equipment business. The giant of them all—FMC—owes its origin to some scale-infested nursery stock that James Lick allegedly imported from China prior to 1876. This scale, which took the name San José from the place of its discovery, invaded the Los Gatos orchard of John Bean, a retired Michigan inventor and manufacturer. Bean not only invented a successful spray pump to combat the pest, but also built a factory to produce the appliance for

EXPLORATION

bad weather, they passed places now bearing such familiar names as Lake Merced, Ocean Beach, Cliff House, Point Lobos, and Land's End.

Then a great view opened before them. Civilized man beheld with certainty for the first time "the mouth of the estuary"—*la Boca del Puerto de San Francisco*—to which Americans later gave the name "Golden Gate." And Fernando Rivera y Moncada was its effective discoverer.

The eyes of Rivera and Palou missed nothing appertaining to this great channel. They particularly noted the cliffs on both sides of it, the islands in the bay, and Contra Costa, relating the whole to what they had seen on the outer coast, including the far offshore Farallones. What they had been calling an "estuary" was indeed a magnificent bay—one of the finest harbors in the world.

Standing on the point of their discovery, Palou rhapsodized. "... Up to the present time," he wrote, "it had not been trod by the foot of any Spaniard or Christian, the commander and I thought it well to set up the standard of the Holy Cross here on its summit, and proceeded to do so, fashioning it with two beams, and left it planted where it may be seen from the shore."

He and Rivera then returned to their camp, and from there Monterey.

On August 4-5, 1775, nine months to the day after Rivera's momentous discovery, Frigate Lieutenant Juan Manuel Ayala sailed the first ship—the *San Carlos*—through the Gate.

With three good ports—San Diego, Alta Monterey and San Francisco—California was manifestly open to entry by sea. But a practicable land route had become a matter of much greater importance. Scurvy, seasickness, and adverse winds frequently combined to make the California voyage a thing of dread. Too many of the province's first arrivals could remember the half starved, scorbutic shadows of men who brought Portolá's supply ships into San Diego. Everyone knew how these little tubs could be blown hundreds of miles off course, and how it took the *San*

Antonio nine months to make the voyage from San Diego to San Blas and return.

To use a modern expression, the idea of an overland route from Sonora to California "had been kicked around" for some time. *Visitador* Galvez had it in mind early as 1769. But no one did anything about it until Captain Juan Bautista de Anza of the Presidio of Tubac, Arizona, came forward.

Portolá was still on the coast of California when Yuma Indians relayed news of his ventures to the Pimas, who passed it along to Tubac. The fact that this intelligence could come so quickly across mountain and desert convinced Anza of the feasibility of a land route from his post to the Pacific. On May 2, 1772, he wrote to Viceroy Antonio Bucareli y Ursua, volunteering to open such a route.

Allowing for customary slowness of communication and official red tape, Anza's offer was accepted with amazing speed. A viceregal council, convened in México City on September 9, 1773, to approve the project. And at Madrid on March 8, 1774, the King, Carlos III, gave it his blessing.

Final royal authority, however, was unnecessary, and Anza did not wait for it. On January 8, 1774, he set out on a fast scouting expedition from Tubac to Monterey and return.

He had a choice of two possible routes, and wished to investigate both. Westbound, he dropped south via Altar to Caborca, then swung northwesterly to Yuma. Eastbound, he followed the Gila River from Yuma almost to Casa Grande before turning southward to Tubac. And his speed and endurance on both threatened to kill off those who rode with him.

Fortunately, his outfit, consisting of 34 persons including himself, was well organized for its purpose. It mustered 20 soldiers and two priests, plus a guide, courier, interpreter, carpenter, five muleteers, two personal servants, 65 head of beef for meat, and 35 mule loads of provisions. On February 9, this party crossed the Colorado River near Yuma. On March 12 the expedition camped at a fine spring in Borrego Valley; on the 22nd, at San Gabriel—268 leagues from Tubac; close to 700 miles (a linear league is 2.6 miles).

At San Gabriel, Anza unsuccessfully sought to replenish his supplies, which had run dangerously low. He even sent to San Diego for help, but fared little better. The California establishments, suffering "starvation year," had barely enough food for themselves—if that much.

Ordering most of his company, including the two priests, back to the Colorado to await his return, Anza pushed on to Monterey in "light marching order." He left San Gabriel on April 10 with only six soldiers and, eight days later, arrived at the Presidio of Monterey, 384 leagues—998.4 miles—from his starting place.

Anza remained on the Monterey peninsula only four days, one of them at Mission San Carlos Borromeo. On the 22nd, he began his return trip.

Until then his diary entries had been quite detailed, leaving little to the imagination of what he was doing at any time or place. Now they were terse to the point of staccato. The chief exception occurred on the 27th, when he met Padre Serra a short way south of Santa Ynez River at "two in the afternoon." On this occasion he expanded his entry to three sentences—enough to note that he passed the rest of the day with Serra and that Serra was returning to California from México City.

Anza stayed at San Gabriel only from May 1 to May 3, just long enough to count the Indians there and make a quick survey of agricultural conditions. With more than half a day gone, he set out for Yuma at 2:00 p.m. on the 3rd, still "traveling light." On the afternoon of the 10th he crossed the Colorado near its confluence with the Gila, where he met Padre Francisco Garcés and several other members of the party who turned back at San Gabriel.

On Sunday, May 15, he swung into the saddle again and started up the Gila, staying close to that stream until he turned toward Tubac nine days later. At sunset on the 26th, after a forced day and night march, he ended his journey at his own garrison.

The drama of major exploration had ended. Portolá and his immediate successors had sent maps and lengthy accounts of their findings to the viceroy, and Anza's report was on the way. California was no

longer an unknown and almost unreachable land. It already had five missions and two presidios.⁵ The time had come for something more extensive.

Even before Anza's arrival in México, the viceroy had decided to colonize California, but his plans remained indefinite until he heard from Anza. After that, the old hazy objectives of Point Reyes and outer San Francisco Harbor were forgotten.

Bucareli summed up his intentions in a single paragraph of a letter that he wrote to Julian Arriaga, Minister of the Indies, on November 26, 1774. "It now appears necessary," he said, "to explore the land still further, and to establish a presidio at the port of San Francisco, which by all means ought to be occupied to support our conquests in that region . . . and I am now planning a second expedition, to be carried out by Captain Don Juan Bautista de Anza, with . . . a larger number of people, so that thirty of the men may remain in San Francisco as guard for the two new missions as a sign of protection in that port, taking also cattle and horses to aid their progeny in the support of the new establishments."

By October 22, 1775, the largest overland company yet to start for California had assembled at Tubac. According to Anza's figures, it consisted of 240 persons, including women and children. Its military contingent alone numbered 41, including Anza who had been promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, Second Lieutenant José Joaquín Moraga, and Sergeant Juan Pablo Grijalva. Three priests, 29 soldiers' wives, 136 other persons "of all ages and sexes," 15 muleteers, three vaqueros, three servants for the priests, four personal servants for Anza, five interpreters, and one commissary accounted for the non-military division. And to move and feed this collection of humanity, 165 pack mules, 340 saddle horses, and 302 beef cattle were required.

⁵The missions in existence at the time of Anza's first visit were, in order of their founding, San Diego, San Carlos Borromeo, San Antonio, San Gabriel, and San Luis Obispo. The presidios were San Diego and Monterey.

EXPLORATION

Under protection of the Holy Virgin of Guadalupe and Saints Michael and Francis, Anza's grand expedition got under way from Tubac at eleven o'clock on the morning of October 23, 1775. It pointed northward, passing San Xavier del Bac and Tucson en route to the Gila River, which the commander intended to follow to Yuma.

Toward the end of their first day out, the emigrants witnessed something that a superstitious person might have declared auspicious or ominous—depending on his point of view. A “very lusty boy” was born to a woman who died only a few hours later.

The seventh day dawned on them at the Gila, where, after a long stretch of waterless desert, they found abundant water and pasturage for their animals. On November 23, an even month out of Tubac, they pitched camp near the present Wellton. Five days later, they reached the Colorado, which they forded without mishap on the 30th.

Two of the expedition's three priests—Padres Francisco Garcés and Tomas Eciarc (also spelled Eixarch and Eisarch)—remained with the Yumas as planned. The third—Chaplain Pedro Font—continued to Monterey. He not only attended to religious matters but also kept a faithful record of such things as distance traveled, astronomical bearings, natural phenomena, and heathens. He even jotted down a number of disagreements that he had with Anza, particularly when the patience of both was worn thin by fatigue.

Save for the one death at the beginning of their journey, Anza's charges came through with minimum difficulty to what is now Imperial County, California. No one suffered overmuch from dry drives, saline water, or travel-induced illness. Obstetrics caused concern when one of two pregnant women suffered a miscarriage while camped at the Colorado, but that experience was soon dwarfed by snow and freezing weather in Borrego Valley. The latter cost the party a sizeable number of horses, mules, and cattle.

As the expedition strung itself out to the northwest, Anza and Font described places bearing such modern names as Hemet Valley, Cahuilla Valley, and Santa Ana. They spent much of New Year's Day,

1776, crossing Santa Ana River, where they received news of an Indian uprising that cost the lives of several Spaniards at San Diego. Next day, a rainstorm drenched them at Arroyo de los Alisos, near the present Ontario, and on the 3rd, rain and mud halted them just five miles short of San Gabriel.

Both man and animal were about worn out on reaching San Gabriel's compound. Most of the party took a much needed rest here while Anza and several soldiers rode south with Rivera y Moncada to “pacify” the San Diego Indians. At the same time, Moraga and several soldiers roamed the wilderness, hunting thieves and deserters from the expedition.

On the night of February 21, however, the main unit of the party with Anza located near what is now Glendale, headed northward through San Fernando Valley. Moraga, still chasing thieves and deserters, had yet to leave San Gabriel with his contingent.

On March 2 those in the lead reached Mission San Luis Obispo, where they were happy to learn that it had not rained for more than a month. Five days later, Moraga caught up with them at Mission San Antonio. And it must have been with a feeling of great accomplishment that Anza wrote on March 10, “We arrived after four o'clock at the Presidio of Monte Rey, having traveled seven leagues (about 18½ miles) in a little more than eight hours.”

Anza suffered some kind of painful, almost incapacitating physical disorder during a visit to Mission San Carlos Borromeo. But convinced that it was no more painful to ride a horse than lie in one position on a cot, he decided to choose a presidio and mission site in San Francisco before taking his *pobladores* (settlers) there. It was against his surgeon's advice that he set out from Monterey on the 23rd, accompanied by Font, Moraga, three Monterey soldiers, eight of his own men, and enough provisions to last 20 days.

This was another of the commander's fast, hard riding ventures. On the night of the 24th he and his men slept near Arroyo de las Llagas, just north of what is now San Martín. Next evening, they pitched their tents alongside Arroyo San Joseph Cupertino, now called Stevens Creek. On crossing Arroyo San

Francisquito on the 26th, they observed a heathen village of "about twenty huts," indicating a sizeable population increase for the area since Portolá and Rivera first saw it.

Anza arrived "at the mouth of the port of San Francisco" at 10:00 a.m., the 27th, and immediately began his exploration. By the 29th he had chosen his presidio and mission sites and headed southward, detouring slightly to investigate the "valley of San Andrés [sic] and the lake of Merced..."

On the 30th, at what is now Palo Alto, he swung south-eastward around the end of San Francisco Bay, crossing two troublesome streams on the way. To the first he and Font gave the name *Rio Guadalupe*; to the second, *Arroyo del Coyote*. Then, to satisfy their geographical curiosity, they struck the Fages Trail along the east side of the bay, staying with it all the way to the San Joaquin River.

But instead of turning back as Fages did, they probed their way several leagues eastward, stubbornly trying to get around "water and marshes." Finally, they gave up and began their return journey across a "sterile plain" to the hills west of modern Tracy. Threading their way through what is now known as Midway Valley and Patterson Pass, they came out at an upper reach of Livermore Valley. Here they doubled to the southeast instead of following any of the watercourses that would have taken them via Alameda Creek through Niles Canyon.

They chose this direction because they thought it the easiest way "across the divide." But on traversing the high, rough country now marked by such names as Arroyo Mocho, Corral Hollow, Blackbird Valley, Sulphur Creek, and San Antonio Valley, they knew they were wrong. They felt that the range had played a joke on them, and their Spanish sense of humor persuaded them to name it *Sierra del Chasco*—"Range of the Joke."

They found easier going, however, when they started down the East Fork of the Coyote, about ten miles east of the peak now called Mt. Hamilton. Their last camp before emerging from the mountains was at Cañada de los Osos (Glen of the Bears), on the main stream of the Coyote south of Gilroy Hot-

springs. By then, they had their bearings, having sighted from high ridges the valley route they had followed northward two weeks earlier.

On Easter Sunday, April 7, they forded the Pajaro River on their way to the Salinas Valley, which they called Santa Delfina. By midmorning of the 8th they came to rest at the Presidio of Monterey.

Anza himself rested at Mission San Carlos Borromeo from the 9th to the 13th. His diary entry summed up his official actions for the latter date: "With very little improvement in my health I set forth from the mission de Carmelo for the presidio of Monte Rey with the purpose of returning to my province, and of turning over to Lieutenant Moraga the affairs of the expedition which has come under my command, in the absence of Commander Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, who, as is stated, is at the presidio of San Diego."

On Sunday the 14th he wrote, "Having concluded my tasks, at two in the afternoon I began my return march in company with Father Fray Pedro Font..." Anza's chapter in the history of Alta California ended when he and Font crossed the Colorado River on May 13.

For eight years after Portolá's arrival, all of Alta California's settlements were ecclesiastical and military—that is, missions and presidios. Nowhere north of the present international frontier was there visible evidence of civil authority. Citizens took orders from either the clergy or the military, with no other recourse in event of dissatisfaction.

The clerical and military leaders generally got along pretty well. The missions, with their extensive agricultural facilities, agreed to furnish farm products to the garrisons. The military, freed of complete dependence on the infrequent arrival of supplies by ship from México, would in turn guard the missions against marauding Indians.

This arrangement, however, eventually proved inadequate. Shipping schedules showed no sign of improvement, and the missions were perennially in short supply. The padres reputedly attracted so many Indians to the Church that the mouths of mission wards increased faster than mission facilities could

EXPLORATION

fill them. Complaints from short-rationed soldiers multiplied ominously.

Fortunately, Viceroy Bucareli must have anticipated this situation as early as 1773, when he issued to Rivera instructions that virtually separated the two Californias. In 1776 the governmental seat of both departments was ordered from Loreto, Baja California, to Monterey, Alta California. Henceforth, the governor would reside in Monterey; the lieutenant governor, in Loreto.

The governor, Felipe de Neve, received his formal instructions from Bucareli on Christmas Day, 1776. Two months later, he arrived in Monterey, ready to inaugurate a new era in Spain's development of California.

Neve's energetic procedure marked him as the greatest of California's Spanish governors. His dislike of red tape and reluctance to wait for authority became identifying characteristics. His *reglamento* of 1779, for example, was framed and put into effect entirely "on his own." It won him the appellation of "California's First Lawgiver," and served as administrative basis of the provincial government for as long as California remained a Spanish dominion.

On his way from Loreto, Neve took full advantage of the opportunity to study the vast expanse of geography under his command. He hardly reached Monterey before he started for San Francisco, recording even more terrain in his absorbent mind for future use. His appraising eye noted every worthwhile mission or pueblo site between his starting place and the Golden Gate.

The chief reason for his visit to San Francisco, however, was viceregal solicitude for the settlement, protection, and growth of the community. It had its own presidio and mission, and a second mission "to be founded somewhere in the vicinity" had materialized at Santa Clara the previous January. But there was still some question regarding the adequacy of the Bay Area project in general, and Neve, entirely on his own initiative, decided to bolster it with the first of two pueblos that he had in mind.

On his orders, Comandante Moraga of the Presidio of San Francisco took nine soldiers, five pobla-

dores, and one servant from the San Francisco and Monterey settlements.⁶ They were not the best material in the world for their task, but they were the best available at the moment. All except one were family men, who had experience in agriculture. Together with their women and children, they formed a sturdy company of 66 persons. On November 29, 1777, under the immediate command of Moraga, they founded California's first civil settlement, *el Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe*.

The founders located their town on the east bank of the Guadalupe River, in the area bounded by that stream and the present West Hedding, North First, and Hobson Streets. They appropriately named it after St. Joseph, patron saint of the Spanish expedition to California—probably in gratitude for their safe passage here.

The word Guadalupe in San José's name identified its location alongside the Guadalupe River and distinguished it from any other *pueblo* in Spain's domain. It was not overly important in Alta California, however, from 1777 to 1781, when San José was the only *pueblo* in the province. But after the founding of Los Angeles on September 4 of the latter year, it became highly important and was seldom omitted.⁷

From the moment they arrived, the settlers directed their attention to the prime requisites of shelter and water. Hastily erected structures with mud-plastered *palisado* walls (palisade of logs) and grass roofs soon protected their occupants from a fast-coming winter. A crude dam, thrown across the

⁶Historians have differed on the count of family heads in the founding party. Thus 14 or 15 heads have been listed as correct with seemingly equal authority. One distinguished author even raised the overall number of the party's members from the generally accepted 66 to 78.

⁷Los Angeles, also founded on order of Governor Neve, came into existence alongside the Porciuncula River, now called Los Angeles River. Consequently, its founding name—"el Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciuncula"—carried the word "Porciuncula" for the same reason that San José's name carried "Guadalupe."

Guadalupe some distance above town, impounded water to be delivered by an *acequia* (a ditch dug especially for the purpose stated) for irrigation and domestic use.

The government assigned to each settler a *solar* for his dwelling, a *suerte* for cultivation.⁸ He also received a yoke of oxen, a mule, two each of horses, cows, sheep, and goats, plus corn for planting, a soldier's daily ration, and pay of ten pesos a month until he could support himself.

If San José grew from the start as reputed, it was hardly a fast start. The first *padrón* (census), taken early in 1778, showed 68 inhabitants, an increase of two over the founding 66. One of them was a baby born to Maria Leonora Borvoa, wife of Corporal José Valerio de Mesa of the pueblo guard.

On April 15, 1778, Governor Neve, satisfied that the pueblo was firmly established, notified the Viceroy to that effect. On July 22 the Viceroy approved Neve's action, and on March 6, 1779, King Carlos III did likewise. Neither expressed any concern because Neve had sought no superior authorization for what he had accomplished.

Meanwhile, the actual founders—the *pobladores*—had reason time and again to wonder why they ever left México. Floods from the shallow, brush-choked Guadalupe repeatedly threatened them with an amphibious existence. Dams broke, crops washed away, and adobe houses melted into their component soils with almost habit-forming frequency. All the elements of Nature seemed to conspire against them.

Even the neighbors could have been friendlier. The Fathers at Mission Santa Clara resented having a civil settlement so close to the Mission. Besides questioning its right to be there, they feared its soldiery and other worldly features would have a deteriorating effect on the morals of Indian neophytes.

The *pueblo's* right of location proved to be the most irritating of these and other intercommunity bones of contention. It cropped up persistently over a long period of years. The Fathers felt that the land on both sides of the Guadalupe belonged to the Mission, and that San José was encroaching upon Mission pasturage. They unavailingly complained to the Comandante and Governor. They even appealed directly to the Viceroy, who professed sympathy for the Mission claims, but sided with the Governor and Comandante. Having established the Pueblo, those gentlemen had no intention of moving it elsewhere.

Issuance of Governor Neve's Reglamento (regulations) on June 1, 1779 and its royal approval on October 1, 1781, should have removed any doubt regarding official policy on *pueblos* for many years to come. It protected the already established San José, provided for founding and regulation of future *pueblos*, and afforded no comfort to Santa Clara.

The dispute dragged on, however, until the end of the century. The Fathers won a lone skirmish when they resisted a San Joséan invasion of certain "supplementary land" on the west side of the Guadalupe, land that clearly belonged to the *potrero* (a colt pasture or farm) de Santa Clara. But they hardly strengthened their case when they went over the Governor's head to the Viceroy, stressing their responsibility of stewardship to 5,434 Christian and *gentile* Indians for all the lands roundabout. The Governor, impugning their statistics, coolly replied that a large number of these Indians belonged to the newly-founded Missions San José and San Juan Bautista—one 14 miles to the north; the other, some 40 miles to the south.

Yet, as one writer put it, "Time was healing the breaches." As many of the "old guard" on both sides left the scene, matters gradually came to a head. Governor Fages had fixed a boundary running east and west between the two communities in 1783, but the Fathers, feeling that the Guadalupe was a natural dividing line, offered to settle for it. If the *pobladores* had any objection to this offer, they made no violent show of it. Therefore, on September 1, 1800, the Viceroy decreed the Guadalupe River the legal boundary between the pueblo and mission, reserving for

⁸A "solar," as granted to the *pobladores* of San José, was a town lot measuring 30 x 30 varas, or 137½ x 137½ feet. A local "suerte" was a delineated agricultural plot measuring 200 x 200 varas, equivalent to 184¼ x 184¼ yards.

EXPLORATION

San José "part of the mountains which lie to the coast, so that the settlers might provide themselves with timber and wood."

Long before this, however, San José *pobladores* had turned their attention to affairs of more immediate concern.

For the first five and half years of the town's existence, they had neither owned land nor governed themselves. The Governor or Viceroy decided all issues for them. But eventually, their municipal probationary period drew toward a close.

Governor Neve, who had ordered the town into existence, retired on September 10, 1782, and was succeeded by Pedro Fages, of exploring fame, now a lieutenant colonel. On December 24 Fages ordered Comandante Moraga to give San José's settlers titles to the lands they had worked since 1777. Moraga agreed to perform this duty as soon as possible.

Meanwhile, on January 2, 1783, Fages visited San José on an inspection tour. He also visited Santa Clara to inform the protesting Fathers of his intent to set a marked boundary between the pueblo and mission. For further diversion, he led an armed force against a band of Indians whose thievery had plagued the settlers for some time. The result was two dead Indians and many better behaved ones.

By May 13, when Moraga arrived to give land titles, San José's population had changed almost as much as it had grown. The town probably boasted some 70 inhabitants, but only nine of the original male adults remained. The four other family heads and the bachelor appear to have gone elsewhere, permitting their places here to be taken by newcomers.

Moraga granted San José's first permanent land title to former *alcalde* (chief magistrate) Ygnacio Archuleta on May 14—one *solar* (house lot) 30 *varas* square, and four *suertes* (farm lots) of 200 *varas* square. (There is a question of whether these lots embraced 50 or 30 *varas*. This would determine the size of Archuleta's lot). The solar was described as adjoining the *solar* of the *Ayuntamiento* (Town Council) on the side and that of Manuel Gonzales on the other.⁹

This constituted the first day's work for Moraga. Next day, he awarded one *solar* and four *suertes* to each of two recipients—Manuel Gonzales and José Tiburcio Vasques. And each recipient thereafter received one *solar* and four *suertes*. Manuel Amésquita got his on the 16th; Antonio Romero and Bernardo Rosales got theirs on the 17th. The 18th was the biggest day of all, with Francisco Avila, Sebastián Alvitre, and Claudio Alvires as recipients.

Moraga also gave to each of the recipients a registered cattle brand so that their respective cattle could be easily identified.

Thus each *poblador* started off with the same amount of landed wealth and a branding iron. He soon found that these possessions had a large number of legal conditions attached to them, but ordinary prudence on his part would preclude their becoming irksome.

On the 19th Moraga spent most of the day with "assisting witnesses" and the newly-landed *pobladores*, examining *ejidos* and *propios*—public lands reserved for the community's growth and support. Future *solares* would come from the first; land rentals for public revenue, from the second.

Lands, branding irons, and the responsibility of local self government that came with them did not solve all of the *pobladores'* problems, however. Annual inundations from the capricious Guadalupe still threatened their adobe dwellings. Hungry livestock, shivering in belly-deep brown water, were easy prey for stealthy Indians who had developed a taste for horse meat and beef. Late rains hindered planting and, often as not, left the town site a bog until May or June.

Comisionado Ygnacio Vallejo, the governor's resident representative, concluded in 1785 that the pueblo could never prosper under such conditions. He accordingly notified Moraga to that effect, and Moraga in turn reported to Fages. All three approved

⁹The "solar" of the "Ayuntamiento" was the lot of the "Juzgado" or Town Council House.

the only solution possible—moving the pueblo to a safer location. Two years later, Comandante-general Jacobo de Ugarte likewise approved removal.

Yet, even with this assurance, there seems to have been no compelling public or private haste to initiate remedial action. Vague interim allusions to *pueblo viejo* (old town) and *pueblo nuevo* (new town) that got into pueblo records continued to plague historians until fairly recent times. In 1871, for example, Frederic Hall stated in his *History of San José* that the removal did not take place until 1797. Thirteen years later, Hubert Howe Bancroft published a letter written by Pedro Fages to Governor José Antonio Romeu, indicating 1791 as the correct year. In their *History of San José*, published in 1933, William F. James and George H. McMurry agreed that the pueblo was not moved for some time, "though certainly before Fages retired on April 13, 1791."

Hall, however, was right. A brief exchange of letters between the right officials at the right time

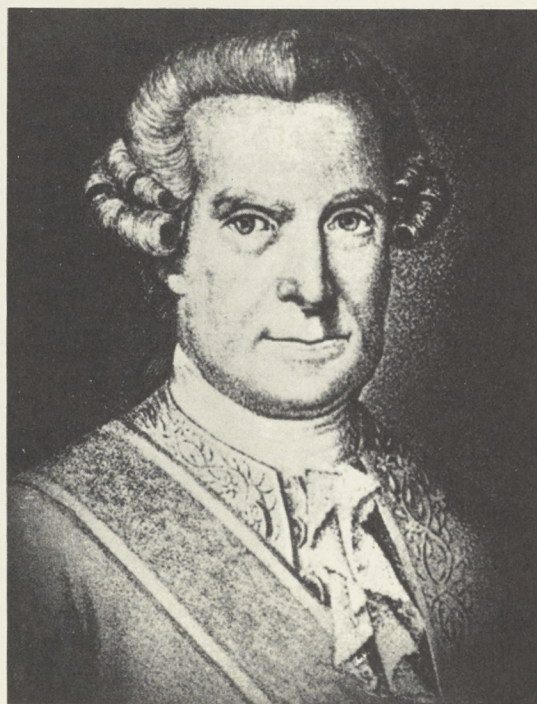
abruptly ended almost two full decades of indecision, indifference, postponements, and neglect.

On January 8, 1797, Governor Diego de Borica wrote to Gabriel Moraga, requesting information on San José and its problems. Two days later, Alcalde Marcos Chabolla of San José wrote directly to Borica for permission to move the town to a more favorable location.

This brought the desired result. By the end of 1797, an undisclosed number of San José's citizens had already moved to higher ground about a mile to the south, and those who had not moved were preparing to do so.

The boundaries of the new town extended southward from just north of the present St. John Street to about midway between San Carlos Street and Auzerais Avenue, and from the easterly line of Market Street to the westerly line of San Pedro Street. Winter downpours might leave this enclosure a mud hole dangerous to man and beast, but it was at least safe, day and night, from invasion by the Guadalupe.

José de Gálvez (1729-1787), *visitador general de España en México*, never reached Alta, California, but one may accurately say that this province would not have remained a Spanish possession long without him. As a man well informed on world affairs, he early recognized the danger of the Russian movement southward along the Pacific Coast from Alaska. It was through his insistence (and persistence) that Spain sent the Portolá Expedition northward in 1796 to make way for settlement of the country and thereby head off the invader from the north.





Artist Walter Francis rendered the *San Carlos* coming through the Golden Gate under command of Juan Ayala in August, 1775. In making this passage, the *San Carlos* became the first ship to enter San Francisco Bay.



Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli (1717 - 1779) was much concerned with the settlement of Alta California in general and San José in particular. He held office as Viceroy of New Spain from 1771 to his death in 1779.

In 1769, Lieutenant Gaspar de Portolá (1723 - 1784), commander of the first Spanish expedition to Alta, California, became the recognized discoverer of San Francisco Bay. After his tour of duty in North America, he returned to Spain, where he died in 1784. He and his party were also the discoverers of the Santa Clara Valley.





Joseph Aram, overland pioneer of 1846, served as captain of an American volunteer company in the Battle of Santa Clara on January 2, 1847. He was also one of San José's seven delegates to California's First Constitutional Convention, which took place in Monterey in September and October, 1849. By vocation, he was a farmer and nurseryman. In 1858, he planted the seedling of what became the giant eucalyptus on the southwest corner of Old Highway 17 and Schallenberger Avenue. Aram, born in Oneida County, N.Y. in 1810, died in San José, California in 1898.



Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza was commander of the 1775-76 expedition that brought the first permanent non-military and non-clerical settlers to California. Born in Fronteras, Sonora in 1735, Anza was a veteran soldier of the frontier. He brought 240 men, women and children safely from Tubac, Arizona to Monterey, California. He died in Arispe, Sonora in 1788.

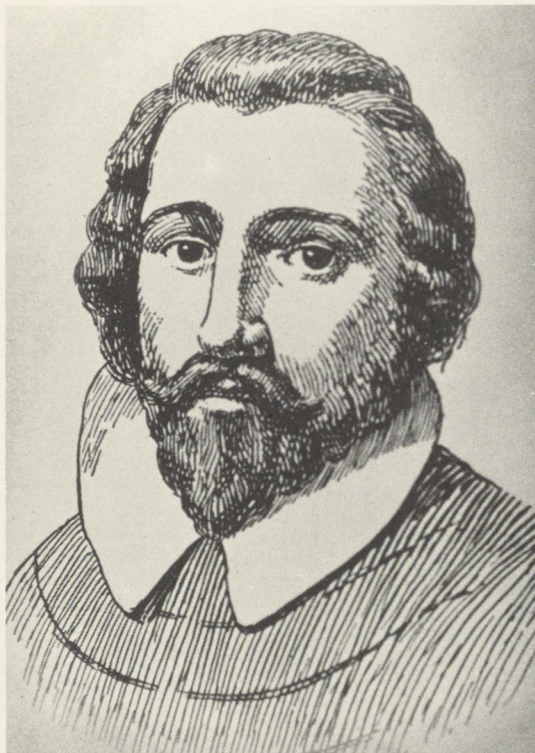


Though this photo is undated, we know that its subject stood on South Market Street opposite the Eagle Brewery. If Mrs. Alice Hare, Santa Clara's history-minded photographer, had not recognized their historical importance, very few modern San Joséans would know where these adobes were or how they looked. San José boasted several fine photographers between 1900 and 1906, but none could match Mrs. Hare's love for *las cosas antiguas*.

Elisha Stephens (1801 - 1884), a native of South Carolina, came to California as captain of the Townsend-Stephens-Murphy Party.

His name is one of the most persistently misspelled personal names in Santa Clara County. As nearly as can be determined, it was spelled *Stevens* on an early map. But whether it appears as Stephens or Stevens, his name is perpetuated by Stevens Creek and Stevens Creek Road and not a few other things in this Valley.

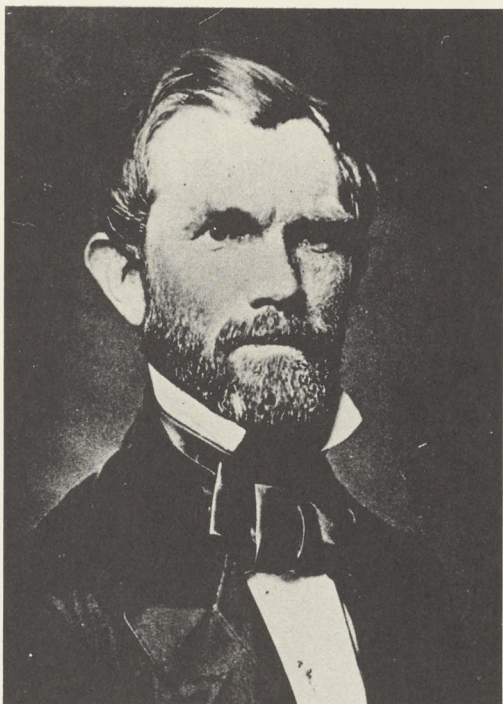
Personally, his experiences as a gold miner in Georgia, Government blacksmith on the frontier of a new nation, Rocky Mountains fur trapper and emigrant guide made him one of the most colorful men in Western history.



Sebastian Viscaino (c1550 - c1628) explored the California coastline in 1602-3. During the latter year, he reported that he had explored the "whole coast" very diligently, carefully noting everything of importance that he thought would interest his superiors. He also changed some of the nomenclature left by Cabrillo years earlier. But his chief accomplishment was his discovery of Monterey Bay.

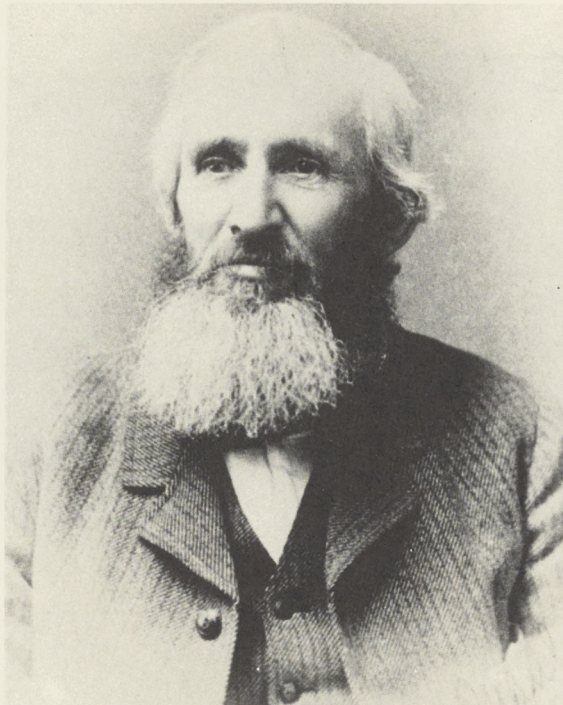


Captain Thomas Fallon raised the first American Flag over the Mexican Juzgado (court house) at San José in July, 1846. San José was a Mexican pueblo of over a hundred adobe dwellings when the Americans arrived. (photo courtesy of L. McKay)



William Lewis Manly (1820-1903) was a native of Vermont and hero of the Death Valley Party of 1849. His part in rescuing his party when it got trapped in Death Valley is one of the most heroic in Western annals. After wandering about California a bit after reaching safety, he finally settled in San José. Here he became a prosperous farmer and a director of the Farmers Union. His book, *Death Valley in '49*, published in San José in 1894, is considered the finest work ever produced on that pioneer venture.

Josiah Belden (1815-1892) came West with the first American immigrant party to arrive in California—the Bidwell-Bartleson Party of 1841. As a native of Connecticut, he profited through his Yankee heritage in grand fashion. In April, 1850, less than a month after San José's incorporation, he became this city's first mayor. His many investments, particularly in real estate, soon made him one of California's earliest millionaires. Several years before his death in 1892, he was elected a director of the Erie Railroad and called East to help straighten out that company's chaotic affairs.

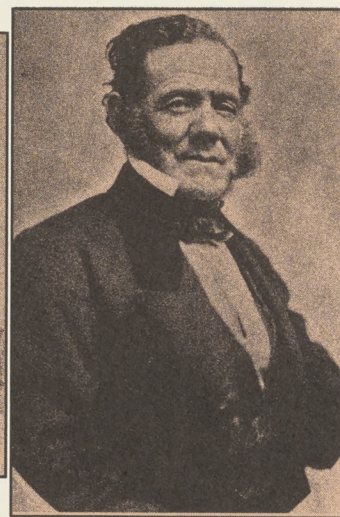
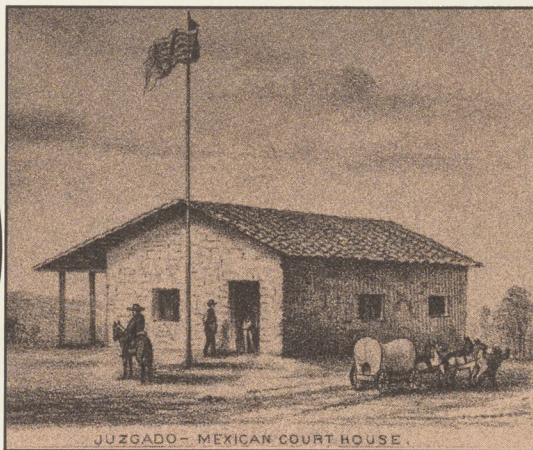


James Peter Springer (1812-1861) with his daughter, Mary, and wife, Alice. Springer was one of the five members of the Bidwell-Bartleson Party who settled in Santa Clara County. He was especially active in promoting migration of Easterners to California, and made several trips East for that purpose. For this, he could be well described as a "one man chamber of commerce." By 1852, Springer had established his home at Toll Gate, later renamed McCartysville—and still later, Saratoga.



2

GOVERNMENT



CONFIDENTIAL



San José's entry into the realm of self government proved an exceedingly stormy one with a questionable future.

Until 1783 the governor had appointed the town's officials as provided for in the *Reglamento*. But when the townsfolk, acting on their own, elected Ygnacio Archuleta their initial *first alcalde*, they let loose *un gran alboroto* (hullabaloo). The town promptly divided itself into uproarious pro-and anti-Archuleta factions, with no rush on anyone's part to assume the role of peacemaker.

The finer details of what caused this trouble have long since disappeared into historical obscurity. It appears that Archuleta combined official ineptitude with a natural talent for stirring things up. For one thing, he could not get along with Corporal of the Guard Valerio Mesa, and Mesa was removed. Later, when it was discovered that Archuleta was the troublemaker, he got the boot—thereby setting a precedent of some sort for all future holders of the town's highest administrative position.

Who held the office in 1784 is uncertain, but continuing irregularities in 1785 aroused the governor, who named Manuel Gonzales *alcalde*, with Antonio Remero and Claudio Alvires as *regidores* (town councilmen). Corporal José Domínguez, who succeeded Mesa, was appointed *comisionado*, but death prevented his taking office. Whereupon Ygnacio Vallejo, father of Mariano G. Vallejo of Sonoma fame, assumed the post.

Vallejo possessed much experience in government, which he put to good use in guiding San José's affairs from 1785 to 1792, and again from 1797 to 1799. His chief concern as advisor seems to have been saving the *pobladores* from themselves, but same as many another dedicated public servant, he eventually found himself unpopular. Settlers complained that he made them work too hard, and for this they hounded him out of office.

The problems of this period probably stemmed from a number of sources, with illiteracy as a leading offender. Only one of the town's original 15 *pobladores*—José Tiburcio Vasquez, a mulatto—could read and write.

Heterogeneity may have been another irritant. The *padrón* (census) listed the nine original land grantees of 1783 as follows: Spaniards, 3; Coyote (half-breed) 1; Indian, 1; Mulatto, 2; Mestizo (half-breed), 1; Unknown, 1.

But above all, too large a percentage of the *pobladores* lacked a prideful sense of civic responsibility. Several of them, led by Archuleta, were jailed for refusing to work "on the town council house." Sebastián Alvitre, described as an "incorrigible scamp," was expelled for "bad conduct" and shipped off to Los Angeles. Francisco Avila, whom the governor branded a "hard citizen," spent much of his time in jail. Claudio Alvires' record for making a public nuisance of himself followed him here from México. The authorities of his home town in Sonora reputedly felt relieved when he and his wife, Ana Maria Gonzales, departed for California.

With the passage of time, however, Archuleta and Alvires became more "mindful of the uncertainties of life." Middle age subdued much of their early contentiousness. In 1803, at the age of 49, Archuleta became *alcalde* for a year, and again in 1806 for another year. Alvires served as *regidor* in 1805, when he was 63—a ripe age for those days. And neither distinguished nor disgraced himself in a noteworthy manner.

The final decade of the 18th Century hardly strained the ordinance-making talents of the town fathers and *comisionados*, but it gave them something to do. Indian troubles, which began in the 1780's necessitated regulations for tightening of security and strengthening defenses. No one could leave the town without a military permit, and children were prohibited from walking or playing beyond the town's borders without adult supervision. Civil officers and travelers were permitted to carry arms, a privilege formerly limited to the military.

Several other regulations put into effect during this period smacked of blue laws from the opposite side of the continent. Besides forbidding drinking, gambling, and illicit sex relations, one threatened *Comisionado* Gabriel Moraga with loss of his job if he did not prevent all three. Another closed the town to all pleasure seekers from California's third and

GOVERNMENT

newly-founded pueblo, Villa de Branciforte (now Santa Cruz). Night life was discouraged by prohibiting anyone's being abroad after eleven o'clock without good reason.

The regulation against gambling was relaxed somewhat in 1798, with no discernible detriment to public morals. A citizen could thereafter enjoy a few hands of *malilla* (game of cards) on Sunday if he limited his losses to two pesos and obtained no stakes on credit.

Comisionado Moraga, who probably enjoyed a turn at cards, may have run afoul of this restriction, for there is record of his being censured for "permitting gambling in his house."

In 1800 San José moved into the first of what have been described as "two decades of rather uneasy sloth." While Spain preoccupied herself with diplomatic problems in Europe, political intrigue accelerated in México City. Raiding Indians from the San Joaquín country came as close as Pacheco Pass, and an increasing number of foreign ships were seen in or near California ports.

Such things undoubtedly caused concern among informed San Joséans, but it is doubtful if they interfered overmuch with the town's social or political life. *Meriendas* and *fandango* continued as of yore. *Alcalde* after *alcalde* "abode his hour or two and went his way" like the sultans in Khayyam's Rubaiyat. The town had passed the stage of easy convulsion when it shrugged off a comandante's rejection of its choice of a *regidor* in 1801.

Even governors got little more than acknowledgment of their presence. Gaspar de Portolá, Pedro Fages, Fernando Rivera y Moncada, Felipe de Neve, José Antonio Romeu, José Joaquín de Arrillaga, and Diego de Borica had come and gone without anyone's questioning their status.¹ And Arrillaga returned to office in 1800 for 14 consecutive years.

This decade also saw the last of the original *pobladores*—José Tiburcio Vasquez and Ygnacio Archuleta—hold the office of *alcalde*. Each had respectively served in 1802 and 1803, and both came back for what may be described as an historical curtain call. Archuleta served his final term in 1806; Vasquez

took over in 1807 at the age of 52 for two consecutive years.

Meanwhile, new regulations had changed the manner of selecting the *alcalde*. Henceforth, he would be chosen by lot from three members of the *ayuntamiento*.

In the summer of 1803, San José got into a brief dispute with Mission San José, which had bought from José Mariá Larios a tract of land within jurisdiction of the pueblo. On examining the evidence, the governor sided with San José and nullified the sale. He held that Larios had no right to sell such lands without permission of the government.

Six years later, San José tilted with Santa Clara again in a similar dispute. Santa Clara had been grazing its livestock on Calaveras Hills land, which, San José officials insisted, belonged to the pueblo. But hazy boundaries and the possibility that some of this land might belong to Mission San José complicated the matter beyond immediate gubernatorial decision. Frederic Hall probably had this case in mind in 1871, when he wrote: "The want of exactness in the description of lands in this State, has been not a small source of the difficulties which have been presented to Courts and Surveyors, in locating various claims."

¹Matias de Armona, Felipe de Barri (also spelled Barry), and Felipe de Neve have been mentioned as the first three governors of Alta California. Armona succeeded Portolá as governor of Baja California when Portolá came north in 1769. When Armona left Baja California in 1770, he was replaced in 1771 by Barri, whom Neve succeeded in 1777. But the first three actual, here-on-the-ground governors of Alta California were Portolá, Fages, and Rivera. As Dr. Charles E. Chapman of the University of California pointed out, "It would be absurd to include Armona, Barry, and Neve (prior to his actual role in the new establishments) and omit Portolá (1769-1770), Fages (1770-1774), and Rivera (1774-1777). To all intents and purposes, the last three named were governors, reporting directly to the viceroy and depending on their theoretical superior at Loreto in only the most shadowy way." ("A History of California, The Spanish Period", The MacMillan Company, New York, 1939. p. 243.)

Alcoholism and social irresponsibility demanded more than occasional attention from the town's administrators between 1800 and 1810, and continued to do so for another ten years. One augmented the other, while inordinate gambling and attendant delinquencies multiplied in alarming fashion.

Alcoholism eventually got beyond local control, compelling Acting Governor, José Darío Arguello, to do something about it. On February 3, 1815, Arguello issued an order that not only denounced the intemperate use of liquor, but also embodied a list of conditions regarding its consumption. He fixed liquor prices in various areas, allowed only one retailer to each community, restricted public drinkers to 25 centavos worth of drinks a day, forbade the purchase of liquor on credit, and seemingly did everything else in his power to discourage drinking altogether.

Less perplexing than the liquor problem was news that had arrived from Mexico City a relatively short time before. On May 23, 1812, the Spanish Cortes passed a decree providing for the forming of *ayuntamientos* and the regulation of town affairs in general. One of its many provisions guaranteed an *alcalde*, *síndico procurador*,² and three *regidores* to every town of less than 200 inhabitants. Towns having from 200 to 500 inhabitants would be entitled to one *alcalde*, one *síndico*, and four *regidores*, with the number of all officials increasing thereafter in proportion of the size of the town. Thus a town of 1,000 inhabitants could have two *alcaldes*, two *síndicos*, and eight *regidores*, etc.

San José fitted easily into the first bracket, would soon qualify for the second, but would never attain the two-*alcalde* class under dominion of Spain.

In 1821 Mexico became independent of Spain, and established a provisional government of several months duration before electing an emperor in the person of Agustín Iturbide. On April 11, 1822, California took the oath of allegiance to México when Governor Pablo Vicente de Solá and his troops replaced the Spanish flag with that of México at the

Presidio of Monterey. The same oath was administered to the troops at the Presidios of San Francisco and Santa Barbara on the 13th, and at the Presidio of San Diego on the 20th.

During the transition from Spain's monarchy to México's Constitution of 1824, San José took no chances. The town was in anything but a cozy position—hostile Indians to the east, foreign ships in the Pacific, and an emperor of uncertain tenure in México City. Prudence dictated a middle course that has been characterized as one of "resiliency and guile."

Save for setting aside the allegedly illegal election of Francisco Castro as *alcalde*, no monumental disruption marred the succession of local politicians. *Alcalde* Agustín Narvaez, elected in 1821, remained in office until Juan Alvires took over in 1822. Alvires, in turn, was succeeded by Ygnacio Pacheco in 1824.

Even the governors weathered the transition with a minimum of inconvenience. Solá served continuously from 1815 until succeeded in November, 1822, by Luis Antonio Argüello, Alta California's first elected governor.

With abolition of the Spanish *comisionado* system on October 22, 1822, the *alcalde's* powers and responsibilities increased to an extent undreamed of by the *pobladores*. But that did not guarantee popularity. *Alcalde* Mariano Duarte found this out when a political clique, including the governor, used a somewhat immodest woman to frame him in 1831. Duarte suffered false accusations and the indignity of being taken to Monterey in irons. But in the end, it was the governor, José María Echeandía, who left California "for his health."

Though the Cortés Decree of 1812 specified the number of officials each town could have in relation to its size, San José probably entered the Mexican period without a full staff. If it did, as certain sources indicate, the condition was soon remedied. The *ayuntamiento* thenceforth boasted the requisite number of *regidores* as well as a *síndico* and a secretary.

And jurisdiction kept pace with the *ayuntamiento*, taking in Villa de Branciforte from 1822 to 1828. Later, it spread northward into what are now San Mateo and Alameda Counties. In 1836, rancheros

²Trustee, town attorney, counselor.

GOVERNMENT

of the eastern half of Contra Costa petitioned the governor for inclusion in San José's territory because they experienced so much trouble in getting to San Francisco.

It was only natural, therefore, for San José to sense its importance. The *ayuntamiento* accordingly petitioned the governor to make San José *la cabecera del partido*,³ which would take the honor from San Francisco.

Facts on this transaction are vague, but San José became temporary *cabecera* in September, 1839, with Antonio Suñol as sub-prefect. Suñol evinced no great enthusiasm for the office, but he held it, perhaps as a public duty, until termination of the *cabecera* in 1844.

Shortly after petitioning for the *cabecera*, the *ayuntamiento* dissolved itself in compliance with an act of the Mexican Congress, and the town government thereafter derived from the Juzgado, composed of a *juez de paz* (Justice of the peace) and first and second *alcaldes*. Dolores Pacheco was first *juez*; Antonio María Pico and Feliz Buelna, the first and second *alcaldes*.

Under Suñol's prefecture, the *jueces* were appointive. But on discontinuance of the *cabecera*, San José reverted to the *alcalde* system, with one pair of first and second *alcaldes* following another in unbroken procession until mid-July, 1846. Then two names of north European stock—John Burton and James Stokes—appeared on the roster, heralding the end of California's 24 short years as a possession of México.

The United States had declared war on México the previous May 13. A month later, on June 14, a party of American settlers hoisted the Bear Flag of the California Republic at Sonoma. The Bear Flag party knew nothing of the earlier event, and San Joséans knew little or nothing about either until after Commodore John D. Sloat raised the Stars and Stripes at Monterey on July 7.

American flag raisings then followed in quick succession at various points of the department. Captain John B. Montgomery of the U. S. S. *Portsmouth* seized San Francisco and hoisted "28 stars" there on July 9. Lieutenant Joséph Warren Revere, of the U. S. S. *Cyane*, acting on Sloat's orders, did likewise at Sonoma the same day, and Captain John C. Frémont (or Lieutenant Edward Kern) followed suit at Sutter's Fort on the 11th.

Comparatively, San José joined the procession a bit late. Some unidentified person—perhaps James Stokes—raised the flag here about July 11 or 12, only to have it disappear almost immediately afterward, cut down by angry natives. But on the 14th, when Thomas Fallon of American volunteers hoisted it on the Juzado's flagstaff, it stayed aloft. In his dispatch to Captain Montgomery, Fallon wrote: "I am hapy [sic] to inform you that we have (according to your wishes) hoisted the star spangled baner [sic] on the 14th instant, and we hope it may wave and dispense its blessings throughout this country."

On taking San José, Fallon obtained the keys of the pueblo archives from First *Alcalde* Dolores Pacheco. Then, finding that no *Californio* wished to serve under existing circumstances, he relieved Pacheco and Second *Alcalde* Pedro Chabolla of their responsibilities. Burton thus became first *alcalde*, and Stokes *juez de paz*.

The Americans avoided any possibility of sharp social dislocation by making no immediate change in the town's form of government. They kept the *alcalde* system for several years, and their choice of Burton was a most fortunate one.

A native of Provincetown, Mass., Burton had come to California in 1825 as master of the *Juan Battey*, wrecked at San Diego. He came to San José in 1829 married Juana Galindo in 1831, spoke Spanish like a native, and endeared himself to the townsfolk who called him "*el capitán viejo*" (The old captain). By serving the remainder of 1846 and most of 1847, he perhaps did more than any other person to guide local natives through the most puzzling transition of their lives.

³Head or capital of the district that included the areas concerned.

Charles White and James W. Weekes, who succeeded Burton, were respectively first and second *alcaldes* in 1848. Three men successively held the office of first *alcalde* in 1849—Kimball H. Dimmick, Richard M. May, and John C. Conroy—with José Fernandez as second *alcalde*. Conroy served again in 1850, holding the office until election and seating of the town's first common council, now City Council.

The product of the *ayuntamiento* composed of these American *alcaldes* has been variously described. One observer might see it as English common law in a Spanish vehicle; another, as an incomprehensible amalgamation of the laws of English and Spanish associations embellished by rough Americanisms. But whatever it was called, the men responsible for it were doing their best under the existing conditions.

The first resolution called for the election of 12 men "to govern the *pueblo*," and outlined the manner in which they should do so. The second named the men who were to assume those responsibilities forthwith: Antonio Suñol, José Noriega, Feliz Buelna, José Fernandez, Dolores Pacheco, Salvador Castro, William Fisher, Isaac Branham, Captain Julian Hanks, Charles White, James W. Weekes and Grove C. Cook.

The first article of the proclamation provided for laying out of the town into "lots, blocks, squares and streets"; the second ordained the main streets to be 80 feet wide and cross streets 60 feet wide. Articles III and IV provided for public squares and city blocks, the latter to be 100 yards square and divided in lots "fifty yards in front and fifty yards (*varas*) in depth." Article V set \$12.50 as the price of a said 50-yard lot, and Article VI permitted no persons to purchase more than "four lots, or one block." Article VII required the purchaser of such a lot to fence or build a house on it within one year of purchase, or it would "fall back on the *Pueblo* to the loss of the purchaser." The eighth and final article was a fire ordinance regulating the nature of building materials to be used in the town thereafter.

Except for the year 1847, this proclamation carried no date of approval. But it was signed by Messrs. Fisher, Weekes, White, Suñol, Hanks, Castro, Branham, Fernandez and Noriega.

Burton next directed his attention to Indians whose bold raids penetrated San José's jurisdiction with increasing frequency. He enlisted the aid of Military Governor Stephen W. Kearny who agreed to furnish a company of 35 native Californians under Lieutenant Felipe Burton, augmented by a like number of American troops.

The first surveys of the *Pueblo* and certain of its outlying lands were made during Burton's administration—one in the spring of 1847; the other in July and August of the same year. Neither, as described elsewhere, proved satisfactory. If anything, the second proved highly embarrassing to both Burton and his council.

On September 23, 1847, James W. Weekes replaced Burton as first *alcalde*. On November 29 the town held what may be described as its first municipal election. Six *regidores* were elected to help Weekes govern the town—José Noriega, James F. Reed, John M. Murphy, Thomas Campbell, Salvador Castro and Dolores Pacheco.

Weekes served only to February 9, 1848, not long enough to experience the impact of two distant events that greatly affected San José's future. The Coloma gold discovery of January 24 brought to California thousands of treasure hunters from all over the United States and other countries. Signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at Chapaulteppec on February 2 ended the war with México and made California an unmistakable possession of the United States.

Charles White, Weekes' successor, was in office when California's intrastate gold rush began late in the spring of 1848. This rush, chiefly composed of Americans already in California, almost depopulated every settlement outside the gold region of the Sierra Nevada. The problems stemming from it gave White enough to worry about, but when coupled with his fear (or dislike) of native Californians, they became unbearable. He said that he tried to deal justly with the natives, but no jury composed of them would give an American a fair trial. He also asserted that he had been personally assaulted by them. By July he wished to retire, but finding no one to take his place, he had to continue as best he could.

GOVERNMENT

Judge Kimball H. Dimmick of the Court of First Instance took over as first *alcalde* on December 12, 1848, and the election of January 2, 1849, brought Prefect Antonio María Pico into office as second *alcalde*.

Dimmick's first test would have shaken White from head to foot. On Saturday, December 16, a jury composed entirely of Americans found three highway robbers guilty of murdering a German miner on his way to San José with several thousand dollars in gold dust. And Dimmick, approving the verdict, unhesitatingly ordered the murderers to be hanged on Monday the 18th.

He subsequently approved the laying of vigorous lashes upon the backs of hoodlums and other offenders "in the most public place in this *pueblo*." As a result, criminals acquainted with his methods tended to avoid San José.

On February 28, 1849, the *California*, first mail steamship from the East Coast, docked at San Francisco—and the great Gold Rush was on. The bay would soon fill with multitude of craft that followed her, and by April seemingly endless lines of covered wagons would be snaking their way westward across the Great Plains. On August 19, Dr. John Townsend, who had come to California five years earlier, wrote: "The(y) are all coming here, the whole world. Steel only attracts the north, but gold attracts every point of the compas [sic]."

Though far from the most direct routes, San José soon became accustomed to gold hunters on their way to and from the diggings. Quite a number of local miners who had done well for themselves in the rush of 1848 were ready to go again. But Dimmick attended strictly to his *alcalde* duties until R. M. May relieved him after the June election. He then represented San José in the First Constitutional Convention, after which he moved to Los Angeles.

May held office only from June to November, 1849, but during that period he probably saw more activity than any two of his predecessors combined. The town's population skyrocketed toward 3,000 and its problems multiplied proportionately. The election of September 24 brought a syndicate form of govern-

ment that used municipal and county-titled officials to administer a frustrating mixture of English, American, Spanish and Mexican laws. José Arnaz became *sindico*; Francisco Palomares and Antonio Chabolla, *jueces de campo*; Robert Cadden Keyes, sheriff; and Isaac Branham, treasurer. Besides May, the town council consisted of Second *Alcalde* José Fernandez, Subprefect Feliz Buelna, Dr. James C. Cobb, Isaac Branham, Dolores Pacheco, Antonio Ynojoso, and Thomas Campbell.

On September 26 the First Constitutional Convention, sitting in Monterey, designated San José capital of the proposed new state of California. The Convention finished its labors on October 13, the first general election took place on November 13, and the First California Legislature deriving from it convened in San José on December 15. These events were of far reaching importance, but local politics went on as usual. The coming, going and substitution of *regidores* and other officials remained "about normal."

The most pronounced change since American occupation, however, came on January 10, 1850. The council slate elected on that date did not include a single Hispanic name. It was a prelude, if anything, to establishing English common law as the law of the land. On taking their seats, Jacob D. Hoppe, Isaac Branham, Peter Davidson, Richard M. May and Charles White considered themselves a common council. John Henley Moore was clerk, and Keyes relinquished his title of sheriff for that of town marshal.

John C. Conroy, who followed May as first *alcalde*, was a holdover, serving until San José abandoned the characteristics of an Hispanic *pueblo* for those of an American city.

The first definite move for cityhood occurred on March 7, 1850, when Senator William Riley Bassham of San José introduced into the Legislature a bill entitled "An Act to incorporate the City of San José." On March 27 he reported three municipal incorporation bills passed by the Senate in the following order and sent to the Governor for approval—San José, Benicia and San Diego. That same day, Assemblyman Levi Stowell of San Francisco reported three such bills passed by the Assembly in different order and

likewise sent to the Governor for approval—San José, San Diego and Benicia.

Incorporation of San José was the first order of business for both houses of the Legislature that day. But where the Senate gave Benicia second place in the order of passing, the Assembly placed it third. Therefore, unless posterity can determine the order in which the Governor signed these bills, there will always be a question as to whether San José, already preceded by Sacramento, was California's second, third, or fourth incorporated city.⁴

In any event, the Governor signed the bills the same day that he received them, March 27.

The Act of Incorporation loosely stated the boundaries of "the city to be," and established the government thereof. It showed the boundaries "beginning on the east bank of the Coyote river (Coyote Creek), two miles south of the center of Washington Square in the Pueblo of San José, and running due west to the west bank of the San José river (Guadalupe River); thence following down the bank of said river to a point four miles distant in a straight line; thence due east to the east bank of the Coyote river; thence up the said bank to the place of beginning."

The government should "consist of a Mayor and Common Council of seven members, one of whom shall be elected President." The mayor and council were designated a "Body Politic and Corporate under the name of The Mayor and Common Council of the City of San José." Also, "a City Marshal, City Attorney, City Assessor and Treasurer" should be elected on the Second Monday of April, 1850, and in each year thereafter."

The election took place as scheduled. Josiah Belden, receiving 195 votes, became, the city's first mayor. Flavius B. Clement, Dr. Benjamin Cory, James D. Curl, John H. Garrison, Peter S. Sherebeck, Julian Hanks and William Foster became the Common Council whose members were known as alderman.

Of all the successful candidates for the Council, Cory polled the most votes—229; Hanks, the fewest—197. Clement became president of the Council; George Montgomery, City Marshal; Thomas Ver-

meule, Attorney; Peter Davidson, Assessor; John C. Conroy, Treasurer.

At the first session of the Council, held on April 13, Clement took the chair, and Cory served as "Secretary *ad interim*." The first order of business was immediate election of a permanent Clerk, in which Thomas B. Godden defeated Sherman Otis Houghton. On motion of Councilman Curl, Godden thereupon took oath of office and assumed his responsibilities. Next came the setting of bonds for office holders—\$50,000 for the Treasurer, \$20,000 for the Assessor, and \$10,000 each for the Attorney and Marshal. But a week later, owing to a general lack of money, the Council cut these figures by half or more for each official. In fact, money was so short that the City had to lay cash upon the line before it could obtain a certified copy of its charter from the State.

None of the foregoing officials could be described as underpaid or overworked. Resignations followed in fairly close succession, commencing with Treasurer Conroy on May 4. The Clerk's office was thrice vacated within the first year. The minutes of June 3 note a motion that George B. Tingley "act as City Attorney" for Vermeule whose poor health forced his retirement six months later.⁵

⁴*Sacramento, incorporated February 27, 1850, preceded San José, Benicia and San Diego by one month to the day. But of late years, San Francisco, incorporated April 15, 1850, has claimed priority by using its county creation date of February 18, 1850, as its "municipal" incorporation date. This claim may be justly questioned. The City and County of San Francisco were two separate political entities with well defined boundaries and separate corps of officials. Neither took the present form of government—"City and County of San Francisco"—until the consolidation of April 19, 1856, when creation of San Mateo County relieved San Francisco of all but a few square miles of its original territory.*

⁵*Tingley served as Assemblyman for the Sacramento District in 1849-50, and as Senator for the Santa Clara-Contra Costa District in 1851-52. Few San Joséans, however, mourned his death from smallpox in San Francisco 10 years later. It was he who introduced into the Legislature the bill for removing the state capital from San José.*

GOVERNMENT

The City, harried by debt, had neither ready cash nor abundant credit. Yet, in May, 1850, certain councilmen unsuccessfully sought to fix attractive salaries for themselves. At length, on January 20, 1851, they passed an ordinance setting an alderman's pay at \$16.00 a meeting, which Mayor Belden returned to them, unsigned with an acid letter of transmittal.

Belden, Connecticut Yankee to the core, could not forget that the City was broke and had just confessed judgment in a foreclosure action. Addressing his letter "To Their Honors The Common Council," he wrote:

"The accompanying ordinance providing for payment of Salaries to the members of the Common Council, having been presented to me for approval, I deem it my duty to decline approving it for the following reasons. First the fact that the finances of the city are at present in such an embarrassing condition that it appears almost impossible to obtain means of liquidating the obligations already outstanding against the city; and it appears to me unwise as a public measure to heap increased indebtedness upon an exhausted treasury when there are no visible means of discharging it, and almost useless on the part of the claimants. I think under such circumstances no further expense should be incurred than what is required by absolute necessity for the public good. Second, the payment of salaries to members of the Council is a measure which I believe never was contemplated in the establishment of the municipal government of this City—which is contrary to all the cities of which I have any knowledge—which is entirely unauthorized by any provisions in the City charter, which I have reason to believe was not expected by the members of the present council at the time they were elected to office. I think, moreover, that as an ordinance to nearly the same effect, which was passed some time since, has been recently repealed, it seems to show an inconsistency, and want of stability in legislation to re-enact a law soon after its repeal. If the finances of the City were in a more flourishing condition, I

might not urge any objections against the members of the Council receiving a reasonable compensation for their services; but while the city is unable to pay the debts, or furnish bread and meat to the suffering poor of the City, I think the creation and payment of salaries not contemplated by the City Charter or the Citizens themselves, is a measure that might be dispensed with. I therefore for the reasons above stated feel compelled to return the ordinance referred to without the sanction of my approval.

San José, Jany. 27th, 1851

J. Belden, Mayor."

A motion to print this letter in the *State Journal* failed to pass, but another attempt to put across a salary ordinance gave Belden an opportunity to spank the Council again on February 17. Alderman Cory, firmly believing that Council members should serve free of charge, stoutly supported Belden—with predictable results. The following April, his resolution to bar them from receiving pay was voted down three to one.

The City's high assessment rate proved another source of concern, but not an insurmountable obstacle. As complaints multiplied, the Council more frequently found it necessary to mollify aggrieved property owners. In July, 1850, for example, it appointed Mayor Belden and Aldermen Foster and Hanks "a board to equalize the assessment roll." On November 25 it cut William Henry Eddy's assessment a full \$900, a tremendous sum in relation to existing land values.

Largest and most vexing debt to occupy the Council's attention during this critical period was that of California's first statehouse, locally known as Legislative Hall. The Pueblo had acquired this structure through private parties who had put up \$34,000 of their own money for it, taking a mortgage on certain Pueblo lands as security. The City, as successor to the Pueblo, bought it from the mortgage holders, and was legally and morally bound to pay for it.

Two later debts totaling \$1,620 were for plastering, flooring, and "furnishing materials" for the Statehouse. Another, for \$1,262, covered unspecified serv-

ices performed by a G. A. Gregory. Drs. Cory and Bascom's⁶ bill for two month's professional services and medicines during the cholera epidemic of 1850, totaled \$2,472.

An obligation more in keeping with the status of the municipal treasury came on September 9, 1850, the day that California was admitted to the Union. Mayor Belden presented a bill for \$48, covering the cost of the City's official seal, which he had purchased in San Francisco and paid for out of his own pocket.

But with all their money worries, the city fathers found time in 1850 for ordinances and other municipal regulations. On May 7 they approved an ordinance providing for sale of the *Juzgado* at public auction one week later. On the 23rd they approved Councilman Cory's resolution prohibiting the Roman Catholic Church's erecting buildings not used for church purposes. They also adopted a resolution to rent "a suitable apartment to serve as a temporary prison." The June 3 meeting put control of drunkenness, riots and bullfighting into a single ordinance. July brought the first petition for closing Pacheco Street,⁷ but nothing was done about it. This same month witnessed considerable argument over the licensing of gambling. Late in August, Mayor Belden and Assemblyman John Bigler called attention to the plight of "the emigrants now on the way to this country." On motion of Alderman Foster, Alderman Cory's resolution to "prevent disturbances from drums and other musical instruments" passed unanimously in September. Another September action permitted the City to use depreciated State scrip in payment of bills. Repairing of the old bridge and the building of a new one across the Guadalupe demanded much of the

Council's time in November. Committee members could not agree on location of the latter until the City Surveyor helped them to determine the center of Santa Clara Street. In December the Marshal was authorized "to rent a room for the use of the Mayor and Common Council."

Only an incorrigible optimist would have deemed January, 1851, an auspicious month. Money was still tight, and the Treasurer could lay his hands upon only \$57 in cash.

Council minutes for the same month contained much comment on ways and means to prevent the state capital's removal from San José. But the pain of its loss might be assuaged by the City's subscribing for stock in a railroad that Judge Davis Divine proposed to build from San Francisco to San José.

Comment on the capital gradually diminished after it became certain that the Legislature had irrevocably decided to depart at the end of the current session. Observations on the desirability of the railroad, however, continued until the line actually commenced operation 13 years later.

On April 15 the City held its second municipal election, voting in a new mayor and almost an entirely new Council. The Mayor, a Georgian named Thomas White, was a civil engineer by profession. The aldermen—Joseph Aram, James B. DeVoe, Jacob D. Hoppe, Henry Clinton Melone, and John Marion Murphy—ranged from farmer and printer to businessman and professional office holders. Of the old Council members, only those two guardians of the treasury, Belden and Cory, returned.

John H. Watson (namesake of Watsonville) became City Attorney; Charles E. Allen, Assessor; Frank Lightston, Treasurer; George Whitman, Marshal; and Joséph Simpson, a holdover, Clerk.

In his first message to the Council, on April 19, Mayor White regretted that lack of time compelled him to render his "communication briefer . . . than it would have been under other circumstances." He would therefore "merely invite . . . attention to such subjects as require the earliest action."

With that, he was on his way, first noting his concern over the City's "want of order and system in

⁶Dr. Louis Hazelton Bascom, Forty-niner and namesake of Bascom Avenue.

⁷Pacheco Street, named after Juana Pacheco whose adobe stood nearby, ran diagonally through the block from what is now the northwest corner of Post and Market Streets to the south-east corner of San Pedro and Santa Clara Streets. The "San José Patriot" was plugging for its closing as late as January, 1864, labeling it "a civic problem and nuisance."

GOVERNMENT

keeping books and papers." He then recommended employment of "some individual acquainted with the Spanish language" to gather and file these records "in cases well secured." Every department should "guard against the present confused and insecure state of the City Archives."

Though a heavy burden of debt compelled the City to practice rigid economy, White felt that "a small police force should be constantly employed." "Certainly a night-police should be employed." "Crime and disorder have become so common," he continued, "that unless adequate means be employed to enforce the law, the very object of the city government must be defeated."

Besides advocating continuance of the existing one percent rate of taxation, White suggested that no more scrip be issued. The ordinance prohibiting the sale of liquor to Indians should be "more fully and clearly defined:" the city prison "should be better ventilated and . . . the door made more secure . . ."

He regretfully doubted that the City Charter would permit his organizing a chain gang to work on the City's streets, but he could see no reason why the City did not investigate its title to lands outside "the corporate limits of the city." He also urged immediate organization of a fire department.

About midway in his message, White slowed down long enough to compliment the Council members on their intelligence and "sincere desire to promote the greatest public good." He prefaced his compliments with the words "In concluding this hasty communication," but on catching his literary breath, he rolled on. Finally, after commenting on the proposed railroad's effect on the health, safety, morality and beauty of the city, he got to his pet subject—repeal of the City's ordinance against gambling on Sunday.

White devoted more space to his anti-gambling ordinance than to all other items in his "hasty communication" put together. He was good for another several hundred words before observing, "It is also the belief of your memorialist that the prohibitory law of this city against gambling on the Sabbath, has the honor of occupying an isolated position, or in

other language, being the only one in force in this state, and providing for the removal of a pursuit which the California Legislature up to the present, have not thought proper to interfere with."

White held the office of mayor for four consecutive terms, during which he operated pretty much on the theory of first things first. Though Council personnel changed considerably with each annual election, he encountered few unsolvable problems, and the agenda began to take a somewhat perfunctory course.

While one committee investigated the City's title to the pueblo lands, another conferred with County Judge J. W. Redman regarding sale of the Statehouse to the County. The rarely-used "no quorum" notation appeared in the Council's minutes for the first time on May 21, 1851. A week later, the Clerk tabled a petition from the pastor of St. Joseph's Church, who sought a donation of City-owned land to his church for cemetery use. September 17 brought an ordinance to "prohibit bull fighting on the Sabbath day," a subject that had occupied official attention off and on for more than a year.⁸ Alderman Belden suggested that a select committee be appointed to receive the assessment roll from the City Marshal, and to return it to the Assessor if they found it incorrect. In response to the Council's request for data on a contemplated public market, Councilman Hoppe of the Market House Committee reported that Santa Clara Street, east of First, offered the most suitable site for such a project.

On October 15 Alderman Belden opposed San José's supporting another city's indigents. He moved

⁸The Legislature tackled the matter of bullfighting on January 4, 1850, when Assemblyman (later Alderman) Cory supported a resolution to abolish bullfighting on a state-wide basis. The "Assembly Journal" for that day reported: "RESOLVED: That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to report, at the earliest day, a bill for the suppression of prize fights, bull fights on the Sabbath, and other brutal exhibitions, also to inquire into the propriety of suppressing bull fights on other days."

the Marshal remove "the pauper Lewis" to San Francisco "in case he would be received." At the next meeting, Belden introduced an ordinance establishing one percent (1%) as the rate of taxation on the assessment for that year.

The year 1851 also saw the Council go abroad for the first time in quest of "developers." At a special meeting on May 12, Alderman Aram suggested that the City offer to the Methodist Episcopal Conference of California "some inducement to establish a university in San José." He backed his suggestion with a resolution offering the structure "known as Legislative Hall."

The Council had hardly adopted Aram's resolution in a slightly amended form when Alderman Cory offered one to donate Washington Square for the same purpose "provided the buildings thereof be erected within five years."

The Methodists, however, accepted neither offer. They chose what they considered a more favorable location in Santa Clara.

By March, 1852, the City's archives were in order for the first time since American occupation. William E. Lovett, employed by White, had filed a report that divided into eight categories all recoverable correspondence, documents and other papers from 1777 to 1846.

Lovett noted that there were "few or no papers in the archives for the years 1844, 1845, 1846, except for such as are mutilated, torn, and cut." White, commenting on the result of Lovett's work, reported that "little has been discovered." He noted even at that early date the archives had been raided and vandalized.

(In 1881 Historian J. P. Munro-Fraser thus commented on the archives: "We have examined most of the documents mentioned above, which, since Mr. Lovett's report, have been a dozen times disarranged and rearranged, and are being now most carefully filed, and they have no possible interest to any one save the bibliomaniac." Yet materials continued to disappear thereafter, particularly during the W. P. A.'s "codifying" of the pueblo and City records in the 1930's.)

The City election of 1852 left only one of the Council's original members in office—Dr. Benjamin Cory. One term as mayor and one as councilman had sufficed for Josiah Belden, who temporarily withdrew from politics to attend to his far-flung business interests. Thus Peter O. Minor, Levi Goodrich, John C. Emerson, John M. Williams, John H. Watson and M. W. Packard came close to constituting an entirely new council for White.

Mayor White and his new administration certainly had no abundance of funds. Total receipts for the year ending April 16, 1852, were \$15,698.52; total paid out, \$15,687.97. This left a balance on hand of \$10.55, which, added to the 1851 balance, gave the Treasurer command of \$67.55 in cash.

Moreover, prospects of obtaining more money in the near future aroused no optimism. Property taxes remained at one percent of the assessed valuation, and Assessor Williams showed no willingness to raise the assessment rate. He was also prone to accepting owners' statements as to the value of their holdings instead of using his own judgment. This prompted Alderman Minor to read to him a section of state law that empowered an assessor to evaluate a property according to his own judgment of its worth regardless of any oath of the owner to the contrary.

Three veterans of the 1852 election—Cory, Emerson and Goodrich—along with John M. Murphy who had served in 1851, returned to the Council in 1853. Henry Brownshield, William Daniels and William Stafford were the newcomers.

Hitherto, the City revenue ordinance had not produced the income expected of it, and an investigating committee soon found why. A large number of the community's business houses had paid no "license tax" whatever.

The Council quickly corrected this defect with "an increase in the license law," exempting no one, as suggested by the committee. Additional funds were thus provided for much needed street repairs and payment of the City's debt of \$18,402.09.

During this same term, the township's school commissioners saw an opportunity to establish a public school system. They accordingly petitioned

GOVERNMENT

the Council to take advantage of an 1852 legislative act providing "for establishment and maintenance of common schools in cities." But their chief concern seems to have been the three months overdue salary of Mr. Horace Richardson, "a lawfully licensed teacher," whom they had hired pretty much on their own initiative. If the Council established the desired school system, Mr. Richardson could be paid, his school could continue, and San José could get its "share of the State school fund." The better part of a year slipped by, however, before the Council took anything that the commissioners could interpret as encouraging action.

Meanwhile, the City's financial condition had improved phenomenally. A report filed on April 6, 1854, just before the end of White's third term, indicated the effectiveness of his administration. The municipal debt, excluding the Statehouse obligation, stood at \$3,408, quite a drop from the \$60,000 of three years earlier.

The election of April 10, 1854, left White with only one holdover from the 1853 Council—Council president John M. Murphy. George H. Bodfish, Sherman Otis Houghton, Frank Lightston, J. McGill, Charles Moody and John Wilson took their seats as first timers.

Shortly after the 1854 election, the desirability of a publicly owned city hall became a topic of conversation. The Council and official staff had occupied rented quarters since 1850, an arrangement that profited no one but the landlord. Yet, allowing for the usual grumbling over high taxes the townsfolk in general favored a municipal edifice. The Clerk already had plans and specifications for one, and the City's financial outlook was steadily improving.

On August 14, the Council accordingly appointed Aldermen McGill, Moody, and Wilson a committee to investigate several details preliminary to construction. A multi-signed taxpayers' petition, presented October 2, called "for a large, substantial brick building, suitable for a Town Hall, and, if necessary ... the Legislature of the State."

Events surged thereafter. Within two weeks the Council, at the Mayor's urging, granted the petition

and passed a resolution putting the matter to popular vote. On October 16, the public voted 265 to 57 for a city hall.

A month later, on November 15, the Council chose D. Emmanuelli's lot at what became 35 North Market Street as the site of the new edifice. Emmanuelli had offered this lot, with new adobe houses on it, to the City for \$8,000 on payment of \$2,000 in cash and the remainder within 12 months at interest of two and a half percent a month.

With favorable working conditions and Levi Goodrich as architect, construction moved apace on a crenelated brick structure resembling a parapeted medieval castle. It soon stood an imposing 68 feet long, 42 feet wide, and two stories high. The Council chambers and municipal offices would occupy its lower floor; two small rooms and a large assembly hall, the upper floor.

The Council held its first meeting in this "elegant edifice" on April 16, 1855. Meanwhile, the City government had been changed by three resignations and one election.

About midway in the 1854 term, Aldermen Murphy and Bodfish resigned, and on October 16 Joseph Aram and William Stafford were elected to fill their places. O. H. Allen took over as Mayor on December 5, filling the vacancy left by Mayor White who had returned to Georgia.

White's departure proved a great loss to San José where both annal and terrain testified to his activities. His comprehensive "White Survey" of 1850 was the first made of the City after incorporation. Its boundaries remained intact until annexation of the Gardner District in 1911. For 113 years its northernmost street bore the baptismal name of White's sister Rosa,⁹ who remained in Georgia when he came to California as a Forty-niner in quest of gold.

In a way, White could be called the "father" of San José's first city hall. It was at his insistence that

⁹*City Council Resolution No. 23958 changed the name of Rosa Street to Hedding Street on June 10, 1963.*

the Council took positive action toward construction. But his greatest accomplishment is perhaps the least publicized. He probably did more than any other pioneer official to get San José out of debt without compromising municipal integrity. San José officialdom wrote to him for data and advice long after he had readjusted himself to the quiet life of his native Milledgeville.

In addition to the City Hall, the 1854 Council provided a second school district, created the office of Captain of Police, and passed an important ordinance regarding the city's volunteer fire department.

Then, on April 12, 1855, came another great change in official complexion. Alderman Houghton was elected Mayor. John M. Murphy, who had been on and off the Council with noticeable frequency, returned to office along with William Daniels who had served in 1853. Abram S. Beaty, Simon M. Cutler, Calvin Martin, Peter O. Minor and Ranson G. Moody represented a preponderance of newcomers who could dominate the Council's deliberations any time they wished.

The 1855 Council had hardly settled into the commodious surroundings of the City Hall when Alderman Cutler questioned the titles of certain lots that the City had "donated and set apart" for school use. Noting that these lots had been illegally assessed and sold for taxes, he introduced a resolution authorizing the City Attorney to see what could be done about returning them to the status for which they had been donated.

Brisk construction of downtown business buildings broadened the tax base that year, but general income from taxes fell short of the amount expected. The total amount of tax money due the City during Houghton's term as mayor came to \$12,442.13. The amount paid was \$12,258.03, leaving a delinquency of \$184.10.

This situation caused no bubbling enthusiasm among financial realists. Along with other acquisitions and improvements, the City Hall and a new fire engine had to be paid for. Within a year the municipal debt had swollen from less than \$4,000 to more than \$48,000. On the other hand, the City's population,

which had to foot the bill, had not increased more than 20 percent since 1850.

If Mayor Houghton entertained "second thoughts" on getting the City out of its financial bind, he did not advertise them. But in the 1855 general election, he unsuccessfully campaigned for the office of Sheriff. Then he combined the study of law with his duties as mayor until the end of his term. His next essay into active politics took him to Congress for two terms beginning in 1871.

In the City election of April 16, 1856, Lawrence Archer, who succeeded Houghton as Mayor, got a council with only two holdovers—Murphy and Cutler. Architect Levi Goodrich, who had served in 1852, came back for another term, while Thomas Fallon, Givens George, Charles W. Pomeroy and John B. Price took their seats as first timers.

The year 1856 did not prove an easy one for Mayor Archer or his council. Archer resigned on July 21, and was succeeded by Alderman Murphy who likewise resigned. The third man to hold the city's highest office that term was Alderman Givens, publisher of the *San José Tribune*. This disturbing situation was aggravated by a pernicious uncertainty.

Just before Houghton left office that year, the public got wind of a scheme to repeal the City Charter. Certain citizens said that the original document of 1850 was not serving the community to the best advantage. Others, equally perceptive, suspected that any attempt to change it under existing conditions had an ulterior purpose.

The first formal meeting on repeal took place on January 24, 1857, with Judge Craven P. Hester presiding and Peter O. Minor serving as secretary. After stating the purpose of the meeting, Judge Davis Divine presented a "draft of an Act to repeal the charter, and an amendatory Act appointing Trustees for the management of the City." Dr. Alexander J. Spencer's motion to repeal the old charter and to draft a new one carried. On attorney William Matthews' motion, Divine, Spencer, A. L. Rhodes, William Van Voorhies, Hester and Matthews himself were appointed a committee to draft a new charter. A week later, however, Matthews added "certain amend-

GOVERNMENT

ments to the existing instrument," which the committee approved.

Soon afterward, the Legislature passed a bill to reincorporate the city of San José, but the Governor vetoed it. Finally, on March 27, 1857—seven years to the day after granting of the original charter—a second bill for reincorporation received both legislative and gubernatorial approval.

This bit of legislation went into effect on the second Monday in April, and the city's government henceforth consisted of five Trustees, a Clerk and Assessor, a Treasurer, and a Collector. On April 20 James C. Cobb, William Daniels, Thomas Fallon, Ranson G. Moody and Marcus Williams were elected the first board of trustees, with Moody as president and ex-officio mayor. Chapman Yates became Clerk and Assessor; John H. Moore, Treasurer; Joseph H. Scull, Collector.

If the 1857 Board of Trustees procedure in routine matters differed from that of the Common Council, most chroniclers of the day paid little attention to it. Opponents of the administration may have wondered what the Trustees had in mind, but a public meeting on June 5 was about the only thing that could be interpreted as a straw in the wind.

The sense of this meeting was rhetorically expressed in a 350-word resolution on fraudulent land claims, tax titles and surveys. In their final sentence the framers stated, "... We earnestly request any speculators in the disputed, pretended, dormant and doubtful titles to lands in our locality to consider carefully the tendency of such things, and the effect they must have upon the peace of the people, upon the rights of property and the purity of trials in Courts of Justice."

In the course of their term, the Trustees considered such important but unexciting things as an ordinance to "lay gas pipes through the streets," amendments to the charter and appointments to the Board of Education. Then an entirely new Board and half a new staff took over on April 13, 1858. Nathaniel B. Edwards, Josephus P. Martin, Peter O. Minor, Adolph Pfister, and Charles W. Pomeroy composed the new Board, with Minor as President. William R.

David assumed the duties of Clerk and Assessor; Jasper D. Gunn, those of Collector. John H. Moore continued as Treasurer, and Eli Corwin as Superintendent of Schools.

Reams of "legalese" and journalistic invective have been written about what followed. John L. Greer, manager of the Garden City Abstract Company, best epitomized them in a paper that he read to the Santa Clara County Historical Society on September 7, 1910. Noting the conditions under which the City had acquired the Statehouse, and had pledged pueblo lands as security for the mortgage thereon, Greer branded the City's action thereafter as "Our First Case of Municipal Graft." "I can assure you," he said, "that it is absolutely unique in one respect at least; for it is not a case of a citizen or combination of citizens stealing from the city, or a combination of dishonest officials filching from the treasury, but a case where the city herself deliberately robbed her best citizens."

Elsewhere, Greer commented on the mortgage more specifically. "On the ninth day of April, 1850," he said, "the City purchased the State House from (its) Trustees (Joseph) Aram, (Josiah) Belden and (James F.) Reed, for the sum of \$34,000, and to secure payment of same, with interest at the rate of six percent per month, pledged... State Bonds... which had not been sold and mortgaged all the Pueblo lands owned by it." The city authorities then took possession of the lot and building and after using them for some time for their own purposes, on the 29th day of January, 1853, sold said property to the County of Santa Clara... for the sum of \$38,000, payable in three months with interest at the rate of four and one half percent per month, and, like honest men, the council by ordinance directed that upon the payment by the county the proceeds be applied to the payment of the debt due to the trustees, Aram, Belden and Reed. If this provision had been carried out, a very enterprising political and business scheme would have been brought to a happy, successful and honorable conclusion. At this point, however, the City of San José was guilty of treachery towards its best friends and of violation of the principles of common business honesty, for when the County of Santa Clara paid into the city treasury the \$38,000 with interest, for the State House as agreed, instead of paying

Aram, Belden and Reed, the balance of the principal and interest due them and thus extinguishing its debt to its leading citizens, the city appropriated the said sum to other purposes. Meanwhile, on December 20, 1850, in the District Court of Santa Clara county, suit was brought for foreclosure of said mortgage, the suit being entitled Joseph Aram, Josiah Belden and James F. Reed, trustees for Peter Quivy, F. Lightston and others, vs. The Mayor and Common Council of the City of San José.

"On December 26, 1850, Thomas L. Vermule, city attorney, confessed judgment in favor of said plaintiffs for the sum of \$37,230, being \$25,500 principal and \$11,730 interest..."

After tracing execution and other details of this suit and judgment, Greer continued, "Some time after this a shrewd lawyer, probably S. O. Houghton, or possibly W. T. Wallace, both numbered among the keenest and best lawyers in the State in their day, raised the point that the town council had no authority under the law to execute a mortgage on the Pueblo lands and that if the Mortgage was void the title held by the trustees... under foreclosure of that mortgage, must also be void. Thereupon the city council, more thrifty than honest, put a bill through the legislature on April 21, 1858, appointing commissioners of the funded debt of the City of San José and provided that all the city lands be conveyed to these commissioners, who should sell the Pueblo lands and turn the money into the city treasury for the payment of its bonded indebtedness. On the fourth day of August, 1858, the City of San José conveyed said Pueblo lands to William Daniels, James C. Cobb and S. O. Houghton, as commissioners of the funded debt of the City of San José... and thereupon said commissioners took possession of the Pueblo lands and proceeded to sell them."

By this time most of the lands involved were occupied by three "distinct classes of settlers." The first believed the land belonged to the United States Government and, therefore, was open to homesteading. The second insisted that the City's title superseded all others. The third claimed title under the foreclosure and sheriff's deed, considering only themselves rightful owners. Greer could therefore be cred-

ited with monumental understatement when he wrote, "It can easily be seen how much irritation and disquietude these contending claimants and this uncertainty of title caused..." "The resulting litigation dragged on until the City, using every legal device and trick, finally won out on January 28, 1871.

The courts held that when the sheriff, under terms of foreclosure, sold the "right, title and interest" of the City in the Pueblo lands to Isaac Branham and Charles White for \$26,060 on May 28, 1851, the judgment was legally satisfied, and the claim extinguished regardless of validity of title.

"It was by this kind of legal juggling," said Greer, "that men to whom the city had confessedly owed \$37,330 [sic] were beaten out of their righteous demands." "This story is not one in which the City of San José can feel much pride," he added. "It has, I believe, at least one merit—it is absolutely true."

Sale of the Pueblo lands by Commissioners of the Funded Debt got San José out of its financial distress only temporarily. Within a relatively short period, the City was again deep in debt, which prompted Greer to put matters into historical perspective down to 1910. "The city got away with the spoils in the first instance, but the enormous debt under which we stagger is evidence enough that the graft has been at the city's expense many times since those early days."

On March 16, 1859, the Legislature passed another "Act to incorporate the City of San José," vesting the government thereof in a mayor and a common council of five members. Thirteen days later, Thomas Fallon was elected Mayor. Alderman Ransom G. Moody, James Morrison, Adolph Pfister, Charles W. Pomeroy and John M. Williams replaced the Board of Trustees.

Fallon began his term with a long message devoted almost exclusively to the current land title problem. "Care should be taken..." he cautioned the Council, "to have the whole business in this matter legally done." His tone was conciliatory, and he professed belief that the controversy could be settled to the satisfaction of everyone concerned.

GOVERNMENT

This happy event, however, would never occur during Fallon's incumbency—or the lifetime of any person adversely affected. Yet 1859 was a relatively good year for the city. The Council busied itself with lot prices and regulations for the City-owned Oak Hill Cemetery, and allowed \$1,300 for macadamizing First Street between Santa Clara and San Fernando. It also noted what promised to become a major municipal expense—medical care.

The City, lacking hospital facilities, had run a bill of \$500 in "farming out" its indigent sick to the County for care. On April 2 the Council voted three to one to offer St. James Square (now St. James Park) to the County as payment of this bill in full. The ground or its equivalent in any other municipally-owned square could be used as a courthouse site.

But meanwhile, the County, which had never owned a structure specifically designed as a courthouse, had begun to formulate plans for one. And since it had another site in mind, it leased the second floor of the City Hall on a short term basis for court use instead of accepting the City's offer of a public square.

This lease was not renewed after its expiration in 1862 because the growing City needed all of the City Hall's space for municipal purposes. The County had to lease space in a private building on the northeast corner of Market and El Dorado Streets until moved into its completed Courthouse in 1868.

In the municipal election of April 9, 1860, San José followed what seemed an established voting pattern. It again replaced a mayor and entire council. Former County Judge Richard B. Buckner took over as Mayor, with Q. D. Gavitt, Adam Holloway, James R. Lowe, Judge Arthur Shearer and John R. Wilson as his Council.

This year brought the City's first privately-financed public utility. On July 13 the Council unanimously overrode stiff opposition to an ordinance permitting James Hagan, James K. Prior and Thomas Anderson to introduce gas for fuel and lighting. The Mayor twice sent this ordinance back to its framers before passage, and neighbors of the proposed gas works at Third and San Fernando Streets strongly

objected to having the plant so close to their homes.

Besides putting Joseph W. Johnson into the Mayor's office, the election of April 11, 1861, brought only two newcomers to the Council, William Wirt McCoy and Caius Tactitus Ryland. The other seats went to holdovers Adam Holloway and James R. Lowe, and to John M. Williams who had served under Fallon in 1859. On July 15, attorney Thomas Bodley, of enduring fame in Santa Clara County politics, was elected to succeed Ryland, who had resigned.

While Ryland was still an Alderman, the Council approved a contract retaining his brother-in-law, William T. Wallace, at a fee of \$5,000, to defend the City and its Commissioners of the Funded Debt in the Statehouse debt litigation. Many years later, those "in the know" may have wondered about this action. Did Greer have it in mind when he caustically alluded to Messrs. Houghton and Wallace as shrewd young lawyers?

If the City had not experienced enough trouble with the Statehouse Debt, it soon made up the deficiency. A sudden shortage in school funds left the Council in an embarrassing position. There was not enough money in the Common School Fund to meet current expenses. Teachers had gone without pay for more than five months, and schoolhouses, lacking repairs and janitor service, were showing signs of dilapidation. And a suspicious Board of Education had appointed Judge Davis Divine, Robert P. Thompson and Charles Moody a committee to investigate the matter.

The investigators soon found that former Mayor Buckner and his Council had illegally appropriated money from the school fund "to other than their legitimate purposes." On March 4, 1861, they passed an ordinance transferring \$1,000 from the Common School Fund to the perennially short General Fund so that the City Treasurer could "pay and discharge all warrants drawn upon the General Fund."

Since Buckner was an experienced lawyer, and one of his aldermen a judge of long standing, they prudently left themselves an "out." Section 3 of their ordinance said, "That the Treasurer be also further authorized and required to restore to said Common

School Contingent Fund the amount hereby drawn from same, so soon as the same shall have accumulated in the General Fund."

The investigators, however, saw through this device. Knowing the City's deplorable financial condition in general, they strongly doubted any portion of the diverted funds would be restored to their original purpose for many years to come—if ever.

On April 15, 1862, as the Civil War entered its second year, San José voters re-elected Joseph W. Johnson Mayor and returned two holdovers—Bodley and Holloway—to the Council. The other Council seats went to newcomers C. D. Cheney, William O'Donnell and Elbert J. Wicox.

Just as Mayor Buckner's fund juggling came to light during Johnson's first term, Marshal Jasper D. Gunn's misbehavior marred the second. Gunn, who possessed charming talent for betting on the wrong card, absconded in June with \$2,763.48 belonging to the City. He also took along books and records that could be used as evidence against him in court. Their contents, he felt, should be seen by no eyes but his own.

With abundant crops and good prices, San José shared in what could be described as wartime prosperity. It entered 1863 with only \$25,000 in outstanding bonds against the City. Chroniclers of the day reported \$4,000 in the City Treasury and \$3,000 in the hands of the Commissioners of the Funded Debt. If the Mayor and Common Council entertained any guilty feelings over the shabby treatment of the city's erstwhile benefactors, they made no noteworthy show of them.

Indeed, Attorney William T. Wallace of recent \$5,000 fee fame, was again retained at a fee of \$8,000 to take action euphemistically described as "recovering certain school lots." This second fee amounted to fifty percent of the value of the said lots, provided the penalty did not exceed \$8,000. Subsequent events soon indicated that this fee did not pass unnoticed by the public.

In the unforgettable annual election of April 13, 1863, San José got a new mayor, an entirely new council, and barely missed getting an entirely new

corps of staff officials. Of all office holders under Johnson, only Superintendent of Schools Hamilton survived the explosion.

From 1850 to 1862, San José's voters were a bit wary of electing plural term mayors and other officials. But in 1863, they elected John Alonzo Quinby for the first of his five successive terms as Mayor. City Clerk John Thomas Colahan, City Attorney Francis Elias Spencer, and Councilman Daniel Jewett Porter began their five successive terms of office the same year, and then went on for several terms each under Quinby's successors. Chapman Leavitt Yates became a councilman in 1863, skipped 1864, and returned in 1865 for four successive terms as City Treasurer. Charles Watrous Pomeroy, Ludwig Magenheimer, and James Manning Cory served four successive terms as councilmen—Pomeroy and Magenheimer beginning in 1863, and Cory in 1864. Three terms were enough for John Bonner.

There was nothing spectacular about any of these men. Quinby was a grocer; Yates, a book merchant; Colahan, a searcher of records; Porter, a stable keeper; Magenheimer, a capitalist¹⁰; Spencer, a lawyer; Bonner, a foundryman; Cory, a farmer.

There is little question, however, that Quinby and his council accomplished most of what they set out to do. They hung on through a period when they had to stand for election—or rejection—every year; the day of longer terms for municipal officials was still far in the future. They were beset by sectional strife and monetary and material shortages occasioned by the Civil War. The vexing ever-present Funded Debt problem was enough to make less resolute men quit in disgust. They at no time had complete support of the press. The implacable publisher of the *San José Tribune*, George O'Doherty, went after them with his vitriolic pen at every opportunity.

By 1865, Quinby's administration accomplished the almost hopeless task of freeing the City from

¹⁰As defined in those days, a capitalist was any man living off the interest from his investments.

debt for the first time since its incorporation. Hall, writing in 1870, simply observed, "The city is out of debt and has been since the year 1865." McMurtry wrote in a similar vein in 1933 with advantage of sixty-eight years retrospect. He characterized Quinby's administration as a "most vigorous" one. "... The city's debt was wiped out with land disputes largely settled when the City reincorporated on March 17, 1866."

And that was not all. Quinby, sensing that his council was a progressive one, kept it busy. He prodded it into remedying "street and drainage evils" and pushed it on to rescuing the public schools from what had become a slough of despondency. As mayor, he welcomed the arrival of the San Francisco and San José Railroad's first train from San Francisco in 1864. He was still in office on March 24, 1868, when the State Legislature approved construction of what has been described as the first interurban rail transit system in California—the San José and Santa Clara Horse Railroad.

Quinby remained a legal voting resident of the city of San José for at least ten years after leaving office, first as a grocer and then as superintendent of a lumber mill. But by 1875, he had acquired 160 acres of Evergreen area land, which the *Great Register* showed him farming in 1880.

About the time Quinby acquired this land, he became a petitioner for, and namesake of, a public road leading to it. Yet, up to completion of this narrative, the signposts along this road showed it as Quimby Road instead of Quinby Road. And the City of San José and County of Santa Clara have never shown any inclination to correct the error.

With evaporation of the chilling cloud of persistent debt, the City accumulated funds to pay for long overdue necessities. Streets that had existed only on paper became realities, and grading and graveling improved the previously existing ones. The City willingly paid half the cost of building the Santa Clara Street bridge across Coyote Creek. (The County paid the other half, for the center of that stream was recognized as the city's eastern city limit line.)

Several public squares received official attention

for something more than merely being parcels of City-owned land. St. James Square had long been a bare, wind-swept field with the tiny public schoolhouse of District 2 in its northeast corner. Fencing and trees made it a park in 1869. In addition to fencing, the much larger Washington Square got a \$450 driveway—probably in anticipation of San José's winning the State Normal School.

Other projects followed in quick succession, matching the townspeople's increasing civic pride. Quinby's momentum had continued into the administration of Mark Leavenworth, who took over as mayor on April 20, 1868.

Leavenworth did not inherit the stupefying handicap of perennial debt that had plagued his predecessors in office. If anything, he had a comparatively easy time. Yet, he served only one term, and turned the office over to Adolph Pfister on April 18, 1870.

Pfister, who came to California with Colonel Jonathan Drake Stevenson's First Regiment, New York Volunteers, was another progressively-minded mayor. He was for anything that was good for San José, and strove to keep the Common Council in the same state of mind. Two of the most important accomplishments of his administration were the creation of the San José Public Library on April 3, 1871, and creation of Alum Rock Park.

Pfister is probably better remembered for his activities in behalf of the library and park than for anything else. He was so determined that the people of San José have an abundance of free reading material that he donated his salary of \$1,000 a year to support of the library.

The City was still in good financial condition when Bernard D. Murphy took over as Mayor on April 16, 1873.

Murphy, a son of Martin Murphy, Jr., was a born politician with a propensity for law, banking, land ownership, and more than an occasional game of cards. He had already served a term in the State Assembly. After becoming mayor, he served four-and-a-half consecutive years before taking off for Sacramento to assume the duties of State Senator.

Except for the City Charter's anti-debt clause, which occasionally hampered the Council's efforts to raise money for "much needed public services," Murphy found his duties as mayor quite satisfying. He too, donated his salary to the support of the Public Library. And his part in the preparations for financing construction of the Mt. Hamilton Road was one of the highlights of his public life. Because Murphy left for Sacramento almost five months before expiration of his term as mayor, someone had to take his place.

That was done by incumbent Councilman George B. McKee who served from November 26, 1877, to the next regular city election on April 15, 1878. Chroniclers of later years have often overlooked McKee as interim mayor for that period. He had hardly accustomed himself to the top seat of municipal authority, when he got out of active politics.

When Lawrence Archer took over from McKee in 1878, San José again had a mayor who was no novice in the science of government. Archer had served as County Judge from 1867 to 1871, and as a State Assemblyman in 1875 and '76. As Mayor, he might have been irked a time or two by the charter's anti-debt clause, but his worst irritations stemmed from something else. As noted elsewhere, City Clerk-Assessor Castle absconded with a satchel full of City money in 1878, and a public uproar prevented projecting Market Street through the center of The Plaza from San Fernando to San Carlos Street in 1879.

Meanwhile Murphy had finished his term in the Assembly and was again casting a covetous eye upon the San José City Hall. On April 19, 1880, he took his seat as Mayor and kept it until 1882.

Dedication of San José's great electric tower in 1881 was probably Murphy's highlight of that year. The following year, he returned to the campaign trail for another stint in the State Senate.

Charles J. Martin, a drygoods and notions store owner, succeeded Murphy as mayor in the regular election in 1882. And Campbell Thompson Settle succeeded him in 1884. Though there was nothing spectacular about Martin and Settle's administrations, Settle, the first Republican to serve as mayor of this

city in fifteen years, seemed the more colorful. He owned a large acreage in the Willow Glen area, was president of the Farmers Union, and had little respect for the opinions of journalists, particularly Democratic ones. Publisher Hugh De Lacy of the *San José Evening News* called him "Czar Settlesky" in return—perhaps with good reason.

The election of a physician and banker, Dr. Charles W. Breyfogle, to the office of mayor in April 1886 heralded a new era in City Hall. The pro-bonds people were still alive and active. In a special election held that year, they sought to bond the City for \$300,000 to pay for a new city hall, bridges, sewers, and improvement of public squares and streets. They lost the entire package, but came back in 1887. This time, they took advantage of the great number of new citizens being attracted here by the Board of Trade (now Chamber of Commerce). After a whirlwind campaign, the Common Council called a new election requesting the public's opinion regarding the building of a new city hall and providing for wooden bridges, parks and crosswalks, branch sewers, and completion of the main sewer. As a result of this election, the City bonded itself for \$500,000.

But in their rush, the bonds proponents overlooked a technicality in timing and thereby rendered their election illegal. No bonds purchaser would take their bonds until this matter was straightened out. After much behind-the-scenes maneuvering, a new election had to be called and new bonds issued.

Mayor Breyfogle, serving only one year, bequeathed much of this excitement to Samuel Watson Boring who succeeded him on April 15, 1887. As soon as Boring and his council had a clear field, they went to work. On May 16, they designated The Plaza as the site of the new city hall, appointed Theodore Lenzen architect, and stipulated that no brick or sewer pipe made by Chinese labor should be used in the new building.

The council minutes for months thereafter contained abundant reference to the project, and the local press kept track of each phase of construction. During the next month and a half, the council attended to other preliminary details, including quieting title to lands around The Plaza. On July 12, it

ordered Lenzen to present his plans and specifications one week hence, and Lenzen did so. Construction began almost immediately after Proctor Wells' bid of \$139,482 won the building contract on September 12. On Saturday, November 5, the Grand Lodge, Free and Accepted Masons of California, laid the cornerstone whose inscription read "Erected in 1887."

The Common Council held its first meeting in this new building on the evening of April 17, 1889, with Mayor Boring making the dedicatory speech.

The echo of Boring's remarks had hardly faded when the council took up the first order of business—a protest. L. Rothermel and several other citizens protested "the proposed improvement of Market Street from Santa Clara Street to Guadalupe and San José streets. Referred to Street Committee."

From that evening until he went out of office in 1890, Boring and his council had to approve or disapprove many additional purchases for their "magnificent new home" in The Plaza. A number of these resulted from alteration of the building's original specification to cut construction costs.

Samuel N. Rucker, who succeeded Boring, presided over a council that had to deal with similar City Hall bills. He also had to acquaint himself with a new type of expense—street paving. San José got its first modern thoroughfare when First Street was paved from Santa Clara to San Salvador Street in the spring of 1890. As other streets followed suit in relatively quick succession, they expanded the field of "take" for opportunistic politicians.

Political bossism had been insidiously attaching itself to the city's government ever since the first attempt to break the charter's anti-debt clause. Its product—machine politics—was now a force that had to be reckoned with in every election, purchase of any size, or lucrative contract or franchise. No matter how personally honest he was, no city official could ignore whatever machine happened to be in power.

Sam Rucker knew this very well before he relinquished his office to Herbert Emile Schilling on April 16, 1892. Schilling entered politics in 1890,

served one term in the Common Council, and practically "jumped" into the office of mayor three months and seventeen days before his thirty-first birthday anniversary. He probably "inherited" a few unsolved problems from his predecessors, but they apparently caused no inordinate worry for him or his council. If they were important enough, the controlling political machine would remove any indecision.

Schilling reached the high point of his incumbency in March, 1893, when he played an important part in convincing both houses of the Legislature that the state capital should be returned to San José, "where it belonged." The Legislature agreed, but, as noted in another chapter, the Supreme Court spoiled everything by declaring the whole procedure illegal.

Machine politics prevailed when banker Paul P. Austin took the mayor's chair in 1894, but where he fitted into that "mechanical" environment is still a question.

For some time past, muffled rumbles had been indicating a growing distrust of "the City Hall Gang," "the Courthouse Gang," and any other "respectable" gang in a position to raid the public treasury. The political bosses or groups to which these gangs were beholden bore such appellations as "Rea-McKenzie Gang," "McKenzie-Rea Gang," "McKenzie Gang," "Edwards Gashouse Gang," and "California Club." Their leaders were more familiarly known as Jim Rea (lawyer), Johnny McKenzie (foundryman), and Harry Edwards (light and power company manager). Their hands reached into all kinds of pockets—even those of school teachers. And there was no question as to who was running this city in the last decade of the 19th Century and until 1902 in the 20th century. When wondering why San José voters had put up with such shenanigans for so many years, Hichborn wrote "... The public is not easily awakened to abuses."

Yet, in 1896, a small group of citizens, bent on cleaning up the town, organized what they called the Good Government League. Though interested in both County and City affairs, they did not accomplish much that year. Everybody was too busy electing William McKinley to the Presidency of the United States. But with the backing of the highly influential Jay Orley Hayes and his brother Everis Anson Hayes,

they began to make more substantial headway, and Mayor Koch inevitably sensed that the "machine" had intelligent opposition well before he left office in 1898. His successor Charles J. Martin, who took office on April 20, was sure of it.

The Hayes brothers were lawyers who knew how to attain their objectives—and had the means to do it. They delivered the first jolt when they bought the evening *San José Herald* in 1900. Their buying of the morning *Mercury* in 1901 was the second jolt. By thus wresting control of two thirds of San José's effective press from the "machine," they soon let the community know exactly what had been going on since the 1880's.

As the regular election of 1902 approached, the League's membership constituted a "reform" ticket composed of Republicans, Democrats, and an increasing number of dissidents from the machine. Their candidate for mayor was George D. Worswick, manager of a local box manufactory. The machine nominated Adolph Greeninger, a carriage maker who had been in San José politics since 1873. Pitted against each other, these two men put on the hottest mayoral fight ever witnessed in this city. Worswick won by a vote of 2,442 to 2,176.

Neither Johnny McKenzie, the "boss of the bosses," nor incumbent Mayor Martin had any intention of accepting the election result. In effort to invalidate the election, McKenzie's attorney E. E. Cothran came forth with a specious technicality regarding voter registration. He even had papers served on Worswick to enjoin him from taking office. It did not work.

Worswick ignored the citation and presented himself at the City Hall for induction, accompanied by his legal advisor and followers who included Jim Rea who had broken with the machine. What happened next is best described by Franklin Hichborn who was then working for the Hayes papers:

Mayor-elect Worswick, flanked by Johnnie Richards, proceeded to the Mayor's desk, moved up a chair, seated himself by the outgoing executive. The clerk-elect seated himself at the clerk's desk with the outgoing clerk. Jim Rea moved a

bit closer to the seated mayors. For a dozen minutes or so, San José had two mayors and two city clerks. Both mayors began talking. Above the din Worswick could be heard calling upon the chief of police to throw the out going clerk out. Clearly the chief of police was on a spot.

That officer looked at Jim Rea, probably had the same thought about his competence as I had; glanced at the Hayes brothers with power of publicity over all; threw out the clerk. There was quite a struggle, but the chief of police finally made it.

Worswick then called upon the chief to throw out the mayor. The chief, having his hand in, proceeded at once to the job. But the mayor was a tougher subject than the clerk. Physically the chief's equal or better, he resisted strenuously. But the chief had the science, the technique, and although the Mayor grabbed the mayor's desk for support in his resistance, clutched at chairs, seized the door knob of the exit door, he eventually landed in the hallway. The exercises then proceeded. Mr. Worswick and the officials elected with him were duly sworn in.

The reform candidates had captured every city office except that of treasurer. They had not only wrecked the machine, but had also rendered all of its working parts ineffective for future use. In short, they had wiped out the power of John D. McKenzie, the most ruthless political boss in San José's history. And Hichborn, whose *Letter* the machine had put out of business, covered the reform victory as editor of the Hayes brothers' *Herald*.

Though they had won a resounding victory, the reformers still had an abundance of hard work ahead of them, particularly in reorganizing the municipal government. Beginning in 1850, San José had framed eight charters before the 1902 election. Seven had been accepted; one rejected. The accepted ones had been amended almost beyond recognition. The last one, that of 1897, had been amended once before 1902 and was fated for several more amendings thereafter.

As Hichborn pondered all the things yet to be done, he was not optimistic. His stock of idealism could never persuade him to take his eyes off what was happening right under his nose. He had a feeling that the Hayes brothers were already arrogating too much political power to themselves through their control of the San José press. The *Hichborn Papers*, now on deposit in the Haynes Foundation in Los Angeles, records his break with the Hayes' for that reason.

One day E. A. Hayes walked into Hichborn's office to determine the authorship of a highly laudatory article on State Senator Louis Oneal that had appeared in the *Mercury*. Hichborn, as editor of the *Herald*, had seen the story but did not know who wrote it. He did a little "detective work," however, to find out. And what he found left him suspecting political implications that indicated a change in the editorial policy of the Hayes papers.

Next day, when the matter came up again, he told J. O. Hayes exactly what he had found. Hayes bluntly disagreed with him, ascribing the authorship to a different writer. While Hayes was still talking, Hichborn sat down and wrote a terse note of resignation, "to take effect on the spot or at least the following Saturday..."

The Hayes brothers refused to accept his resignation, but Hichborn cleaned out his desk the following Saturday. More than fourteen years elapsed before he again set foot upon Hayes property.

Meanwhile, the newly elected officials had comfortably shouldered their respective responsibilities and, apparently, were performing creditably. Mayor Worswick stayed in office until July 7, 1906, long enough to direct relief work immediately after the great earthquake of that year, and to oversee two amendings of the 1897 City Charter. Admirers and objective critics credited him with good work, but toward the end of his first term, he came close to disaster.

The reformers relaxed their vigilance too soon after their victory, as Hichborn feared they would. The McKenzie machine, now referred to as "The Push," still had enough vitality to cause trouble—and

that is what it did. City Treasurer T. J. McGeoghegan was the only machine holdover from the 1902 election. About four months before the 1904 election, a \$9,823.07 shortage occurred in the City Treasury. "The Push" promptly blamed Worswick, but to no avail as Richard C. Wakefield noted in his *The Worswick Reformers* and "The Push."

"The Push," wrote Wakefield, "tried to use this as a spring board back to power. The officials representing the bonding companies for the city were used by Mackenzie [sic] in an effort to involve Worswick in the scandal. Mr. Lloyd of the American Bonding Company refused to pay the whole deficit and asked that the mayor make up part of the deficit by using money from the campaign committee. Worswick saw through this attempted "black mail" and immediately filed suit against the bonding companies for repayment of the stolen funds. This killed Mackenzie's [sic] attempt to regain control..."

Worswick's successor, Henry D. Mathews, was a comparative newcomer when he was elected to the Common Council as a Good Government League candidate at large in 1902. Four months before the end of his term as councilman, he was appointed City Treasurer, and in 1904 he was elected to that office. He stepped up again in 1906 when he was elected mayor.

There is little to identify Mathew's administration as a distinguished one. He, too, directed much of the cleanup work after the earthquake, and appears to have discharged his other duties in a creditable manner despite a redirection of the city's political power. His council, as Wakefield noted, was not entirely of the original Good Government League stripe.

Lawyer Charles W. Davison was well acquainted with San José politics when he succeeded to the mayorship on July 6, 1908. He had served several years as a municipal judge, beginning in 1902, and had kept a sharp eye on everything else that would interest a man of his responsibility. Sawyer lauded him for vigorously supporting such public improvement programs as street paving, broad gauging street railroads, and compelling their owners to establish a uniform transfer system.

Davison was a staunch Republican in national politics, but on the home front he took a more non-partisan stand. Yet his administration was not an indecisive one. In 1908 he refused to restore to duty several police officers who felt that they had been unjustly fired on false charges of corruption. J. N. Black, who subsequently became chief of police, was one of those officers, but he had no intention of taking their discharges meekly. He took their case all the way to the Supreme Court and, five years later, won reinstatement to duty with back pay.

Davison devoted most of his time to private law practice for a while after leaving the mayor's office, but ultimately moved up to a superior judgeship of Santa Clara County.

The next Mayor, Thomas Monahan, stood unique among the mayors of San José up to that time. He was a native of San José. Monahan attracted a "normal amount" of criticism, but most of it was partisan or reform rhetoric. Most old-timers remembered him for his keen wit and undying love for his home town. Long after his death, mere mention of him aroused fond memories of Lake Monahan, also known as Guadalupe Lake and Lake of the Guadalupe.

This lake was created in 1912 by damming the Guadalupe River a hundred yards or so north of its confluence with Los Gatos Creek. The water thus impounded backed up to the San Fernando Street bridges over both streams, permitting swimming and boating the entire distance. But the Guadalupe and Los Gatos could not be relied on for enough water to fill the lake in midsummer. So "the plug was pulled" in 1914.

More enduring than the lake, however, and of more use to the taxpayer, was the sixteen-page *Municipal Record*, a well illustrated, highly informative monthly magazine issued "under direction of the Mayor and Common Council." This magazine carried a list of all incumbent officials and commissioners, showing who was responsible for what. It also listed all mayors from Josiah Belden, to Monahan, devoted much space to the City Treasurer's monthly report, and thanked by name all donors of land and other valuable items to the City. Thomas Monahan wished everyone

to know he was grateful to the city's benefactors. Subscription, \$1.00 a year.

When Dr. Fred R. Husted, a dentist, took office as mayor on July 6, 1914, he became San José's last elected mayor for more than half a century. The City was still creaking along on the 1897 charter because the voters had rejected an urgently needed new charter at a special election on December 11, 1912.

Yet, a healthy number of municipal improvements took place during Husted's term, particularly the widening of streets in the newly annexed Gardner District and the diversion of Canoas Creek into the Guadalupe in 1914-15. The latter prevented the annual inundation of Cottage Grove and of the area bounded by the Guadalupe River, First, Alma, and Balbach Streets—often referred to as "Goose Town."

On February 15, 1915, a recently appointed board of fifteen freeholders signed and delivered a new charter to the City of San José. They requested that this charter be published as provided by law on February 17, two days later, and that it be submitted to a vote of the people on April 19, of the same year. The voters ratified it on April 19, the Legislature approved it on May 12, and it went into effect on July 1, 1916, a little more than a year later.

Under Article VI of the new charter, the Common Council became the City Council, and the city no longer had an elective, full authority mayor. But the council could choose a mayor from "among its own members" and thus be assured of a presiding officer. Article VIII was later amended to leave no room for a misunderstanding regarding the powers of the city manager and the council-chosen mayor. "The city manager," this article stated, "shall be recognized as the official head of the city and shall have and exercise all the rights, powers and duties devolving on the mayors of cities under the laws of the State of California which may be applicable to the City of San José, except as otherwise provided in this charter."

It was under the provisions of this charter that Thomas H. Reed, a widely known specialist in city government, replaced Mayor Fred R. Husted on July 1, 1916, as "official head" of the City of San José. Elmer Ellsworth Chase was chosen by his fellow

GOVERNMENT

councilmen as their first president, and later referred to himself as president. The mayor designation for the president of the council came long afterward.

City Manager Reed served only to July 11, 1918—barely long enough to adjust the governmental machinery to the new order. His progress report for his first five months of service, filed December 4, 1916, filled eight three-column pages of fine print. Its first page carried a table under the title of *Advantage of Centralized Purchasing in Quantities*. It covered everything from bath towels and bird seed to muriatic acid and toilet paper. This report revealed Reed as a meticulous and economical official.

Willard C. Bailey assumed the duties of city manager one day after Reed's resignation became effective. But after only twenty-six months of service, Bailey, too, resigned, leaving the office open for City Engineer Clarence B. Goodwin who would hold it for twenty-four years.

Goodwin was the most economy-minded man to hold San José's highest office since the day of Mayor Quinby. Yet, never forgetting that he served at the pleasure of the Council, he conformed to the Council's policies. His admirers praised him because they did not have to mortgage their homes at the tax collector's office. His critics—many of them conservative businessmen—disapproved his reluctance to allow enough money to maintain the City's indispensable services. And a perceptive number of them felt that he was a little too close to political boss Charlie Bigley.

Strong hints of this dissatisfaction appeared in the ballot's proposed amendments to be voted on at the 1940 election, but Goodwin remained in office another four years. Then, as Richard Nailen observed in his *Guardians of the Garden City* "... San José's simmering political stew finally came to a boil over the flames of the 40-year-old Garden City Pottery Company at 560 North 6th Street."

The inadequate personnel and equipment used in fighting this fire on May 11, 1944, thoroughly aroused Goodwin's critics and a majority of a newly-elected council. The investigation was swift. And before it ended, City Manager Goodwin, Fire Chief Charles Plummer, and Chief of Police J. N. Black

resigned on request. Goodwin resigned on May 22, and City Clerk John J. Lynch replaced him the same day.

Lynch, who was well acquainted with City Hall affairs, was not eager to take the office, and did so only with the understanding that he would fill it no more than two years. His leaving it on June 8, 1946, accordingly created far less interest than when he took office with such startling speed almost twenty-four months earlier.

Lynch's successor, O. W. Campbell, bore the nickname "Hump." He had come to San José highly recommended as a man well versed in the ways of municipal government. He quietly took his oath of office on June 10 and began to discharge his duties in an unobtrusive, businesslike way. Friends remembered him many years later as a man of great probity who would not accept gifts while he was in office.

For a while, it looked as if Campbell would stay in San José for a long time—perhaps establish a permanent home here. But on February 2, 1950, he resigned preparatory to departing for San Diego, where he could exercise his managerial talents in a larger field.

City Engineer Harold J. Flannery therefore became San José's temporary city manager until the City Council could find someone to take the office on a permanent basis. On March 5, Mayor Fred Watson announced that the council had "By a 4-3 vote... resolved to offer the position to A. P. "Dutch" Hamann, who has accepted." As a graduate of the University of Santa Clara and a former alumni director of that institution, Hamann was no stranger to San José and its way of doing things. He took the oath of office from City Clerk Dorothy Covill on March 27, 1950, the 100th anniversary of San José's incorporation, and immediately went to work.

If an official's greatness is determined by his impact on society, Hamann was greater than all of his predecessors—or at least more spectacular. He had hardly warmed the seat of his official chair when events and accomplishments began to multiply faster than his council could keep up with them. He never ran out of ideas for civic improvements or plans for

raising money to pay for whatever he had in mind.

As described in the chapter on growth, he saw San José's population skyrocket from about 95,000 to more than 400,000 in only two decades. He directed the community's geographical spread in all directions over the valley's floor and into the mountains on both sides—and annexed the incorporated city of Alviso along the way. He beamed on March 27, 1958, when the municipal government moved into the spacious new city hall on the site of the original pueblo.

Hamann did not always get what he went after. Though he had a noticeably cooperative council throughout his years in office, it was not unheard of for him to meet an insurmountable obstacle. In 1966, for example, he encountered two. His proposal to sell the City Hall and other holdings to the County and use the money to finance construction of a 15-story city hall downtown was killed at the polls. His effort to bring a Swift & Co. meat-packing plant to a location just north of town died a-borning. Publisher Joseph Ridder of the *Mercury* could not stomach the thought of having his beautiful new newspaper plant downwind from a slaughter house.

Another upset came in 1967 when the voters rejected five charter amendments intended to provide funds for library, police, fire, and other departmental improvements. But the sting from this loss failed to disturb Hamann's equanimity. He was still way ahead in the overall score. Also, Ronald R. James' becoming the city's first elective mayor since 1916 diverted much attention from anything else that happened in 1967.

Hamann had reason to remember 1968 for another bit of "sweet and sour." On January 7, Alviso voted to annex to San José, something he had long hoped for. That helped to mitigate his disgust on having to arrest 26 parking lot attendants for helping themselves to an estimated \$100,000-plus in parking revenues. The latter created a political storm, but he easily weathered it with the Council's confidence vote of 6 to 1 in his favor.

Hamann had won every popular biennial con-

fidence vote up to that time, and was looking forward to finishing several more important programs. But on February 5, he intimated for the first time that he had been thinking about retiring about the end of the year. He later set the time forward to mid-1969, but continued until November to finish a number of urgent projects.

Technically, December 1 was the date of his retirement, but his work was finished in November, the anniversarial month of civilization's arrival in the Santa Clara Valley. Whether Hamann had begun to tire or had sensed public uneasiness with his unceasing annexation of surrounding territory will always remain a question.

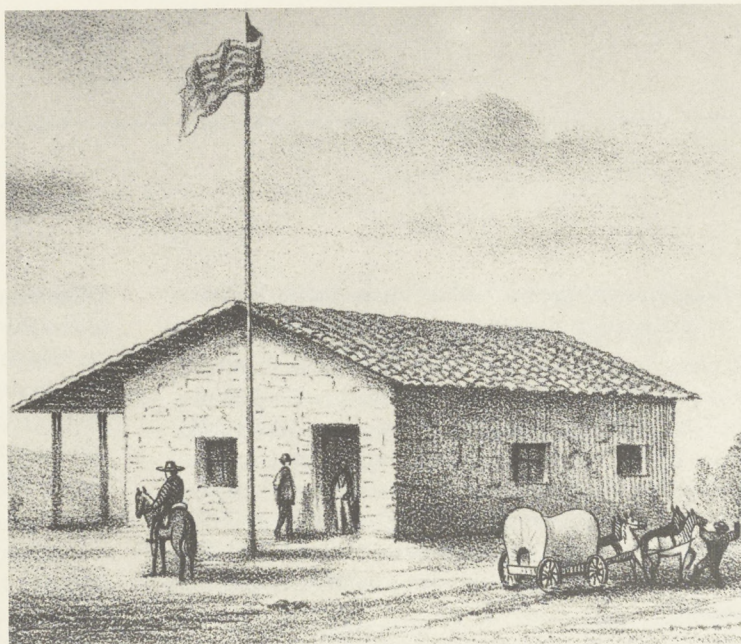
The same as many another man in public office, Hamann had acquired a host of friends and more than a few caustic critics. Most of the latter were in the street rumor class who, among other things, alluded to his real estate investments, which they supposed to have been enhanced by his foreknowledge of public improvements scheduled for undeveloped areas. Their lack of concrete proof, however, was not conducive to confidence in their statements.

Thus the Hamann era faded into the realm of tradition. Thomas Fletcher took over as city manager on December 15, and Ronald James continued as mayor.

But regardless of whether they called themselves council president or mayor, the following men kept the council control—or chain of command—intact from 1916 to 1967:

Elmer E. Chase, 1916	Dr. Earl Campbell, 1944
Charles M. O'Brien, 1918	Ernest E. Renzel, 1945
Albert C. Jayet, 1920	Albert Ruffo, 1946
M. E. Arnerich, 1922	Fred Watson, 1948
Joseph T. Brooks, 1924	Clark L. Bradley, 1950
Dan W. Gray, 1926	Parker Hathaway, 1952
Fred Doerr, 1928	George Starbird, 1954
W. L. Biebrach, 1930	Robert Doerr, 1956
A. M. Meyer, 1932	Louis Solari, 1958
Charles Bishop, 1934	Paul Moore, 1960
Richard French, 1936	Robert Welch, 1962
Clyde L. Fischer, 1938	Joseph L. Pace, M.D., 1964
Harry Young, 1940-1944	Ronald R. James, 1966

This drawing of San José's Juzgado of 1798 looks as if the artist had a peculiar sense of perspective. Yet it is the only pictorial likeness of the building that served as a town hall, courtroom, jail and school—and was then taken apart, brick by brick, moved to another location, and re-erected as a prominent business structure.



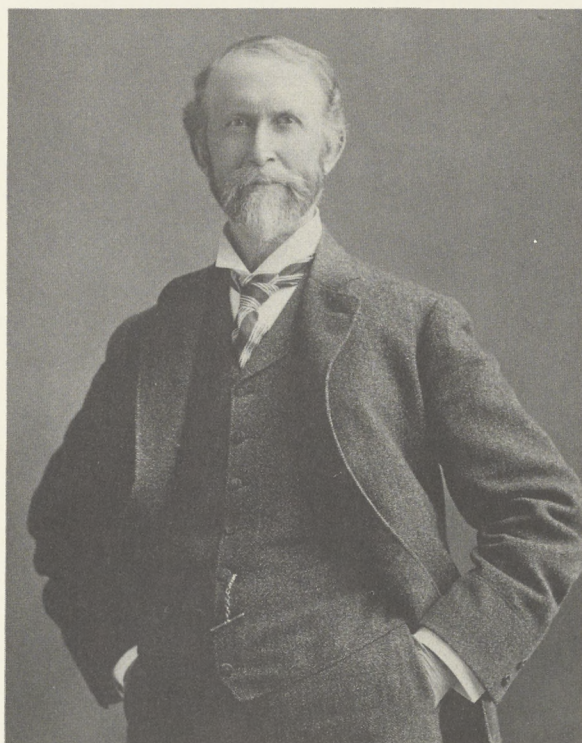
Antonio María Pico (1808 - 1869) Alcalde of San José in 1845, was the highest type of native Californian. He received the highest number of votes as an elector of Abraham Lincoln for this California district. And Lincoln appointed him as Registrar of the U.S. Land Office for the Southern District of California. Pico was also one of San José's seven delegates to California's First Constitutional Convention in 1849.

Harry Bee (1808 - 1898) was an English blacksmith who came by sea on the *Dryad* in 1830. He should have been called Harry "ubiquitous" Bee, for he seemed to be everywhere, serving in all kinds of missions for both the Mexican and American governments. Toward the close of his life, he moved to Pozo in San Luis Obispo County, and died there. The San José Pioneer did not publish his obituary until April, 1899.

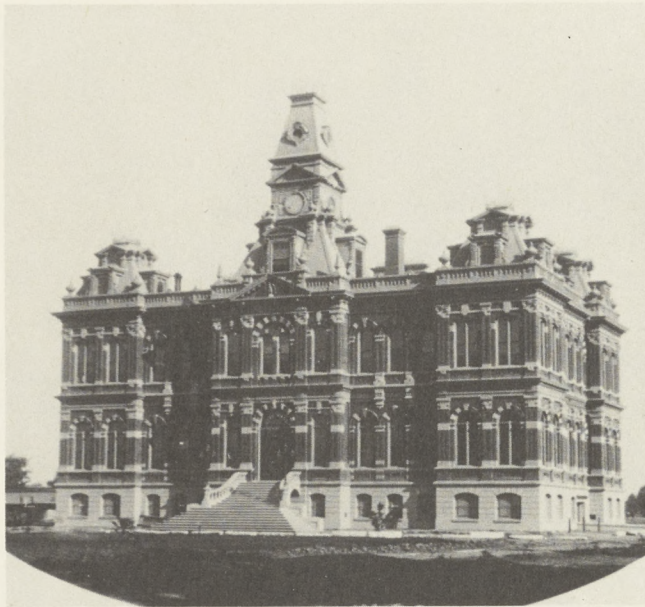




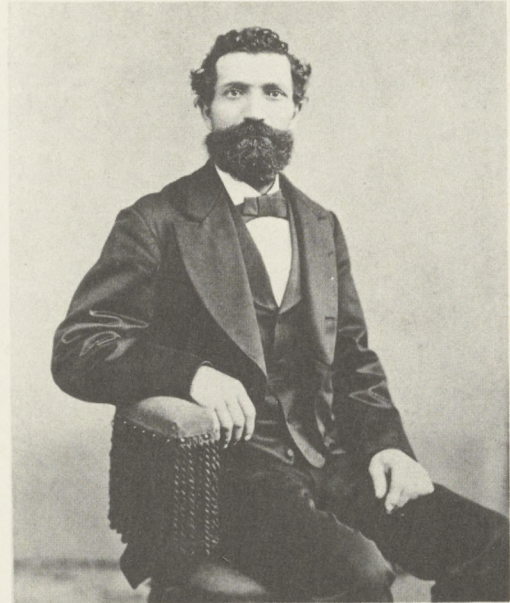
This photo shows the home of Robert F. Peckham at 615 East Santa Clara St. as it looked in 1947, not long before its razing. Peckham, formally known as Judge Robert Francis Peckham, came to California by sea from his native Rhode Island in 1846. Contemporaries described him as one of the wittiest and most versatile men ever to practice law in Santa Clara County. What he lacked in formal education, he made up in experience. Long before his death in 1896, his record showed him as a sailor, lumberjack, merchant, farmer, woolen mill president, and founder of a distinguished line of posterity—his grandson is the current federal judge, Robert F. Peckham.



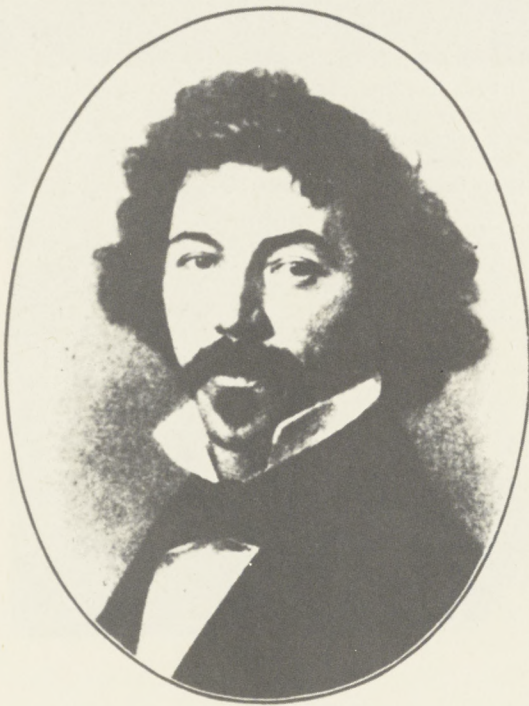
William Benjamin Hardy, San José's City Attorney in 1889, when the City's management of Oak Hill Cemetery was a topic of public interest. His research in the pueblo records revealed that burials had taken place there early as 1839, nine years before surveyor Chester S. Lyman and Captain William Fisher selected that area for a municipal cemetery—and 19 years before it appeared in the City records under the name Oak Hill.



This photo shows the 1887 City Hall as it looked in 1891, before the sidewalks were finished and the landscaping commenced.



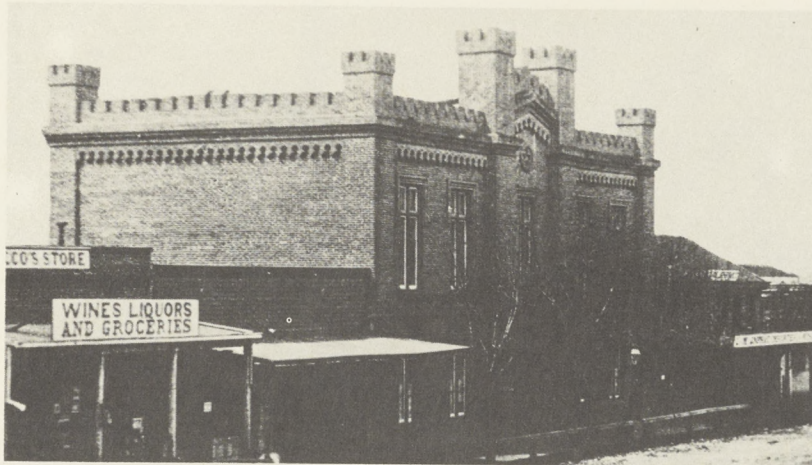
Proctor Wells, the contractor who built the 1887 City Hall, estimated the cost of construction would be \$139,482. Between the cornerstone laying on November 5, 1887, and the dedication ceremony on April 17, 1889, it was discovered that certain items had to be omitted if costs were to come within the bid. "Finishing work" continued at additional expense until well into 1891, which brought some criticism of the architect.



The birthdate of Captain Thomas Fallon (1824 - 1885) is somewhat hazy, but the *Great Register of Santa Clara County* categorically listed him as 42 years of age when he registered on July 26, 1866. He is best remembered in San José for raising the American flag here in 1846—and making it stay raised. He served as a captain of volunteers in the Mexican War, and as mayor of San José in 1859. During the last two decades of his life, the occupation column of the *Great Register* listed him as "Capitalist."



Isaac Branham, Kentuckian namesake of Branham Lane, came overland from Missouri to California in 1846. Though brought up on a wild frontier with very little schooling, his self-acquired knowledge ranged from mechanics and simple surveying to farming and parliamentary law. In 1848, he built the first operating sawmill in Santa Clara County at what later became Lexington. He generously donated time and money toward making San José the first capitol of the state of California in 1849. Branham always had time for civic projects, but he reserved his greatest love for his 281-acre farm on the north side of Branham Lane.



San José's 1855 City Hall was designed by Architect Levi Goodrich. This structure stood at what is now 35 North Market Street. A spacious hall on its upper floor accommodated public meetings, agricultural and horticultural exhibitions, and newly organized churches while they were erecting their own buildings elsewhere in town. Its use, however, diminished after construction of the 1887 City Hall in The Plaza, and it was serving as a firehouse when the 1906 earthquake damaged it beyond repair.



John McEnery introduces Eleanor Roosevelt at a Democratic Party gathering at the Hotel DeAnza Lobby. To the left of Mrs. Roosevelt is Robert F. Packham; to the right, John McEnery and Frank Mitchell. (circa 1940). (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



Ed Levin and "Sugar," his wife, are shown in mountaineering gear in 1950. Rugged Ed was the popular Santa Clara County Supervisor who accompanied Fr. Bernard Hubbard, S.J., the Glacier Priest, on many of his Alaska explorations prior to World War II. These men gathered valuable information about Alaska and were consultants to the military for their crucial information when the Japanese attacked the Aleutians. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



City Manager A. P. "Dutch" Hamman presents this good luck memento to Jay McCabe, Civic Auditorium Manager, and prominent San José citizen. This presentation in 1964 occurred during the dedication of McCabe Hall, named in honor of the popular Jay. *(photo courtesy of Dick Barrett)*



Assemblyman Al Alquist (center right) greets California Governor Pat Brown (center left) at the San José Airport on January 29, 1963. Brown arrived in a National Guard DC3 plane. (The two men on the extreme left and right are unidentified.) *(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)*



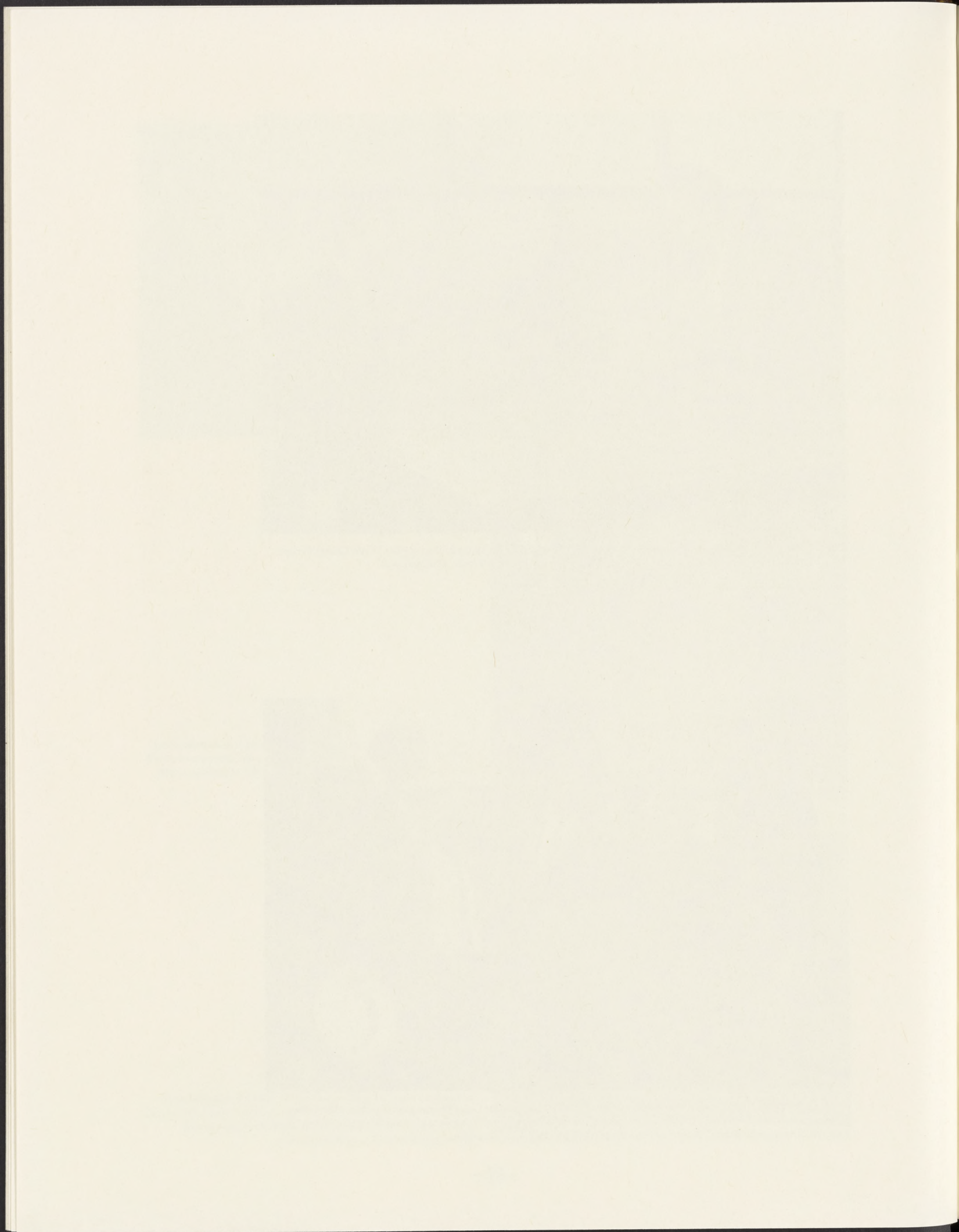
Vice President Richard Nixon campaigned for the Presidency at San José City Hall on November 5, 1960. At far left is Senator Clark Bradley and, next to Nixon, is Congressman Charlie Gubser. *(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)*



County Manager Howard Campen explains the location of the county buildings in the proposed Civic Center to then IBM Plant Manager Gavin Cullen, in this 1965 picture. *(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)*

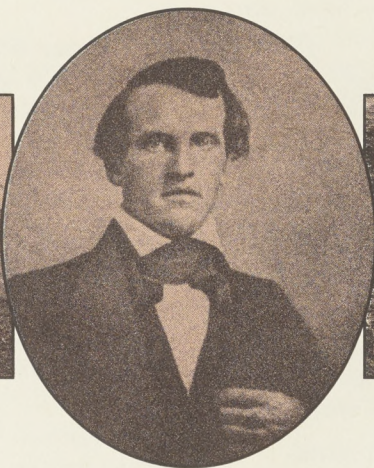
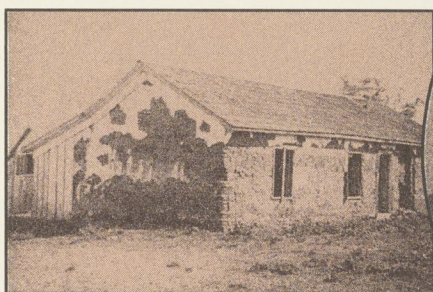


In 1962, the Hall of Justice was demolished to make way for a new Superior Court Building on Market and St. James Streets. Here Ralph Merkens, Superior Court Judge William James, County Supervisor Howard Weichert, Irving "Jiggs" Ryder, and Senator Herbert C. Jones examine the contents of the cornerstone box.



3

GROWTH



CHRONICLE



San José, as founded in 1777, was a microscopic cell compared with the modern city. Even with 55,891 acres of outlying pueblo-owned lands, confirmed by a Spanish viceroy and an American president, the pueblo could not equal the area now within the city's corporate limits.

El Pueblo Viejo stretched along the east bank of the Guadalupe between the present Hobson and West Hedding Streets, with its easternmost point about 400 yards from the river. El Pueblo Nuevo embraced a similarly-sized area a mile and a quarter to the south and farther back from the river.

The old town slowly melted away after its abandonment in 1797, leaving only the *suertes* in use. The boundaries of the new town remained practically unchanged until the American influx of the latter 1840's. Then came an entirely new concept of land appropriation and ownership.

The American, with his alien ideas of real estate values had to know the exact sizes of each of his holdings—urban or rural. The loosely-drawn Hispanic *diseño* would not do for him. Every parcel of his ground must be surveyed, laid off, and delineated in degrees, chains and links—or, if preferred, in acres, feet and inches. Then it must be legally recorded according to the meticulous description thus obtained. All real property transactions would henceforth conform to these requirements.

To the *Californio*, such precision seemed useless. It hardly made sense in a country where land was literally dirt cheap—where a man could obtain anything from a house lot to a spread of almost 50,000 acres simply by petitioning the government for it. And if he did not like what he got, he could abandon it and take something else.

This wonderful era ended for California in general when Commodore Sloat raised the Stars and Stripes in Monterey in 1846. It ended for San José in particular on April 20, 1847, when Alcalde Burton contracted with William Campbell to survey 70 "Blocks of ground, two hundred yards in length and 100 yards in breadth." Besides marking the corners of each block with "good substantial redwood stakes drove deep," Campbell agreed to furnish a plat of the

town "to the Juzgado." His pay was to be \$1.50 for each lot surveyed.

Campbell's brother Thomas aided him in this survey. As they went about their work, their transit elicited much curiosity from the native townsfolk who could not understand why the compass needle pointed only to the North. More than a few of the natives supposed it to be just another diabolical Yankee invention.

But seeing men at work with such instruments soon became commonplace. A second survey that year was of wider scope. It came in July and August, when an increasing number of American settlers anticipated a sharp rise in land values as soon as a formal treaty ended the war with Mexico. They hit upon the idea of subdividing unoccupied pueblo lands into 500-acre lots, to be sold on a drawing basis to local family heads.

James D. Hutton did the surveying, matching each numbered lot on his map with a similarly numbered slip of paper. The slips of paper were then dropped into a hat for a drawing. The family head who drew No. 1 got first choice of the lots. The man who drew No. 2 got second choice, and so to the end of the drawing.

This transaction, however, had its drawbacks, the chief of which was the townsfolk's discovery that Hutton was not the world's champion surveyor. Many a family head paid for a 500-acre lot only to find it a hundred or more acres short of its advertised area.

Hutton had "run some of his lines with a variation of eight degrees or nine degrees, or 40 rods in a mile." As a result, Captain William Fisher, who had bought four lots, thought he had 2,000 acres when he actually possessed only 1,275. Land speculator Joseph L. Ruckel came off no better with Lots 30 and 53. No. 30 contained only 197.7 acres; No. 53, a bare 206 instead of 564 as represented by Hutton. Hiram Grimes felt swindled with just 365 acres in his Lot No. 2, whose drawing number had given him next to first choice of all lands thus conveyed. "Uncle Ike" Branham came out with an even 300 acres, and Josiah Belden's lot fell "short like all the rest."

According to San José's first competent surveyor, the recently-arrived Chester Smith Lyman, these lots "were wretchedly surveyed and as wretchedly mapped..."

Hutton, however, did not wait for this professional opinion of his work. He left San José soon after the drawing—presumably "between two suns." When angry lot purchasers demanded that he come back from Los Angeles to stand trial for fraud and swindling, he showed no inclination to do so.

Seemingly, the whole 500-acre lot idea was ill-starred from the start. Military Governor Richard B. Mason questioned its legality, and the Supreme Court ultimately declared invalid the resultant "Five Hundred-Acre Titles." Yet to this day, lawyers and title searchers still use Hutton's map for describing and locating smaller parcels of land within its "wretchedly surveyed" boundaries.

Lyman, on the other hand, was an expert in surveying and a man of many other talents. Born in Manchester, Connecticut, in 1813, he early displayed great ingenuity in literature, mathematics, astronomy and science in general. Long before graduating from Yale in 1837, he had built telescopes and other astronomical apparatus. During his junior year, he was a founder of the *Yale Literary Magazine*. Later, he became a founder of Yale Observatory, of which he remained a director until his death in 1890. He also studied theology at Union and Yale Seminaries, and held a successful Congregational pastorate until a throat ailment compelled him to travel for his health. It was in quest of improved health that he sailed late in 1845 for the Hawaiian Islands, and from there to San Francisco in 1847.

Lyman first visited San José on July 23, 1847, while on his way from San Francisco to Monterey with U.S. Consul Thomas O. Larkin. Nothing in the town's physical aspects inspired him to hyperbole, but he saw possibilities. "The Pueblo," he wrote, "consists of a few miserable houses with one or two exceptions, tho' it is a place which must grow in consequence of its location and its fine land."

Nineteen days later, on his return journey, Lyman came through San José again. He reached San Fran-

cisco on August 12, remaining there several days, half-deciding to join Jasper O'Farrell in a surveying project at San Rafael. Before he could make up his mind, however, he "fell in" with Captain William Fisher, former seafaring man who owned the four-league Rancho Laguna Seca 12 miles south of San José. When Lyman agreed to survey this rancho, San José became his headquarters until he departed for New Haven, Connecticut, on February 23, 1850. He left this town of "a few miserable houses" to embark upon a long distinguished career as a teacher at Yale.

Rancho Laguna Seca may have been Lyman's reason for coming to the Santa Clara Valley, but it was not his most important survey here. Before the year ended, he made a map of the Pueblo for former Alcalde James Stokes, surveyed a private tract for the same gentleman, and resurveyed a large number of the Five-Hundred-Acre Lots. On October 21 he contracted to survey Commodore Robert F. Stockton's Rancho Potrero de Santa Clara, which included all the land north and east of The Alameda and west of the Guadalupe to a line about a quarter of a mile north of the present Brokaw Road.

Except for two profitable trips to the gold country—one for mining and the other for vending provisions—Lyman lost little time from his profession in 1848. The following May, he completed his official *Map of the Pueblo de San José*, "squared up" and expanded Campbell's survey of Washington Square, laid off St. James Square, and joined Captain Fisher in selecting the burial ground now known as Oak Hill Memorial Park.

Excluding three short deviations, Lyman's map of San José bounded the town by Julian, Eleventh, Reed and Market Streets, and his range, block and lot numbers are still in use. All of his street names except Main, which became Fifth in 1913, have likewise remained unchanged. And as part payment for this work, he received four lots worth \$53, which he sold for \$1,200 the following year.

Lyman always kept a good backlog of Five Hundred-Acre Lots and other modest tracts to occupy his attention between big projects. In April 1849, he surveyed the burial ground that he and Captain Fisher had selected the previous May, dividing it into three

areas totaling 25 1/4 acres. That summer he undertook to lay off the townsite of Alviso for its promoters Jacob D. Hoppe, Charles H. Marvin, Kimball H. Dimmick and Robert B. Neligh. He drove his first stake there on December 3, but owing to many interruptions, did not finish the last lots until December 7.

While busy there on December 2, he witnessed the arrival of "the first steamboat on this route," the *Sacramento*, a vessel that fascinated him though it was only an old scow with an engine in it. He noted its comings and goings more than those of any other craft on the run—even to mentioning the moments of its passing "the mouth of the creek (Guadalupe River)."

On February 16, 1850, Lyman "Rode to Alviso with Governor Burnett to measure some lots" that Burnett had acquired through purchase of Marvin's interest in the Alviso town project. When the two returned to San José after dark that evening, Lyman had measured his last foot of California terrain. Three days later, he finished his last map of it.

Lyman boarded the *Oregon* at San Francisco on March 1, 1850, bound for home via Panamá. He had recovered his health, established a Pacific Coast reputation for professional excellence, and made a gratifying profit in selling his occasionally acquired town lots. In San José, his kindly patience and generosity in helping "down-and-out miners" brought for him the appellation of Good Samaritan.

Other high quality civil engineers had begun to arrive in San José before Lyman's departure, Sherman Day and Norman S. Bestor among them.

Day, son of a Yale University president, became U.S. Surveyor General for California. Besides leaving his name on land grant patent maps and a high peak in the Diablo Range, he served as superintendent of the New Almadén Mine. He also served in the State Legislature and as a charter trustee of the University of California. As San José began to spread out in 1850, he reworked Lyman's survey of Rancho Potrero de Santa Clara, subdividing it into many smaller parcels.

On Day's map of this rancho, three streets bear metallic names—Gold, Silver and Cinnabar. Gold is now Hedding, Silver is Polhemus, and Cinnabar has remained unchanged. Three other streets were named after seasons of the year—Spring, Summer and Autumn. Summer did not get off paper, but Spring and Autumn are still important thoroughfares.

Bestor was not so well-known as Day. He came West in 1846 via New México and Arizona as assistant to Lieutenant William H. Emory of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, and probably learned of San José on meeting Lyman in Monterey in 1847.

In 1849 Bestor surveyed James F. Reed's San José homeplace, which covered most of the area south of Reed Street between First Street and Coyote Creek, with fair-sized spillovers along Eleventh and Keyes Streets. His map of this survey took in the whole town and bore the title, *Plan of the Pueblo de San José*. It supplied the best available evidence of the community's physical growth during the period involved. Besides showing nascent subdivisions between Eleventh Street and the Coyote, it listed most of the property owners in the already well-settled Plaza area. In a way, it anticipated the previously mentioned Official White Survey of 1850, which perfected and fixed the City's corporate limits for more than 60 years.

All but one of the east-and-west streets on Bestor's map of Reed's land were named after members of the Reed family, including inlaws. The exception was named after Bestor himself.

Two exceptions occurred among the north-and-south, or numbered streets. Bestor, as did Lyman, gave the name "Main" to Fifth Street. The other exception was Charley Street, extending from Virginia to Martha Street between Seventh and Eighth.

Charley Street probably got its name from Reed's infant son, Charles Cadden Reed. White's map showed it, unnamed, in 1850, but rising real estate values and closer subdivision in later years apparently prevented its getting off paper. No sign of it appeared on James A. Clayton's meticulous 1886 subdivisional *Map of the City of San José*. Charley's immortality had to

depend on something more than a short-lived thoroughfare.

Bestor faded from San José history soon after completing his survey for Reed, but persistent litigation kept the street named after him in the news until 1931. As originally laid out, Bestor Street extended unbrokenly from First Street to the flood plain of Coyote Creek. It may have continued that way if the City had prevented industrial plants and private dwellings from encroaching upon its right of way. It now consists of three small disconnected sections totaling not more than five blocks in length.

Although Campbell and Hutton ran the first lines over San José's pueblo ground, the accurate work of Lyman, Day, Bestor, and White made possible all reliable surveys thereafter.

Colonel Laander Ranson came through in 1851, surveying the Mt. Diablo Meridian on which the Meridian Road was laid out in 1852. William J. Lewis, working on an independent basis, surveyed for both City and County until each got its own elective office of surveyor. In 1853, when he officially became County Surveyor, Lewis was already known for laying out the route of the Pacific & Atlantic Railroad, later called the San Francisco & San José Railroad, and still later, the Southern Pacific.

The 1860's brought a trio of highly trained civil engineers from Germany—John Henry Pieper, Adolph Theodore Herrmann and Charles Frederick William Herrmann—all natives of Hanover.

Pieper, former lieutenant of engineers in the German army came to the United States in 1852, was naturalized in 1857 and helped to lay out New York City's famed Central Park. He became City Engineer of San José almost immediately after settling here in 1867, which office he held until his death in 1888. He is best remembered today for his persuading the Common Council to build a sewer system large enough for a city of 100,000 inhabitants at a time when San José had a population of not more than 12,000.

Adolph Herrmann, who left Germany in 1859, came to San Francisco via the Hawaiian Islands in 1860. Following a brief return to the islands for his health, he came back to California in 1865, settling in

San José, where he received his naturalization papers in 1867. In the course of his distinguished career, he served as Deputy United States Surveyor General and Santa Clara County Surveyor, being elected to the latter office in 1871. In partnership with his brother Charles, he made the first complete map of Santa Clara County, fixed the county's boundaries, and laid out many of the county's principal roads, including the one to Mt. Hamilton.

Charles Herrmann, seven years younger than Adolph, was a mechanical as well as civil engineer. He arrived here in 1869, worked a short time at surveying with Adolph, and then moved to Sacramento to follow his original bent of mechanical engineering, where he became an American citizen in 1872. Soon afterward, he returned to San José to join Adolph in the County Surveyor's Office, forming a lifelong partnership under the firm name of Herrmann Bros.

Prior to the arrival of Messrs. Pieper and Herrmann, San José had elected only one city engineer, Charles T. Healey, in 1862. His service was limited to one term, for the public evidently considered it less expensive to employ a surveyor for a specific job than to keep one permanently on the payroll.

One of the biggest street assignments on the comparatively untouched west side of town went to County Surveyor Ansel D. Fuller on May 28, 1864. A resolution passed by the Common Council on that date instructed him to lay out, straighten out, or otherwise lengthen and improve all the streets now known as Park Avenue, West San Fernando, San Pedro, West San Carlos, Almadén, Vine, River, Santa Teresa, Locust, Willow, West St. James, and West Julian.

On the same date that the Council approved Fuller's survey of this area, it also received a petition from Clement Colombet "and others" requesting the opening of El Dorado (now Post), San Fernando and San Pedro Streets. The petitioners, who owned the land that these streets would traverse, signified their willingness to pay all property assessments therefor.

Few of these streets opened immediately on completion of their surveys, particularly those run-

ning north and south. On March 4, 1870, the *San José Mercury* complained that no street entered Santa Clara Street from the south between Market Street and the Guadalupe—"almost half a mile." Yet San Fernando and El Dorado Streets had carried traffic since 1867.

Meanwhile, earlier streets had begun to disappear. One—*Mill*—ran diagonally from the corner of San Pedro and Santa Clara Streets to Antonio Suñol's grist mill, alongside the Guadalupe at what later became 81 South River Street. Another—*Water*—appeared on Bestor's Map as a predecessor of Auzerai Avenue.

By the mid-1880's, little land remained to be subdivided within White's 1850 boundaries. Four great tracts, including Lyman's Survey, dominated the territory between First Street and Coyote Creek. A profusion of noticeably small additions spread northward from the present Alma Street to Hobson, practically filling the space between First Street and the Guadalupe. The lands west of the Guadalupe, Canoas and Los Gatos watercourses were similarly cut up, with four tracts already straddling the western city limits line. Two of them—the Delmas and Suñol additions had begun to obliterate an ancient slough that once poured Los Gatos Creek water into the Guadalupe about half a block south of what is now San Fernando Street.

Most of these early surveys, additions and tracts were named after owners of the lands on which they were laid out. Thus such names as Lick, Goodyear, Edwards, Mace, Driscoll, Ceseña, Balbach, Veuve, Noriega, Peralta, Pellier, Ryland and Clayton were fixed to the City's subdivisional maps.

Such vigorous internal growth inevitably brought subdivisional straddling along San José's boundary lines. Yet, as a political entity, the city did not expand its first corporate limits for 61 years. The first concerted move in that direction came on April 13, 1910, when 21 residents of the Gardner District met for that purpose in the home of George Lindblom at 519 West San Carlos Street. At their next meeting on April 19, they added the word "Annexation" to their club's title, making it Gardner Annexation Booster's Club.

These meetings continued for ten months before all requirements for annexation were fulfilled. Meanwhile, an adjoining precinct known as Grandallville joined the Gardner movement, and the two worked inseparably as one organization for annexation. When they went to the polls on February 28, 1911, annexation won out, with Gardner carrying the day. Gardner residents voted 148 for annexation and 85 against. Grandallville polled 86 for and 111 against.

The second knock upon San José's annexation door came from East San José, an incorporated town on the right bank of Coyote Creek. A. T. Herrmann laid out this community in May and June, 1869 as a subdivision for Samuel A. Bishop's East San José Homestead Association. Newspaper ads glowingly described its desirability as a residential tract for a good three months before its official map was recorded on February 17, 1870. In 1876 Thompson & West's *Historical Atlas of Santa Clara County* credited it with 250 inhabitants and "an excellent school." The *Great Register of Santa Clara County* listed its voting residents as domiciled in East San José Precinct.

As time passed, other subdivisions attached themselves to East San José—Beach's Addition and Lendrum Tract among them. A thin line of business buildings soon stretched eastward from the Coyote along the south side of Alum Rock Avenue. In 1897 Dr. Lewis J. Belknap founded the Garden City Sanitarium on land later occupied by Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School.¹ By 1905 the inevitable problems of urban growth demanded more immediate corporate solution than that offered by the County Board of Supervisors. The result was a general laws incorporation of the Town of East San José on July 20, 1906.

East San José's trustees were personally conservative, but their government was noticeably progressive for its day. Town Ordinance No. 4, for example,

¹This institution went through a series of name changes—East San José Hospital, East Columbia Hospital, and Columbia Hospital.

GROWTH

anticipated the ecology wave of the 1960's in title as well as provision:

An Ordinance Protecting Shade and Ornamental Trees Situated upon the Highways within the Town of East San José, and Prohibiting the Placing of Notices of any kind upon Trees, Bridges or Other Town Property upon the Public Highways of the Town of East San José.

Ordinance No. 10 prohibited erection of billboards. Besides enforcing removal of "weeds, grass and poison oak" from sidewalks, vacant lots and other properties, No. 26 insured the proper trimming of trees and hedges. Nos. 24 and 29, however, won no support among "professional" defenders of personal liberty. No. 24 provided police regulation of places of "indecent or immoral character," while 29 prohibited any individual or organizations' owning, possessing, selling, distributing, or even giving away liquor anywhere in town. (With T. M. Wright, the state's most ardent "dry" on the Town Board, No. 29 could have done nothing else.)

Though never possessed of an abundance of facilities, East San José got along quite well for several years. In 1907, thanks to the generosity of Andrew Carnegie, it got its own \$6,893.71 public library at the corner of Adams Street (now 23rd Street) and Alum Rock Avenue. Its volunteer fire department, consisting mainly of a hose reel and willing hands, occupied the little frame Town Hall on Adams Street near the library. T. M. Wright succeeded Frank Moon as Mayor, and no political upheaval upset the municipal government. On March 15, 1911, the *Mercury* reported the Town's plans for "intensive street work."

Yet before the year was out, an overwhelming majority of the town's inhabitants felt that they could do better by annexing to the City of San José. After a spirited campaign featuring all the standard arguments, pro and con, they went to the polls on November 2. They voted 1,423 for annexation; 255 against.

Next morning, the rejoicing *Mercury* informed the public that San José had gained 2,000 inhabitants and more than half a million dollars in property. The

property figure was an understatement. In 1876, East San José's land and other property were valued at \$10,991,651 by Thompson and West *Historical Atlas of Santa Clara County*.

When this annexation became effective on December 1, Santa Clara County's ninth incorporated community relinquished its original identity. It also surrendered most of its patriotically inspired street names when San José changed the names of all north-and-south streets east of 11th in 1913. East San José's former Hancock, Clay, Webster, Jones, Monroe and Adams Streets thus became 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd. McLaughlin Avenue became 24th Street, at least from McKee Road to William Street, East of McLaughlin Avenue and outside the original survey, Breyfogle, Hale, Fairbrother and Wooster Avenues became 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th Streets.

Of the first east-and-west streets inside the original survey, only Calhoun remained untouched. The old northern boundary, Alum Rock Avenue, changed to East Santa Clara Street, Jefferson Street became San Fernando; Franklin, San Antonio.

Two much later streets within the original survey, Shortridge and Whitton Avenues, are still identified by those names. Another, Lendrum Avenue, was really an eastward continuation of Franklin Street. It, too, lost its identity in San Antonio Street. These post annexation losses, however, meant little to certain old-timers who then found it much easier to get a drink.

San José's next annexation was of an entirely different nature and for a much different purpose. It had the distinction of being the City's first strip annexation. Local merchants and manufacturers had longed for inexpensive water transportation ever since completion of the San Francisco & San José Railroad in 1864 eliminated Alviso as San José's port of entry. Time and again, they suggested a San José-owned port in or near Alviso. In January, 1872, the *Mercury* advocated a port railroad connecting San José with Alviso. Publisher J. J. Owen reported that the Alviso Railroad was much desired by residents along its proposed line, and was supposed to "commence operations the coming spring." In May, 1891,

William P. Dougherty availed himself of the columns of the same paper to stress the need for such a railroad. In the late 1890's, U.S. Government dredgers began to deepen the Guadalupe's channel in anticipation of further activity. Yet until organization of the San José Deep Water Port Association and the City of San José's entry into the project, no one turned a shovelful of earth.

Port San José enthusiasm probably reached its peak in 1912. On March 13 of that year, the *Mercury* carried an illustrated story of grading crews at work on the San José Terminal Railroad, intended to connect San José with Port San José. This railroad, the paper predicted, "will bring Western Pacific and Santa Fe freight to our city... It will bring millions of visitors to us every year."

The Common Council of San José, equally optimistic, set a precedent on November 30 by annexing a 100-foot wide strip along the east side of the Alviso Road (North First Street) from San José's northern city limits to Alviso.

This annexation, which included wharf space at the mouth of Guadalupe River, had the distinction of being San José's first *strip* annexation. It pioneered a type of expansion that became commonplace 40 years later.

The 1912 burst of activity was followed by another "rest." Port proponents suspected the Southern Pacific Railroad of behind-the-scenes opposition, and Santa Clara's attitude toward the project indicated little support from that direction. The most hopeful event of the next two decades occurred about 1930, when the Army Engineers approved what was advertised as the "\$2,200,000 Port San José Project." At this time, Arno Bachrodt, A. L. Buhot, Fred L. Fehren, E. A. Hayes, Wilbur F. Henning, Arnold Jamison, George F. Patterson and Bert P. Ward composed the port association's board of directors. Henning was president; Jamison, secretary. All were competent businessmen who knew how to "get things done."

Still, no freighters tied up at San José's hoped-for docks, and the Terminal Railroad had yet to buy rails and rolling stock. Following the depression of the 1930's and subsequent World War II, talk of Port

San José had pretty well drifted into past tense. As the Deep Water Port Association faded from memory, death took its most faithful booster, Wilbur F. Henning.

Though far ahead of his time, Henning did not foresee the post World War II influx that doubled San José's population between 1960 and 1969. He did not foresee the growth that pushed the city's boundaries for miles in every direction across the valley floor and into the hills on both sides. Neither did he envision Alviso's voting on January 7, 1968, to annex to San José. But he would have recognized the port opportunity thereby offered as a partial fulfillment of his fondest dream.

San José's first three annexations, made within a space of 20 months, included one of every type that formed the pattern of all later additions—neighboring district, incorporated community, and strip. But almost ten years slipped by before the City again used any of them. On October 16, 1922, Palm Haven officially came into the City, followed by Stockton (Avenue) and White Street Districts in 1924. Between August, 1924, and the end of January, 1942, eight more followed, most important of which were the combined College Park (Hester)-Suñol-Burbank residential areas and the City of Willow Glen.

As an identifiably named area, Willow Glen (also called The Willows) dated back to establishment of its school district on November 4, 1863. Six years later, the *Mercury* described it as an area of "Hundreds of acres once formerly covered with dwarf trees and underbrush, and now reclaimed..." Willow Glen Cottage, a roadside restaurant, begot much notice and free publicity from Editor Owen of the *Mercury* in 1876. On July 22 he wrote, "The Willow Glen Cottage has come to be a place of popular Sunday resort. A capital lunch will be served up today with copious libations of Boca Beer."²

²Boca Beer came from Boca, Nevada County, a small community northeast of Truckee that took great pride in the product of its brewery. When the brewery burned down some time later, the townsfolk suspected San José's Fredericksburg Brewery of sending arson-minded agents to Boca to remove a competitor.

GROWTH

In 1891 the *Mercury* reported that Willow Glen residents were discussing incorporation. They had added a church and nucleus of a business district to their long-established school facilities. Beautiful trees lined El Abra, now called Lincoln Avenue; Victorian mansions in spacious yards looked streetward. The Kensington Post Office, founded at Minnesota and Cherry Avenues in 1893, would change its name to *Willowglen* in 1895.

Though its mail service was diverted to San José in 1900, the Willow Glen area retained its "arboreal identity" by one designation or another for years afterward. In 1905, the *Mercury's* correspondent in *West Willows* reported happenings along Lincoln Avenue and Meridian Road in the vicinity of Fruitdale and Moorpark Avenues.

The subject of Willow Glen's incorporation, however, remained dormant until 1925, when the San José City Council ordered the Southern Pacific Railroad's tracks off Fourth Street. The railroad accordingly planned a \$4,500,000 "West Side" relocation that would have bisected Willow Glen from Coe Avenue to Almadén Road, a project that met immediate resistance. Otherwise passive residents of the area involved, including those of San José's exclusive Palm Haven, became vociferous. No one wished "a mile-long freight train going through his bedroom."

On September 8, 1927, Willow Glen incorporated by a vote of 686 to 364 for the specific purpose of "keeping the S. P. out." With its own mayor, city council and all other appurtenances of an up-to-date city, it had no intention of accepting anything that had caused a traffic headache in San José.

When the railroad, testing the incorporation's validity, ran its right-of-way across a remote corner of Willow Glen, the new city took the matter to the U.S. Supreme Court. The case and practically everything appertaining to it threatened to bog down in legalities. But eventually two right angle turns, about six blocks apart, went into a line that should have been straight from West San Carlos Street to the San Juan Bautista Hills. It was the only practicable way of avoiding Palm Haven and getting trains around Willow Glen.

Once Willow Glen's citizens were sure they had vanquished the railroad, they held another election, and on September 4, 1936, voted 978 to 871 to annex to San José. On October 1 San José formally acquired another full-fledged municipal corporation and its appurtenances.

Until March 29, 1946, when Rosemary Gardens Unit No. 1 became the City's fifteenth acquisition, San José boasted no intensive annexation program. But a marked change took place during the next four years. South Willow Glen No. 6 brought the total to 42 on March 17, 1950, and ten days later, when Anthony P. "Dutch" Hamann took office as City Manager, the flood gates opened.

Hamann's pro-annexation policy accounted for only nine additions during his first year in office bringing the total to 51 before picking up momentum. Random checks thereafter indicate a total of 222 in February, 1957, and 1,150 by May, 1966. Up to the afternoon of Hamann's retirement party in November, 1969, San José had annexed 1,419 outlying areas. His administration had accounted for 1,377 of them with an average of 72-plus a year.

This rapid accretion of neighboring territory not only posed problems at home, but also caused apprehension abroad. City boundaries changed so fast that police and firemen had difficulty in determining whether they were responding to calls from inside or outside the city limits. Police soon found themselves patrolling unbroken stretches of city between such widely separated points as Alviso and Madrone, Alum Rock Park and Cupertino. Annexation of vast acreages of timbered mountainsides compelled firemen to master the technique of controlling forest fires, a practice termed Wild Land Fire Fighting Techniques. The City also had to contract with the State Forestry Department to supply fire protection in areas inaccessible to City equipment.

Until construction of firehouses in such remote areas, San José firemen often responded to calls originating more than 20 miles from their central station. They also pondered jurisdictional lines that remained exasperatingly vague even after the City's legal acceptance of a parcel of new territory. To solve the latter problem, the County and several of its

contiguous cities, including San José, negotiated mutual aid contracts for fighting fires along their uncertain boundaries.

City Manager Hamann's ambitious annexation problem soon brought a byproduct. Nearby unincorporated communities allegedly envisioned losing their long established identities if San José's neighborhood and tentacle-like strip acquisitions continued unchecked. Incorporation, they felt, was the only way to protect themselves—not only from San José, but also from any other city that might covet additional territory.

Of course, certain of these communities could have taken a leaf from San José's book and developed a few ambitions of their own. In any event, Campbell led the way, incorporating on March 28, 1952. Milpitas followed on January 26, 1954, and Cupertino on October 10, 1955. Saratoga waited until October 22, 1956, thus completing the list of those communities in direct range of San José's thrust.³

San José's early use of energetic annexation proved a distinct advantage over slower starters. In slipping itself between Santa Clara and Campbell, Los Gatos and Campbell, and Cupertino and Saratoga, the former pueblo gained control of great spreads of west side territory. Its 1912 Port San José acquisition had long since put itself between Santa Clara and tidewater, a position later expanded and solidified. And save for Milpitas on the north, it soon sewed up the east side of the valley all the way to Madrone.

As industrial areas and business blocks erased old landmarks, more and more old-time San Joséans complained of getting turned around by day and lost by night. Residential subdivisions replaced beautiful

orchards with amazing speed; quaint rural roads widened into freeways, expressways and boulevards lined with restaurants and automobile salesrooms. Everywhere the puzzled native looked, some kind of civic magic had taken place. His home town had surpassed San Francisco in geographical area and overtaken Sacramento and Oakland in population.

Population

For the first 173 years, San José's population growth was neither hurried nor steady. As indicated elsewhere, it began with 66 persons in 1777 and increased to only 68 by the spring of 1778. The annual *padrón* (census) showed the number of inhabitants fluctuating 20 to 33 percent while generally climbing to a total of 171 by 1800. Between 1794 and 1796, for example, it climbed to 208; by 1798 it had slipped back to 152.

The first decade of the 19th Century found San José in the previously mentioned "uneasy position" occasioned by monarchical troubles in Spain, political friction in México, and foreign ships in the Pacific. This situation, complicated by Indian hostilities and an inordinate number of presidial enlistments closer to home, dropped the town's population from 175 to 125. During the second decade, however, the figures took a sharp upswing that probably stemmed more from the birth of children than from anything else. Contemporary records show no noteworthy influx of adult colonists of any category.

What appears to have been the greatest growth to that date—240 to 540—came between 1820 and 1830, after the pueblo had passed from Spanish to Mexican rule. But these figures, and subsequently published higher ones, must be examined skeptically; they probably include persons living on surrounding ranchos as well as in the pueblo. The *padrón* of 1831 listed only 524 inhabitants in the pueblo, including children of both sexes.

Also, if there were 80 to 100 houses in the pueblo at this time, as asserted by one or two sources, the modern researcher could justifiably wonder what became of half of them. A map made in the mid-1840's shows just 51 structures in the whole town, including the Juzgado and St. Joseph's Church.

³Far to the north, and out of reach of San José, two other communities cast wary glances at Palo Alto, which had been pushing southward. Los Altos accordingly incorporated on December 1, 1952; and Los Altos Hills, wishing to perpetuate its sylvan environment, followed suit on January 27, 1956. Residential Monte Sereno, between Saratoga and Los Gatos, resorted to incorporation on May 14, 1957, to avoid the noise, dirt and other blessings of big city life.

GROWTH

The 1841 *padrón* credited San José with 214 men, 248 women, and 473 children. This was probably an accurate compilation in itself, but inclusion of *rancheros* from outlying areas left it wanting regarding the exact number of bona fide San Joséans. Sharp-eyed Kentucky journalist Edwin Bryant, who visited San José in 1846, perhaps came closer to the correct figure. "The Pueblo de San José," he wrote, "is a village of some six or eight hundred inhabitants."

Restricting the 1841 *padrón's* totals to inhabitants of the pueblo proper would average 19 occupants per dwelling. Accepting Bryant's figures would average from 12 to 16. Both would present a space problem, for the average one-story Plaza adobe boasted no more than four rooms—if that many. Even Luis María Peralta's fine house had only two rooms on the ground floor, with a low attic or loft, reached by an outside staircase, for sleeping quarters.

Long before Bryant's arrival, however, foreigners of north European stock had been drifting into California. Thirteen of them lived within San José's jurisdiction as early as 1841. As they became Spanish or Mexican citizens to obtain land or marry into native families, their names appeared in the *padrones*. John Gilroy, for example, left the British North West Fur Company's ship *Issac Todd* (Captain Frazer Smith) at Monterey in February, 1814, to become California's first citizen of non-Hispanic culture. Other seafarers such as Thomas Doak, Matthew Fellom, Robert Livermore and James Alexander Forbes followed in relatively close succession.

Arrival of Jedediah Smith's trapping party in 1826 marked entrance of the first American overlanders into California. Smith came this way again in 1827, followed in 1830 by David E. Jackson, namesake of Jackson Hole, Wyoming. Peter Lassen, after whom Lassen Peak and Lassen Volcanic National Park were named, passed the winter of 1840-41 in San José, following his trade of blacksmith. November, 1841, brought 11 members of the Bidwell-Bartleson Company, five of them decided to stay here—Josiah Belden, Grove C. Cook, John Roland, James Peter Springer and Charles M. Weber.

Kentuckian Springer became a one-man chamber of commerce for Santa Clara County. Until his

death of pneumonia at Saratoga in 1861, he never lost an opportunity to advertise this area to "the folks back home." He perhaps did more than any other individual in promoting migration here, making several trips to and from the East for that purpose.

In 1844, Dr. John Townsend, Captain Elisha Stephens (Stevens) and Martin Murphy, Sr., joined forces at Nishnabotna, Missouri, to organize the first party to bring wagons through the Sierra Nevada. In blazing their trail through the Truckee River-Donner Pass region, they opened up the most direct and practicable overland route into California. They traced a way through the mountains for the thousands of pioneers and Argonauts who followed them—also for the first transcontinental railroad and the highway now known as U.S. 80 Interstate.

No less than 13 survivors of the Donner Party of 1846 settled in San José. The Aram, Branham, Gordon, Hoppe, Pyle, Whiteman and Young families, who came overland the same year did likewise. Benjamin Cory, first physician to settle in Santa Clara County, arrived in December, 1847, less than 60 days before the Coloma gold discovery.

As soon as news of the gold discovery reached San Francisco and other coastal settlements, Cory and every fellow San Joséan who could get away joined the intrastate rush to the diggings. Most of them returned fairly early, however, only a few of them striking it noticeably rich as John and Daniel Murphy did in what later became Calaveras County. Those who tried their luck again the following year, including Cory, fared about the same as in '48. But they had at least participated in the famed Gold Rush of '49 whose effects made San José a state capital and quadrupled its population overnight.

The conclusion of the First Constitutional Convention at Monterey in October, 1849, left San José the cynosure of all politicians. The votes cast in the first state election that November had hardly been counted when winners, losers, lobbyists, hangerson and everybody else with an interest in State business began to arrive in the pueblo.

The Federal Census of 1850 caught San José in her fullest flood of limelight, but its findings disap-

peared en route to Washington, D. C., presumably in San Francisco. Though no one knew for sure, many attributed the loss to one of the numerous fires that swept San Francisco about that time.

On January 17, 1850, a prosperous farmer named Michael Sanor (pronounced Saynor) wrote a highly informative letter to his "Brother, friends & neighbors" in Columbiana County, Ohio. Sanor carefully covered almost every imaginable subject from lumbering and shipping to mining and farming, including prices and volume of production of every commodity mentioned. He even noted the ground squirrels that ravaged his "wheat, cabbage, beets, parsnips, and melons..."

In describing his environment, Sanor wrote, "My farm is about 50 miles from San Francisco, eight miles from the Embarca Dero [sic] which is the head of navigation on the bay, four miles from San José, the seat of government. It is two miles from the Mission of Santa Clara. San José contains a population of 4,000 people and is considered quite important, being the Capital of the State. Santa Clara is a flourishing and thriving village containing a population of 1,000."

San José's population dropped sharply in May, 1851, when the State Capital moved to Vallejo. Yet no Santa Clara County community had any trouble keeping track of its inhabitants thereafter. The United States Census Bureau assumed responsibility for a major count every ten years, and a host of smaller agencies such as newspapers, magazines, great registers and directories filed estimates and interim counts with amazing frequency. Since 1874, the Board of Trade and its successor, the Chamber of Commerce, have done likewise.

With nothing left to mid-decade guesswork, recording of the City's population growth has been largely reduced to a matter of industriously gathered statistics. In 1860, for example, the Federal Census credited the entire county with 11,912 inhabitants, about half of whom lived in San José. City Marshal Alonzo B. Hamilton counted 6,111 residents within

San José's corporate limits in 1868, a questionable figure in view of the Federal Census total of 9,080 for the city in 1870.

In any event, San José legitimately boasted 12,567 inhabitants in 1880. The number increased to 18,060 by 1890, and to 21,500 in 1900.

The 1900 census marked the real beginning of the automobile age for San José. Clarence Letcher opened what was advertised as the state's first garage that year, and 45 "road burners" organized the Santa Clara County Auto Club in 1902. The area's first auto show took place in San José's Auditorium Rink in 1909, the same year that a car crashed into "a horse and rig" on the Monterey Road.

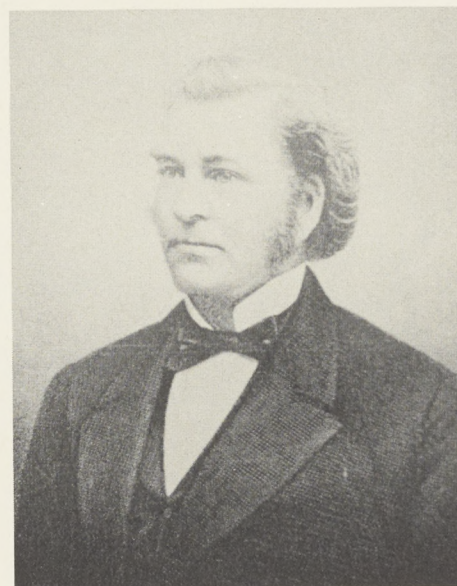
By 1910, San José, with a newly-counted population of 28,946, knew that the automobile had come to stay. Motorists, disputing crossings with steam trains and electric cars, were already coming off "second best." An ever increasing number of the area's non-motoring public opined that a large percentage of the valley's daredevil drivers would never live to see San José as a city of 39,642 in 1920. During the exceedingly prosperous years between 1921 and the end of 1929, this city's population showed a 45 percent gain. Even as a great economic depression halted the wildest period of speculation the nation had ever seen, San José was able to boast 57,651 inhabitants by 1930. The city continued to grow, but at an easier pace. In 1940, one year before the United States' entry into World War II, 68,457 residents were looking forward to the expansion that would soon doom much of the surrounding fruit-producing land.

Then came the landmark year of 1950. When City Manager Hamann took office that March, 95,044 people lived within the city limits. In the next two decades, the population doubled twice: to 204,196 in 1960, and to 445,779 in 1970.

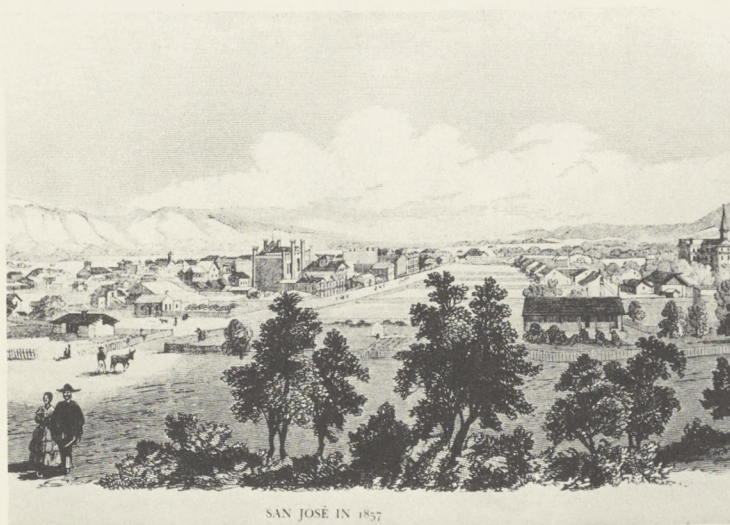
The 1969 total was lower than enthusiasts had estimated and hoped for. Yet, while attaining it, San José had become an All-America City and the nation's 31st in size.



Washington Block was built by Martin Murphy, Jr. on the southeast corner of San Pedro and Santa Clara Streets in 1880-81. This structure, often referred to as the Washington Hotel, had a large hall called Washington Hall in which W. E. Hamm conducted a dancing school in 1882-83. But as the years passed, the upper floor became an ordinary rooming house characterized by its modest appurtenances. The lower floor housed a tire service shop and a used car salesroom—neither of which did much to improve the appearance of the building's exterior.



Martin Murphy, Jr. (1807-1884) was born in Ireland. Martin, Jr., was more a builder of San José than a resident. He established his residence in 1850 on Rancho Pastoria de las Borregas, where Sunnyvale came into existence 47 years later. He built and owned several large buildings in San José and participated in other business and civic matters that won him a permanent place in this city's history.



This view of San José was taken from a housetop on north San Pedro Street between San Augustine and Julian Streets in 1857. The distant turreted brick building just left of the picture's center is the 1855 City Hall.

The St. James Hotel was built by Tyler Beach, San José's leading wood, coal, and ice dealer. This beautiful hostelry stood on the west side of First Street, opposite St. James Park. It first appeared in the City Directory in 1876, though tradition has Beach's dwelling becoming its nucleus several years earlier. By 1888, he doubled the structure's size. His commodious, elegantly-appointed dining room became a mecca for gourmets from all over the state, General and Mrs. John Charles Fremont among them. In 1932, however, the St. James and the long row of one-story frame structures adjacent to it on the south were razed to make way for the First and St. John Streets post office.



This view looks southward about 1868 from the top of the Hensley House, which stood on the northwest corner of Market and Santa Clara Streets. The windmill at the intersection of Market and Eldorado Streets pumped water into a nearby cistern for fire department use. The two black towers a little above and to the left of the center of the photo are the towers of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, which burned down in 1875. The two-story, wooden-awning building at the far left is the so-called Murphy Building, erected by Martin Murphy, Jr., in 1861.

Photographers loved the Electric Tower as a vantage point to take pictures of San José. This view in 1885 was looking Northwest and shows the First Ward school in the background.



This photo shows the east side of First Street as it looked in 1883 from the intersection of El Dorado (now Post Street) looking northward. Cook's drygoods store occupied the one-story frame structure at the extreme right. Next to it, the ornate three-story Odd Fellows Bldg. had Allen Augustus Sage's groceries and provisions establishment for a ground floor tenant. Maurice O'Brien's one-story candy factory, founded in 1868, filled the space between the Odd Fellows Bldg. and the arch-windowed Paul Block, which later housed Blum's.



The Alviso South Bay Yacht Club of 1912 holds as much interest for a geodetic survey technician as for a yachtsman. The clubhouse is still serving its original purpose, but this view obtained of it in 1912 would be impossible today. Subsidence of the surrounding terrain has necessitated erection of levees as high as the clubhouse roof gutters to keep the channel waters away from the door.



The Auditorium Rink existed from 1907 to 1918. It was the finest pavilion in the State. It was located on the east side of South Market Street between San Antonio and San Carlos.

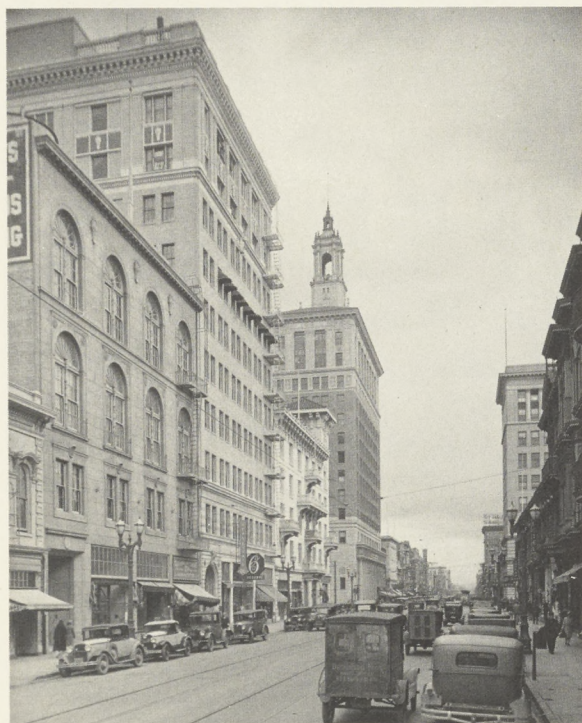
The Burrell Building, erected at 246 South First Street in 1926, was one of several large buildings erected in San José that decade. Through most of its existence, the ground and second floors were devoted to the usage indicated in this photo; the remaining floors accommodated offices of various types.



The YWCA began in San José in 1905 and soon outgrew their quarters over Lean's Jewelry Store. In 1914, a new building was erected that was designed by the pioneer woman architect, Julia Morgan. The building was located at 210 South Second Street, and met the needs for housing and sociability for single women. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)



Downtown San José is shown as it looked in 1933 from the air.



Looking south on North First Street toward the Santa Clara Street intersection about 1929, the four big structures on the left (or east) side of the street are the Knights of Columbus Building, Commercial Building, Bank of San José Building, and Bank of Italy (renamed Bank of America) Building. The dark, heavily-corniced structure at the extreme right is the Martin Block, adjoined on the south by the two-story, equally dark Knox Block.



San José's main post office was completed in 1934, and was designed by architect Ralph Wycoff. This 1949 photo shows the exterior from the corner of First and St. John Streets. (Ralph Wycoff photo, courtesy of Leonard McKay)



This is a view of First Street looking north in 1940.

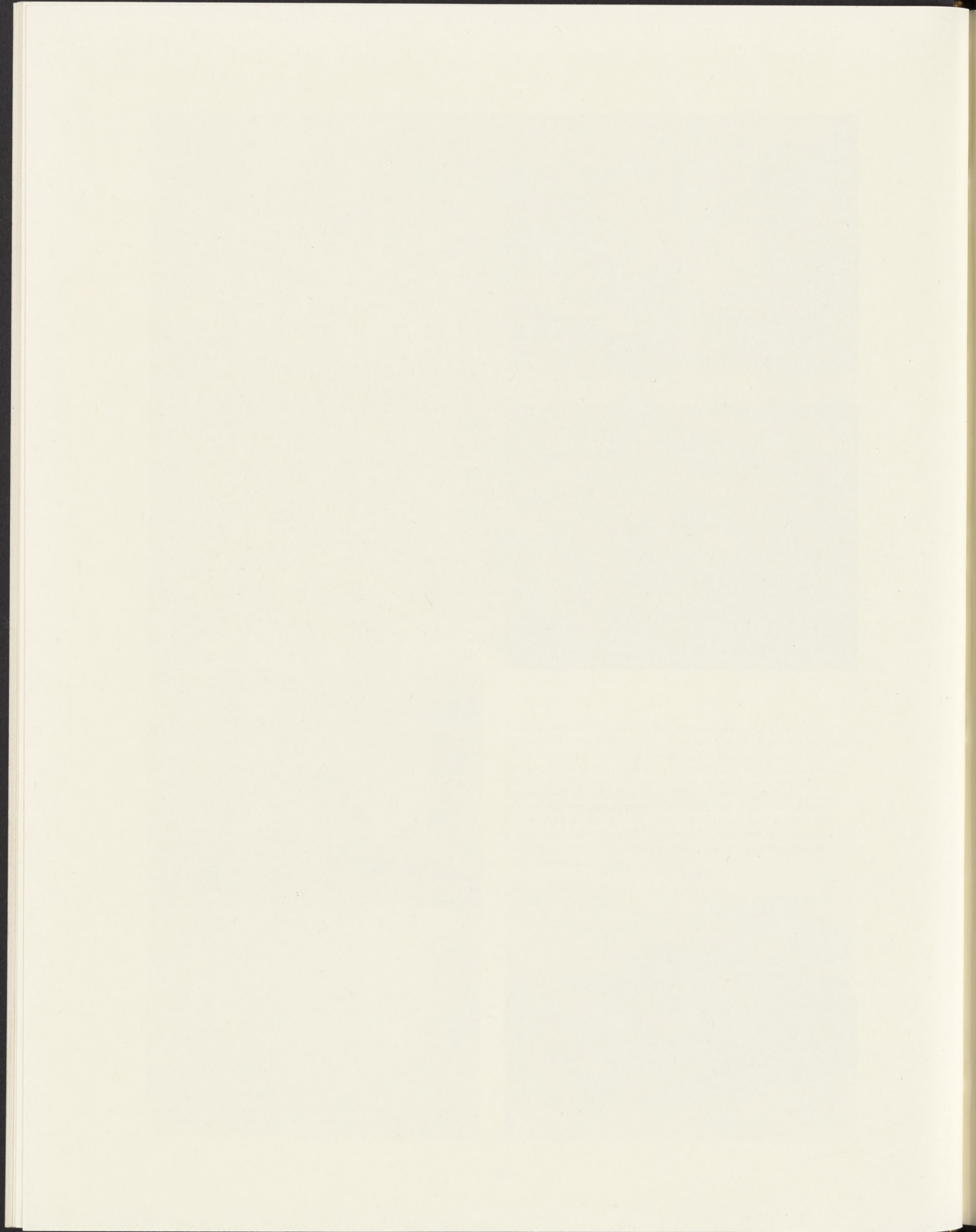


San Carlos Street looking east (circa 1940) shows the Civic Auditorium on the left, the Sainte Claire Hotel on the right.

Looking eastward on Martin Avenue from the Park Avenue intersection in the mid-1940s, Martin winds its pleasantly curving way through what was once known as the Agricultural Park (which once served as the County fairgrounds). When Lewis E. Hanchett, a local transit magnate, acquired the property in 1905, he had it laid out as a residential tract.

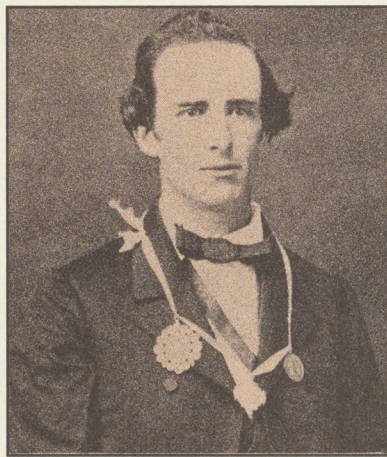
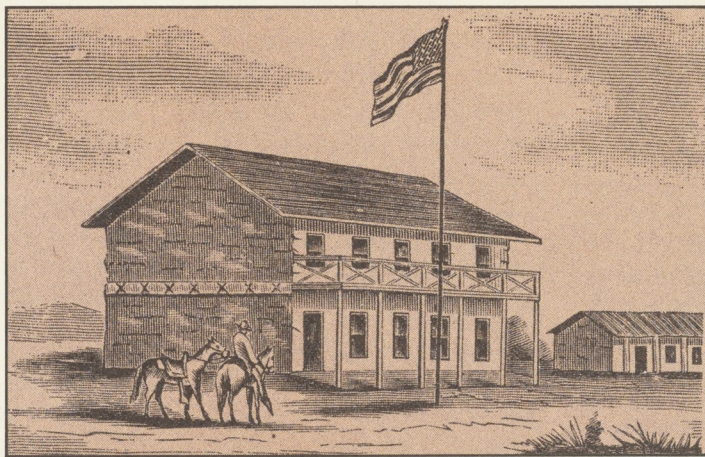


In 1956, the corner of First and San Antonio Streets looked like this. To the far right was the 1887 City Hall, the Montgomery Hotel was on the corner, and the J. S. Williams clothing store was on the left. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)



4

SAN JOSÉ / STATE CAPITAL



THE STATE CAPITAL



To Have and To Hold San José as State Capital

California annals mention two dozen or more discoveries of gold before the one at Coloma in January, 1848. But few, if any, of them aroused enough interest—or curiosity—to prevent their being soon forgotten by all but the persons involved.

The Coloma discovery was a classic example of what historians have in mind when they distinguish an "event" from an "effective event." The effective event produced lasting results. It changed population patterns not only in the United States, but also in foreign countries. It also hastened the establishment of a state government.

Word of this discovery, unsuccessfully kept secret by those closest to it, was not confirmed in the coastal settlements until the following May. Then American immigrants, already here from the United States, started California's first rush to the diggings. Among them were numerous San Joséans, including Josiah Belden, Benjamin Cory, Chester S. Lyman, Robert Neligh, John and Daniel Murphy, and a number of *Californios*.

This rush was an intrastate affair, except for a few Oregonians. But it had not progressed far before Cory and other men of vision discerned the urgent need for a well-organized state or territorial government. The old laws of what Bancroft called "Spanish association" were breaking down, and were totally inadequate for settling the differences of contentious Americans accustomed to English Common Law.

On December 11, 1848, a large public meeting in San José adopted resolutions in favor of establishing a provisional territorial system to serve until Congress could provide something better. It was resolved that a convention be held in San José for that purpose on the first Monday in January, 1849. Similar meetings, held in San Francisco, Sacramento, Sonoma, and Monterey, favored the San José resolutions. The San Joaquín, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, and San Diego districts, however, "failed to concur"—probably owing to slow communication and insufficient time for consideration.

For some reason, the San José meeting scheduled for the first Monday in January did not take place, but there appears to have been no flagging of interest. Meetings, proposals, resolutions, and district selections of delegates continued. In March, 1849, Monterey was suggested as a site for a general convention. But a meeting held in San Francisco the following June seemed to settle the matter by electing "at least twelve delegates from that district to attend a convention at San José on the third Monday in August for the purpose of organizing a government for the whole territory of California."

Other events, however, gave the movement impetus in a somewhat modified direction. Rumors of the Coloma and other Mother Lode gold discoveries had reached the Atlantic Seaboard late in 1848. Their confirmation by President Polk in his message to Congress that December started a rush such as the world had never seen before. Everyone who could get away headed for California by every means available to get rich overnight. Dubbed Argonauts by some wag acquainted with the Greek legend of Jason and the golden fleece, they came by the thousands—across the Great Plains, via the Isthmus of Panamá, and "around the Horn." They fairly poured in from every state in the American Union and from lands far beyond the seas.

On April 12, 1849, as the vanguard of this rush reached the Pacific Coast, Brigadier General Bennett Riley became California's last American military governor. He, too, recognized the urgent need for organized civil government, and resolved to do something about it. Though not fully informed on all the steps that had been taken in that direction to date, and knowing nothing of the San Francisco meeting, he issued a call for a constitutional convention to take place in Monterey.

This convention would consist of thirty-seven delegates representing ten districts within the unmarked boundaries of what was believed to be California. Riley's plan was quickly adopted, the delegates were elected on August 1, and convened in Monterey's Colton Hall from September 1 to October 13. Their number was increased from thirty-seven to forty-

eight. Thus San José, originally allotted five, finished with seven.

In the course of their deliberations, the delegates had to select a capital for their proposed state. This matter, which had received some previous attention, came up for vote on September 26 as Section 1 of Article XI, covering Miscellaneous Provisions. It was not an easy one to settle, for several of the delegates vigorously sought to obtain the capital for their own respective communities. But Section 1, as originally drafted, stated:

"The first session of the Legislature under this Constitution shall be held in the Pueblo de San José, which place shall be the permanent seat of Government until removed by law: Provided, however, that two thirds of all the members elected to each House of the Legislature shall concur in the passage of such a law."

Monterey delegate Henry W. Halleck opened the debate with a plea for continuing Monterey, the old Spanish and Mexican capital, as the seat of government. But as a compromise in the face of probable opposition, he offered an amendment giving Monterey the first session of the Legislature, after which the government could go to San José.

Delegate Kimball H. Dimmick of San José, however, considered Halleck's motion and amendment more sentimental than practical. To Dimmick's way of thinking, the fact that Monterey had been the capital since the earliest days of Spanish settlement was no reason for perpetuating it as such. "Monterey," he said, "is at one side of the geographical centre of the country—far distant from the centre of population." As the exchange between Halleck and Dimmick warmed up, another Monterey delegate, Lewis Dent, addressed the chair, not to add anything to the debate but to call attention to a rule of order.

Jacob Hoppe of San José then took the floor to present a well prepared list of San José's advantages, backed up by maps and solid statistics. But Charles Botts of Monterey had no intention of walking off unopposed.

After declaring his fair-mindedness and impartiality when voting for the "good of the whole terri-

tory," Botts strongly supported Halleck's wish to establish the capital in Monterey. He saw little geographical difference between Monterey and San José, and he did not wish to see maps. In making much of Monterey's easy access by sea and future steamship service, he said, "Now, it is very evident that members from the lower districts will come in these steamers; no man will travel on horseback when he can get on board a steamer. In regard to the members from the northern districts, they will find it most convenient to come down in the steamers navigating the bays and rivers to San Francisco, which is the great depot for these vessels. What would be the difference between coming to Monterey or going to San José?"

In stressing Monterey's marine access, Botts probably thought he had scored a winning point. But he should have taken a look at Hoppe's maps. By failing to do so, he did not foresee Alviso as San José's port of entry.

Meanwhile, other champions prepared to enter the lists. Rodman M. Price of San Francisco favored Halleck's amendment—to the point of replacing the name "Monterey" with that of San Francisco. M. M. McCarver, representing Sacramento, favored neither San José nor San Francisco. He preferred Monterey chiefly because the convention was called there, the community had a suitably furnished hall, and it might be difficult to remove the archives. He also said that San Francisco had "too much mercantile influence for a legislative body... there is too much of the subsidizing influence to control the votes of members."

In conclusion, McCarver observed half facetiously, "It should be left to the Legislature to locate it (the capital) in the Great Salt Basin, or some other place that may shortly be the centre of our territory."

Henry A. Tefft could think of nothing better than moving the government to his district, San Luis Obispo. "We have there," he said, "a most beautiful mission, which is at the service of the State."

Thomas A. Vermeule of the San Joaquín District (Stockton) favored San José and enthusiastically described its advantages. But feeling that Halleck's amendment presented an "insuperable obstacle," he

suggested that it be adopted and then "leave the question of the seat of Government to the people, after the first legislature."

Robert B. Semple, president of the Convention, would naturally have liked to see the capital go to his home town, Benicia. Otherwise, it should go to San José. He agreed with McCarver that San Francisco would not be a good place for the seat of government. But for that matter, he was not dead sure that Benicia's increasing commercial importance would not compromise that town's governmental status.

Following a short exchange between W. E. Shannon of Sacramento, O. M. Wozencraft of Stockton, and Semple on navigation statistics, San Luis Obispo delegate J. M. Covarrubias directed the Convention's attention to the advantages of Santa Barbara.

San Francisco's William M. Gwin, one of the strong men of the Convention, then came out forcefully for San José. "I look upon San José as the proper place for the seat of Government," he said. "We ought to have one seat of Government, and one only," he insisted. "If San José has the advantage over Monterey, and is to be the permanent seat of Government, we should have it there at once."

Halleck and Dent tried again for Monterey, but to no avail. Vermeule and Price switched to San José, and Lansford W. Hastings, representing Sacramento, joined them.

Joseph Aram of San José ended the debate with a few pertinent observations on Ohio's experience with state capital moving. That state located its first seat of government in unsatisfactory Chillicothe, moved it to equally unsatisfactory Zanesville, and finally established it in Columbus, where, Aram said, "It ought to have been in the first place."

As soon as Aram capped his remarks with a recitation of San José's advantages in location, land, and buildings, it was time to vote. The delegates thereupon rejected, by a vote of 23 to 15, Halleck's amendment to hold the first session of the Legislature in Monterey. Then, reaffirming previous action on Section 1 of Article XI, they voted 23 to 14 to make San José the first American civil capital of the proposed state of California.

San José District delegates Elam Brown, Julian Hanks, Antonio M. Pico, and Pedro (Pierre) Sainsevain did not participate in the closing debate. They were apparently contented to sign the finished Constitution.

All of them found out, however, that winning a capital was one thing; providing for a legislature, another. A mountain of work had to be cleared before a petition for statehood could be forwarded to Washington.

On October 25, in San Francisco, the Democrats staged California's first political party meeting, which ended with no formal nominations. But on November 13, in the first general election under American authority, Democratic candidate for Governor, Peter Hardeman Burnett, won an easy victory with 6,716 votes, Winfield S. Sherwood trailed him with 3,188 votes; John A. Sutter, 2,201; John W. Geary, 1,475; William M. Steuart, 619. Thirty-three scattered votes went to hopefuls who could just as well have saved their energy.

John McDougal won the Lieutenant-governorship in a like manner. His 7,374 votes crushed Richard Roman, Francis J. Lippett, John B. Frisbie, A. M. Winn, and Pablo de la Guerra. Of the losers, Roman polled the largest vote—2,368. The smallest was de la Guerra's 129.

George W. Wright and Edward Gilbert respectively garnered 5,451 and 5,100 votes to become California's first members of the United States House of Representatives. They decisively trounced an impressive field composed of Rodman Price, Lewis Dent, W. M. Sheppard, P. A. Morse, E. J. C. Kewen, P. Halstead, William E. Shannon, L. W. Hastings, Pierson B. Reading, W. H. Russell, Kimball H. Dimmick, and J. Thompson.

Such State officials as Secretary of State, Treasurer, Controller, Attorney General, Surveyor-General, Clerk of the Supreme Court, Superintendent of State Printing, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Adjutant-General were appointed or elected by the Legislature, as provided by the Constitution, until such time as their offices could be filled by general election.

Despite the difficulties under which it was held, the election went smoothly—or relatively so. But there was still much to do. When Bayard Taylor came through on his way from San Francisco to Monterey in August of that year, he noted that San José “was mainly a collection of adobe houses, with tents and clapboard dwellings, of the season’s growth, scattered over a square half-mile.” Its citizens had yet to learn that winning a capital was one thing; furnishing it with the necessary appurtenances, another. But on returning northward from Monterey after the Constitutional Convention, he painted a different picture.

“The two weeks which had elapsed since San José had been made a capital,” he wrote, “were sufficient to have created a wonderful change. What with tents and houses of wood and canvas, in hot haste thrown up, the town seemed to have doubled in size. The dusty streets were thronged with people; goods, for lack of storage room, stood in large piles beside the doors; the sound of saw and hammer, and the rattling of laden carts, were incessant. The Legislative Building—a two-story adobe house built at the town’s expense—was nearly finished. Hotels were springing up in all quarters; French restaurateurs hung out their signs on little one-story shanties; the shrewd Celestials [Chinese] had already planted themselves here, and summoned men to meals by the sound of their barbaric gongs.”

Taylor stressed the obvious, as do many present day travel writers, with no intention of producing a penetrating social study. He therefore erred a bit in thinking the 40 x 60 foot “Legislative Building . . . was nearly finished.” It was still unfinished when the First Legislature convened on December 15—a-month-and-a-half later.

The 36-member Assembly took over the room that occupied the building’s whole upper floor, but the 16-member Senate had to meet in Isaac Branham’s house at the southwest corner of The Plaza. It did not move into the largest of the Statehouse’s four ground floor rooms until December 28. Other office holders had to find quarters wherever they could. San José had finally learned the lesson of winning a capital and furnishing it.

Seemingly, the town was well supplied with saloons, but with all the building going on, it still lacked a suitable statehouse and enough hotel, restaurant, and livery facilities for human and animal comfort.

To aggravate this situation, the winter of ‘49 turned out to be abominably wet. Beginning about the end of October, incessant rain and overflowing streams inundated large areas of town and countryside, cutting off almost every form of communication. The taffy-like consistency of muddy, deeply rutted roads impaired travel to the point of frustration—even for short distances.

Though no reliable figures have been produced, it was generally stated that thirty-six inches of rain drenched the town that winter. About the only thing remaining unsoaked was a bit of pioneer understatement describing conditions as “distressful.”

On December 19, just two days after the Legislature managed to obtain a quorum, Assemblyman George B. Tingley of the Sacramento District introduced a bill to move the capital back to Monterey forthwith. The Assembly read his bill and tabled it, but as James and McMurry’s *History of San José* pointed out eighty-three years later, it remained “a potent club over the troubled Pueblo’s head.”

Tingley, incidentally, resigned from the Assembly on September 25, 1850, three and-a-half weeks before San José received word of California’s admission to the Union. An Ohioan by birth and Whig in politics, he was regarded as a brilliant attorney and outstanding politician. He served as Speaker protem of the First Assembly, and in 1851 and ‘52 as state Senator for the Santa Clara - Contra Costa District. In 1861 he became Register of the United States Land Office in San Francisco.

Many San Joséans, however, never forgave him for introducing the bill to take the capital away from San José. And it is doubtful if any of them shed a great volume of tears on learning of his death of smallpox in San Francisco on August 3, 1862.

Owing to the press of other business, the Legislature undoubtedly felt compelled to table Tingley’s bill to move the capital. Two events on the 20th alone

would keep both houses busy—inauguration of Burnett as Governor and election of two United States Senators.

The senatorial candidates were John C. Frémont, John W. Geary, William M. Gwin, H. W. Halleck, Thomas J. Henley, Thomas Butler King, and Robert B. Semple. Fremont sailed to an easy victory on the first ballot, gathering twenty-nine of the forty-six votes cast. Gwin, however, struck rougher going. He got twenty-two of the forty-seven votes cast on the second ballot, not enough for election. When he increased his total to twenty-four on the third ballot, he was declared elected.

In drawing lots for the short and the long term in the Senate, Fremont drew the short one, to expire on March 4, 1851. Gwin, drawing the long one, was entitled to serve until March 4, 1855.

January 1, 1850, found Frémont and Gwin, together with Gilbert and Wright, on board the steamship *Oregon*, bound for Washington via Panamá with California's petition for statehood. The same vessel also carried President Taylor's personal representative to California, T. Butler King, and \$3,000,000 in California gold.

News of California's Constitutional Convention and subsequent election had reached Washington well ahead of the proposed state's senators and representatives elect. The President's message of January 24 had officially notified Congress to that effect. And knowledge that California would seek admission as a free state set the pro-and antislavery factions against each other more determinedly than ever before.

But the real battle did not begin until the President presented the nascent state's constitution to Congress on February 13. That action precipitated a blizzard of "Bills, resolutions, amendments to bills, and substitute bills" as Robert G. Cowan listed them in his *The Admission of the 31st State by the 31st Congress*.

Moreover, if the foregoing complexities were not sufficiently irritating, the interjection of boundary disputes and what to do with other territory acquired from Mexico made them so. In effort to reach an acceptable solution for all parties concerned, Senator

Henry Clay of Kentucky offered his compromise resolutions of January 29 and his Omnibus Bill of May 8. The latter, so named because it embodied most of his compromise items, did much to smooth the way for admission.

On July 9, about two thirds of the way through the debates, President Taylor died, and Vice-President Millard Fillmore became the nation's chief executive. About seven months and 170 speeches after Taylor's January message, however, the time came for both houses to vote on California's admission. On August 13, after the bill came up for its third reading, the Senate voted 38 to 14 to admit.

On Saturday, September 7, as the California bill came before the House for final decision, the South made its last stand. Representative Jacob Thompson of Mississippi offered a substitute bill that would have divided California into two political entities. He favored admitting all of California north of the Mason-Dixon Line (approximately the Monterey lateral) as a free state; all south of that line would become a territory more agreeable to Southern sensitivities.

Thompson's effort was cut short. The California bill was then read in an undiluted form for the third time, after which the House voted for admission by an overwhelming majority of 150 to 56. Two days later, on the ninth, President Fillmore signed the bill making California the thirty-first state of the American Union.

By this time, the people of California were wondering what was going on in Washington. Each passing month left them with a mixture of rising hopes and depressing doubts. Though their state was admitted on September 9, news of the event, traveling by way of Panamá, did not reach San Francisco until October 18. But when the streamer-decorated steamship *Oregon* sailed through the Golden Gate with flags flying and deck gun booming, it signaled the greatest municipal celebration in California history. The city literally went on an eleven-day binge of speeches, parades, fireworks, and around the clock revelry topped off by a grand ball on the 29th. The news of this joyous event was rushed to San José as described in another chapter.

But the spectre of Senator Tingley's bill of December 19 to remove the capital to Monterey still lingered in one form or another. Before the end of its First Session on April 22, 1850, the Legislature lost much time in discussing removal-oriented proposals, resolutions, and bills. Yet it handled an amazing volume of more urgent business.

On February 18, it created California's original twenty-seven counties, of which Santa Clara was one. Despite the almost constant distractions of bad weather, inadequate accommodations, drinking, gambling, and horse racing, it created a good, workable judicial system. It also approved the incorporations of San José and six other cities.

In 1880, with the advantage of thirty years of revealing perspective, former Governor Burnett reviewed his own record and that of the First Legislature. "The first session of our legislature," he said, "was one of the best we have ever had . . . Those early lawmakers had to begin at the beginning and create an entirely new code of statute law, with but few authorities to consult."

Professional historian Theodore H. Hittell recorded a similar opinion in Volume II of his monumental *History of California*, published in 1885. According to him, "The legislation of the first session was not only the most important, but it was among the most judicious of all that has been done in the state . . ." Then noting the heavy drinking that had taken place during that session, he added, "The legislature of 1850 was called the 'Legislature of a Thousand Drinks.' Whatever truth there may have been in this designation, it is certain that no legislature has ever sat that did more work, or better work."

But the First Legislature's industry was best epitomized by Elisha W. McKinstry, member of the First Assembly and later a justice of the state's Supreme Court. As principal speaker at the First Legislature's fiftieth anniversary celebration, held in San José, December 15, 1899, he observed:

"The pioneer legislature passed four fifths of all the general laws now on the statute books . . ."

Major credit for this legislature's appellation of "legislature of a thousand drinks" went to Senator

Thomas Jefferson Green from the Sacramento District. Green thoughtfully kept a barrel of whiskey close at hand to immunize his colleagues against discomforts occasioned by the vagaries of weather and intolerable thirst. At every rap of the gavel for recess or adjournment, he shouted, "Let's have a drink! Let's have a thousand drinks!"

A second story, however, hints at polyphletic origin. According to it, an unnamed Frenchman owned a popular saloon on Market Street not far from the statehouse. Of evenings, when his place was jammed with hilarious legislators and their hangers-on, he had no time to collect from customers when served. But about closing time, he ran his Gallic eye over the crowd, averaged the number of drinks per person, and collected for a thousand.

But no matter which story posterity prefers, the appellation "Legislature of a Thousand Drinks" is valid. It also makes little difference whether the drinkers got their drinks inside or outside the Statehouse. This was confirmed by H. C. Melbourne who, with his brother Edwin, conducted a flourishing business in the nearest saloon to the Statehouse in 1850.

"This," Melbourne wrote, "was the 'Legislature of 1000 drink [sic];' and I can certainly state the cognomen was well deserved." Adjournments were always in order, and frequent enough for anyone." Of course, they (the legislators) always came to us, for we owned the best and nearest saloon."

As a friendly barkeeper who took no advantage of Gold Rush inflation to gouge his customers, Melbourne soon had many friends among the top politicians of the day. Such relations were good for business as well as personal satisfaction. He was undoubtedly more than a little privy to what had been going on before January 29, 1850, when the Senate revived the matter of removing the capital from San José.

Thereafter, events moved too fast for Melbourne. But the public records showed most of the original contestants for the capital in 1849, plus several others, entering the field. Their representatives promised almost everything imaginable to the State in hope of winning the seat of government. Once again, hearings, resolutions, bills, amendments, and

amendments to amendments piled up before San José and Vallejo emerged as finalists.

San Joséans lost no time in meeting this challenge. On January 30, James F. Reed offered to donate four city blocks embracing an area 440 varas long and 220 wide for all necessary state buildings. He also offered 168 town lots whose sale at auction would provide funds for constructions of those buildings. Moreover, if the Legislature decided two blocks would suffice for building purposes, he would increase his donation of lots from 168 to 200.

That same date, Charles White offered a mile-and-a-half square of his Rancho Pala, just east of what is now the intersection of Alum Rock and Capitol Avenues. In describing the tract as suitable for subdivision into building lots, he noted that it "contained building stone."

Other than reserving for himself one third of the net proceeds from the sale of building lots, White said the Legislature could use the remainder in any way it pleased to cover construction costs.

Dr. John Townsend followed on February 4 with an offer to donate 200 acres of his rich land in the vicinity of Coyote Creek and the present Schallenger Avenue. Townsend's offer, the same as those of Reed and White, was contingent on the State's keeping the seat of government in San José. Another restriction attached to his offer prohibited construction of a state penitentiary on the proffered premises. Townsend strongly felt that a penal institution of that nature should be in a remote and isolated location.

But generous as the San Joséans were, they fought a losing battle. They might cope with the offers of all other interested communities but they could not begin to match the one made by Senator M. G. Vallejo of the Sonoma District on April 3.

Vallejo offered to donate 156 acres of land for State buildings and \$370,000 in cash to finance their construction, the latter payable within two years after the State accepted his offer. The 156 acres, selected by a five-man committee jointly appointed by the Legislature and *himself*, would be in the yet to be laid out city of Vallejo, named after *himself*. After requesting the Legislature to submit his proposition

to a vote of the people, Vallejo volunteered to post bond for faithful performance.

From another point of view, Vallejo's landholdings were enough to discourage the San Joséans and all other competitors for the capital. He could have given two or three thousand acres to the State at that time and still have more land than all the Americans in Santa Clara County put together. Therefore, if Vallejo wished to buy votes, as he was suspected of doing, he was in a good position to do so with either land or money.

The charitable Dr. Cory of the First Assembly suspected him of paying \$1,000 for an important vote. And Cory was not the only one to feel that way. In 1871, lawyer-historian Frederic Hall, a Forty-niner who analyzed the First Legislature on the spot, put his suspicions into writing. After noting the efforts of prominent San Joséans to keep the capital here, he observed that they "counted noses daily" to keep track of their gains and losses.

"They were aware," he said, "that deeds for town lots in Vallejo were numerous. They had their suspicion into whose hands some of these deeds might fall. In fact, up to the hour of midnight, previous to the taking of the vote, according to promises, San José had the requisite number to prevent a removal. Before the vote was taken, Vallejo had gone San José [one], better, in the language of the card dealers; hence the removal. It was a bargain and sale. The Vallejo party understood the dish which they were preparing, and they watched every cook that had a finger in it. They salted one of the cooks, and the dish was seasoned *apropos*."

In compiling their *History of San José* in 1933, George H. McMurry and William F. James were more direct with the thousand dollar vote story, simply stating, "Pioneer reminiscences have it that Vallejo offered \$1000 for the winning vote."

No one, however, has ever proven or disproven to the satisfaction of all posterity that Vallejo bought a single vote. On the other hand, no one has ever doubted that he was supremely confident of succeeding in his campaign to capture the seat of government.

In 1947, when Vallejo College instructor Jacqueline McCart Woodruff wrote *Benicia the Promise of California*, 1846-1889, she quoted a letter that he wrote to an unidentified San Joséan named Bautista on August 6, 1850. After admitting the removal venture was costing him thousands of *pesos*, he was still sure he would be reimbursed by the business it would bring to the city he had just laid out. He continued:

"The city is now laid out; the lots chosen for the governor's palace, for the university, for the botanical gardens, jail, etc. All under the immediate direction of the (surveyor) general of the state, who is commissioned by the legislature to see if the site obtained is suitable. I have our agents in the country everywhere to influence the general election which is to take place next November so we will soon see the result. Many think it is impossible to remove the capital from San José, but they are wrong. The best politicians and the important Americans are interested in the site."

Vallejo did indeed have his agents everywhere in "the country"—inside the Legislature and out. For the next six months, the removal question seemed the order of the day. Even ordinary street conversations inevitably drifted around to it.

But Vallejo was somewhat off in his timing when he told Bautista that the general election would take place in November. It was actually held on October 7, and the result indicated that San José and Vallejo were by no means the only communities desiring the permanent seat of government. Vallejo got 7,477 votes; San José, 1,292. San José could have had a total of 1,943 if Reed's proposition, which netted 651, had not been counted separately. The other competitors trailed in the following manner: Monterey, 399; Eureka, 301; Sacramento, 160; Downieville, 150; Nevada (City), 82; Gilroy, 71; Benicia, 70; San Francisco, 25; San Diego, 14; Yuba City, 14; Hamilton, 10; Stockton, 6; Santa Cruz, 2; scattering, 5.

Far as Vallejo's propositions were concerned, there was no uncertainty regarding public sentiment. But the election was more recommendatory than

mandatory; the matter still had to go to the Legislature. It showed no sign of settlement until January 14, 1851, eight days after opening of the Second Session, when Vallejo's performance bond came up for discussion in the Senate.

On the 17th, a bill entitled "An Act to establish a permanent location of the Seat of Government" was introduced and tabled. It was read and tabled for a second time on the 20th, and again on the 21st, when, on motion of Senator Thomas J. Green of "Thousand Drinks" fame, it was tabled "for the present."

Two days later, on the 23rd, Vallejo really got into the promising business. He promised to furnish buildings suitable for State offices for twenty-five percent less than the State was paying in San José, and he further promised to have them ready for occupancy "by the first of June next." The Senate thereupon voted "by a more than two thirds majority" (11 to 2) to move the seat of government to the nascent community of Vallejo.

Ironically, San José's most analytical defender at this point was George B. Tingley. While representing the Sacramento District in the First Assembly in 1849, he was the one who first suggested removal of the seat of government. Now, as Senator for the Santa Clara-Contra Costa District, he strongly favored keeping it in San José.

It is hard to determine whether Tingley took this stand out of overwhelming loyalty to his constituency or a probable dislike for Vallejo as a person. His communication to the Senate on January 24 convinced no one that he thought Vallejo's offers and promises were overloaded with philanthropy. After observing that the State was already \$200,000 in debt, and that its warrants were worth only fifty cents on the dollar, he fired the following salvo:

"By this bill, the State, in payment of the \$370,000 proposed by Vallejo, can, and I predict will, be paid or tendered it in payment by Vallejo in State scrip, the whole account of which \$370,000 can be bought for less than \$150,000; and thus by a sharp moneyed operation, enable Vallejo to pay the amount of his

proposition with less than one half of apparent promise to the people; in which Vallejo will save at least \$150,000, and the State will lose that sum. . . . The passage of that bill will be injurious to the State."

Tingley knew all along what was happening, and he clearly foresaw the result. But he could just as well have saved his energy. The Assembly passed the bill by a vote of 26 to 8 on February 1, and the Governor signed it on the 4th. San José's tenure as California's seat of government would end on May 1, 1851, with adjournment of the Second Session of the Legislature.

The situation, however, remained touchy. On June 1, Governor John McDougal ordered the State Archives moved from San Jose to Vallejo, only to find that the town's founder had not provided a suitable statehouse in time for the 1852 Legislative session. The structure offered for that purpose was unfinished, bare, cold and drafty as an unchinked log cabin. Complaints mounted, and the war broke out anew, involving Vallejo, Sacramento and Benicia, with San José providing an occasional skirmish.

Only a week before the 1852 Session opened at Vallejo on January 5, Sacramento's representatives offered Sacramento County's newly finished court-house to the State for capitol use. This posed a question that was still unsettled on January 9 when the legislators voted on a resolution to move to Sacramento.

A tie vote in the Senate defeated this resolution. Yet both houses of the Legislature adjourned on the 12th to meet in Sacramento on the 16th.

The stay in Sacramento was hardly more than a sojourn, long enough to finish the Third Session. On April 30, the lawmakers passed an Act declaring Vallejo the permanent seat of government. They adjourned in Sacramento on May 4, and once more took to the road.

Conditions in Vallejo were still intolerable when the Legislature opened its 1853 Session there on January 3. Former Senator Vallejo had promised more than he could deliver. A resultant flurry of

activity the next day produced a resolution to adjourn in Vallejo to meet in Benicia on the 11th.

The Legislature's next "home" was Benicia's brand new City Hall, an attractive brick structure of classical design. The City of Benicia had conveyed it to the State on terms too good to reject. And the legislators responded on May 18 by declaring Benicia the "permanent seat of government." They also hemmed their Act with protective legalities to ensure its perpetuity.

But by the following October, many of the same legislators had contracted a disconcerting restlessness tinged by a peculiar concept of permanence. Sacramento, still coveting the capital, had re-entered that promising and donating business. It outpointed Benicia and San José on every move, particularly in its willingness to pay all costs of moving in addition to providing fireproof safes and vaults for the State Archives.

The first major decision in the matter came on February 18, 1854, when the Senate voted 13 to 11 for removal to Sacramento. On the 24th, after six days of hectic politicking, the Assembly voted 39 to 35 for removal, and on the 25th Governor John Bigler approved the action of both houses.

When Governor Bigler and most other state officials arrived in Sacramento three days later, the "legislature on wheels" came to a stop, and California got another permanent seat of government.

Though San José was not yet safely knocked out, it is doubtful that Sacramento's champions had any great fear of losing the capital. But they did experience a few uneasy moments a month later, when the Legislature ordered the Supreme Court to transfer its archives to Sacramento.

The court, then holding its sessions in San Francisco, was composed of Chief Justice Hugh A. Murray and Associate Justices Solomon Heydenfeldt and Alexander Wells. When the matter of removal of the archives came before the Court, they held two to one, with Murray dissenting, that San José was still the legal capital of the state. And in pursuance of that opinion, the court ordered the archives removed forthwith to that city, holding that their removal in

the first place was unconstitutional. It also directed the Sheriff of Santa Clara County to provide "suitable accommodations" for them.

Sheriff William McCutchen carried out the court's order on March 30, but the Legislature adjourned on May 15, leaving the capital's location in a state of political limbo. Finally, on October 21, Judge Craven P. Hester of the Third Judicial District Court in San José issued a writ of mandate directing the state officers to "show cause why they should not forthwith remove their offices and papers to San José." After a hearing with Attorney General William Morris Stewart on the 28th, Hester ordered the removal.

But Fate intervened. Justice Wells died on the 31st leaving San José with only one supporter on the Supreme Bench—Heydenfeldt. And after some casting about, pro-Sacramento Governor Bigler appointed Charles C. Bryan to fill Wells' vacant seat.

Until Wells' death, the court had consistently held two to one in favor of San José as the legal capital. That majority, owing to Bigler's choice, was now reversed. When Hester's order came up for a hearing on December 28, Justices Murray and Bryan decided in favor of Sacramento, with Heydenfeldt dissenting.

In his dissent, Heydenfeldt excoriated the whole procedure whereby San José had lost the capital. He first held that the Act to move the Capital to Sacramento was unconstitutional because it had not been passed by a two thirds vote of the Legislature. Then, going back a bit, he held that the removal from San José to Vallejo was likewise unconstitutional because it had been determined by the amount of money Vallejo had agreed to pay. "It amounted," he said, "to a sale of the seat of government, and that it had not been the deliberate judgment of the Legislature."

Despite the court's decision, Sacramento dared not relax its vigilance, for San José was not the only outsider desiring the capital. During the legislative sessions of 1858 and '59, Oakland made a strong but unsuccessful attempt to capture it. She tried again in 1860, this time competing with San Francisco, which also possessed a few political ambitions.

Once more, Sacramento won out, but her position was still insecure. Even Nature seemed to join the attack. On December 9, 1861, the rain-swollen Sacramento River again tried to drown the entire community. On January 10, 1862, its swirling, muddy waters, augmented by those of the American River, inundated the city's business area to a depth of several feet. The inconvenience occasioned by the disaster persuaded the Legislature to adjourn to the Merchants' Exchange Building in San Francisco for the remainder of that year's session.

The smidgen of prestige derived from the lawmakers' brief stay in their city enticed covetous San Franciscans into another attempt to capture the seat of government—but to no avail. By that time the State had begun construction of a new capitol that would ultimately cost \$1,447,377.04 and require nine years to finish.

Seemingly, this fact hardly registered with San Joséans, and the same probably applied to the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors.

The County had contemplated a new courthouse in 1860, when architect Levi Goodrich's plans for such a structure won first prize. But the matter drifted until September, 1865, before the Board again took serious note of it—this time with an eye toward bringing the capital back to San José. The result would be a courthouse so commodious and beautiful that even the rhetorical historian Frederic Hall lacked sufficient superlatives to describe it. The builder announced the new courthouse ready for occupancy on December 30, 1867, and the county government moved into it on New Years Day, 1868.

To San José's boosters, this was a most propitious time to recover the capital. Construction of the new statehouse in Sacramento was still far from finished, and the public had begun to wonder if it would ever be finished. It had survived floods, material shortages during the Civil War, several removal attempts, and death of its first supervising architect. Perhaps the only thing that kept it going was the five cents ad valorem tax levied in 1863 on every \$100 worth of property in the state.

Furthermore, the capital city stood to lose a bit of its municipal prestige. As supply depot for the northern mines, a large measure of its economy depended on the gold mining interests along the Sierra Nevada foothills to the east. But in 1867, agriculture surpassed gold as the state's leading wealth producer, and an adjustment was in order.

To what extent this change affected San José is uncertain. It is well known, however, that the doors of the new Santa Clara County Courthouse had not been open two weeks before Assemblyman Francis Giltner of Mariposa arrived here in quest of a site for a state capitol. And soon as the *Mercury* gave him a hearty welcome and announced the purpose of his visit, the town's civic pride took a sharp upswing.

As a veteran of the Legislative sessions of 1863 and '64, publisher Owen assessed the new situation in a hopeful but realistic manner. "Whoever looks over the state from any standpoint of impartial observation," he wrote, "can not fail to come to the conclusion that San José is the natural location for the capital."

Giltner stayed in San José just long enough to assess this city's advantages before heading for Sacramento. On January 23, he introduced a bill to return the capital to San José after adjournment of the current session of the Legislature. San José had agreed to furnish a capitol free of charge for six years, at the end of which time—it was hoped—the Sacramento capitol would be finished. Giltner's bill came up with several other removal bills on March 3, only to be tabled by a vote of 34 to 19. It came up again on the 21st, and was "indefinitely postponed" by a vote of 44 to 20.

Meanwhile, on January 30, Assemblyman E. C. Tully of Monterey County introduced a more involved bill for removal. It noted that the work yet to be done on the Sacramento capitol would cost "several hundred thousand dollars," and that the people of the state, already burdened with heavy taxation, seriously doubted the Sacramento capitol would ever be safe from floods. The author accordingly provided for removal of the capital to San José, Benicia, Oakland or San Francisco whenever the citizens of those cities provided a capitol costing not less than \$400,000

plus a suitable lot within the corporate limits of the providing city. If that city deeded the lot and the building to the State by December 1, 1869, all work on the Sacramento capitol would cease, and the Governor would declare the donating city the capital of the state.

Assemblyman W. Z. Angney of Santa Clara County presented a bill somewhat similar to Tully's on February 21st. It proposed appointment of a Board of Capitol Commissioners composed of "certain State officers" who would meet in San José to select a site for the capitol. If the capitol and the lot were deeded to the State by October, 1869, the Governor would order the seat of government moved to San José.

Tully and Angney, the same as Giltner, got nowhere with their bills. And the City of San José and County of Santa Clara fared no better with a bit of municipal salesmanship on February 7, when they offered the Legislature and its friends a free roundtrip train ride to San José. As a "sweetener," the Common Council of San José offered any one of the city's public parks as a capitol site, and the County Board of Supervisors offered free use of the new courthouse for five years—until a capitol could be built on the donated park land.

The Senate accepted the train ride: the Assembly declined it. San José's campaign to recapture the seat of government ended for the moment, but the special tax for construction of the Sacramento capitol continued.

Twenty years elapsed before the matter of moving the capital to San José came up again. On March 11, 1893, Senator E. C. Seymour of the district embracing San Bernardino and Orange Counties introduced Senate Constitutional Amendment 23 declaring San José the seat of government provided San José donated to the State ten acres of land and \$1,000,000. The money would be paid to the State Treasurer if the Governor, Secretary of State, and Attorney General approved.

The Senate approved the amendment the same day by a vote of 27 to 8. The Assembly voted 57 to 7 to do likewise. On the 13th, the Assembly tabled a motion to reconsider.

SAN JOSÉ / STATE CAPITAL

The battle waxed hot, and San José's chances looked the best to date. Then H. P. Livermore took legal action against Secretary of State Edwin G. Waite to prevent Waite's certifying the amendment "to the various County Clerks or from doing any act submitting it to the people . . ." The case went to the Supreme Court, which decided on March 29, 1894 that the amendment was invalid.

San José had lost again. But all hope had not vanished. On January 28, 1903, Senator Louis Oneal of San José introduced Senate Constitutional Amendment No. 16, which provided that "after the first Monday in January, 1907, Sacramento should cease to be the seat of government and that San José should become and be the seat of government, to so remain until changed by law." Oneal's proposition was reported without recommendation on February 17, and on March 2, the Senate rejected it by a vote of 25 to 13.

The final act of the drama began on February 14, when Assemblyman Eli Wright of San José introduced his Constitutional Amendment No. 28 whose purpose was the same as Oneal's No. 16. A majority of the Committee reported Wright's proposition without recommendation on the 24th. And since that was the end of its progress, Wright withdrew it on March 6.

Even San José's hardest losers were now convinced that Sacramento would remain the state capital for a long time to come—perhaps forever. No one could tell for sure whether they would ever recover from what Bayard Taylor called this city's "misfortune of having been the state capital." But it is certain that they could have expressed their feelings accurately in the words of the famous 20th Century baseball manager Leo Durocher:

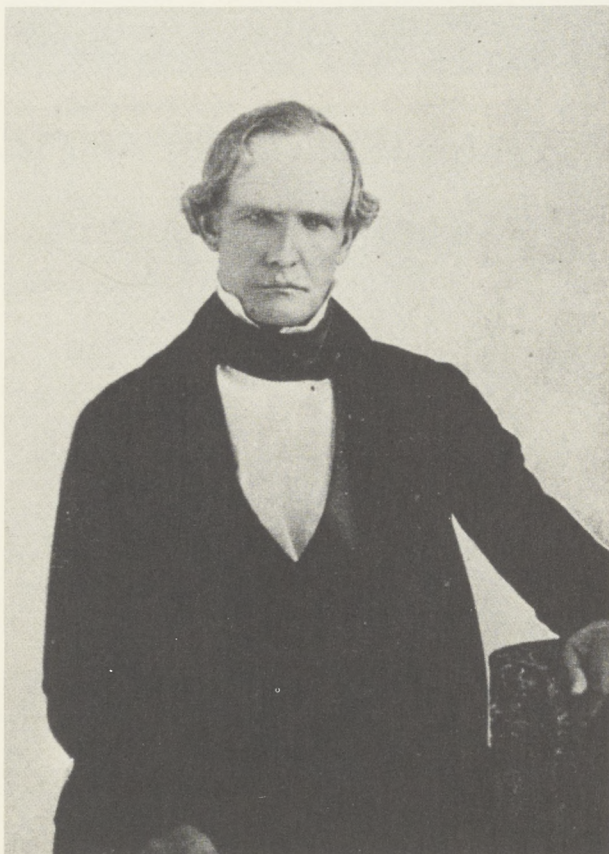
We was robbed!



The State of California's first state capitol building was located on the Plaza near where Market and San Antonio Streets join. It was built and destroyed before cameras were in use in California, and this drawing by Holmes is the best image available.



This was the San José home of Peter Hardeman Burnett, first American civil governor of California. Believed by a Burnett descendant or two to be only half of its original size, this house was built in Alviso in 1850 and moved in 1854 to what became 441 North First Street in San José. It remained there until it was razed in 1955.



Peter Burnett was California's first State Governor. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*



In 1866, when the Santa Clara County Courthouse was under construction, San José still smarted from losing the state capital in 1851. Though the townsfolk knew this courthouse was built as a courthouse and nothing else, the Board of Supervisors let it be known here and abroad that it would make a fine statehouse. It remained a courthouse. Tyler Beach's box-like, three-story St. James Hotel, seen here, adjoined the Courthouse lot on the south.

Mary Helen Crosby was married to Major Samuel J. Hensley in 1853. Her father, Elisha Crosby, was a delegate to California's First Constitutional Convention in 1849. Major Hensley, who came overland to California in 1843, was the founding president of the California Steam Navigation Co., which controlled much of the coastal and most of the inland waterway traffic until his death in 1866.





This replica of the first California Statehouse was erected on The Plaza lawn in 1899 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the first meeting of the First California Legislature just across Market Street from this spot, on December 15, 1849. A similar replica was erected on the same spot in December, 1949 to commemorate the centennial of the First Legislature's first meeting.

5

TRANSPORTATION



VOYTRAKANT



Early thru Stagecoach

Prior to the arrival of civilized man, the human back—usually that of a woman—constituted the chief means of transport in the Santa Clara Valley. The tule raft or canoe, used in certain watery areas, was the only other means, and then only for short distances or fishing. Any Indian moving from one point to another had to carry his belongings.

The Spaniard, however, changed that situation. He introduced the beast of burden, the wheeled vehicle, and the cattle whose hides attracted the droghers from Boston. He rode horseback, and transported most of his possessions on the backs of horses, mules, and burros. Large objects, such as chests and furniture, moved by *carreta*, a crude all wooden cart whose parts were held together by raw-hide thongs.

Except for a single light vehicle of American make in the latter Mexican period, the *carreta* was California's only wheeled utilities vehicle before American occupation. Its solid wooden wheels, fashioned of logs about three feet in diameter, turned on equally solid wooden axles lubricated by a soft, native soap carried in a large cow horn lashed to the frame of the *carreta*. If the squeal emanating from wood against wood became too offensive to the *boyero's* (ox driver) ears, he sloshed a gob of soap upon the protesting parts.

The *Californio* had a super abundance of horses for his personal transport. When starting on a long journey, he might take along a *remuda* (reserve drove) of them. If he did not wish to be thus encumbered, he could lasso a mustang from any rancho along his route, leaving his own fatigued animal in exchange. When early Americans asked him how he got away with taking such horses without their owners' consent, he simply replied, "*Es la costumbre del país* (It's the custom of the country)." He might have a few of his own horses thus borrowed. No one thought anything of it.

During the Mexican period, seagoing vessels of deep draft, anchored below the *Embarcadero de Santa Clara* for trading purposes. Richard Henry Dana, in his *Two Years Before the Mast*, tells how mission

Indians put out to his ship in boats that carried huge numbers of hides from *carretas* that brought them to the landing. These same boats returned to the *Embarcadero* filled with merchandise and supplies for Mission Santa Clara and the Pueblo de San José.

A new era of transport for California began in 1844, when the Townsend-Stephens-Murphy Party brought the first wagons through the Sierra Nevada. As the vehicles of this outfit, fashioned along Conestoga wagon lines, jolted down from Truckee Summit to Sutter's Fort, many Californians got their first glimpse of expertly designed, multispoked wheels.¹

When Jared Burdick Crandall of San José inaugurated the first stagecoach service across the Sierra in 1857, he opened the Johnson Cutoff (U. S. 50) to high speed travel. His achievement proved that heavily ironed prairie schooners were not the only vehicles capable of negotiating the infinitude of steep sinuous grades between Placerville and Carson Valley. Soon after the identification of the Comstock Lode's ore in 1859, from phaetons and buckboards to hay wagons and freighters traversed them. Traffic between Sacramento and Virginia City formed an almost continuous procession in both directions.

In exploring and opening up these trans-Sierra routes to easy travel, San Joséans not only changed statewide traffic patterns, but also affected those of their home county. Anyone wishing to mine or prospect east of the Sierra could reach his destination with a minimum loss of time. Eastern newcomers could easily reach coastal settlements in pre-railroad days. New types of vehicles filtered through the Sierra or

¹Actually, this party crossed the Sierra in two groups, dividing at the confluence of Donner Creek and Truckee River. The wagons came via Donner Summit, Emigrant Gap, and Bear River. Four men and two women on horseback headed up the canyon of Truckee River to become the first civilized persons to reach the shoreline of Lake Tahoe. From there, they pushed across a high ridge to the South Fork of the American River, and then via the main stream, to join the wagon party at the fort. Neither group recognized the importance of its venture, but together they had explored and opened up the most tortuous stretches of what later became U. S. 40 and U. S. 50.

TRANSPORTATION

came in by ship in numbers that demanded more and more improved roads.

While four-horse teams hauled quicksilver from New Almadén to the port of Alviso and later to the San José railroad station, six-, eight-, and ten-horse combinations were a common sight on local roads for many years. Heavily laden wheat wagons crawled across the valley floor from farms to mills during the harvest season. Huge loads of tanbark, pulled by bell teams, snaked down from Saratoga Summit to the valley's tanneries every summer. The bells on their leaders' hames attracted small boys who hitched sleds to the back action's rear stakes for hilarious rides through dusty roadways. Diablo Range ranchers passed through San José on their way to Lexington to pick up loads of split redwood pickets for fencing. On their down trip, they left at various stores, orders for groceries and other articles, to be picked up on the return journey. Long-reached wagons brought countless tons of loose and baled hay from the surrounding countryside to San José warehouses and sales yards. In Santa Clara, the Block Fruit Company's high-racked blue wagons with red running gear transported packed pears to the old South Pacific Coast Railroad warehouse at Benton and Sherman Streets until well into the 1920's. Driven by Anton and Godfrey Nelson, each of this company's teams almost formed a parade in itself.

Smaller vehicles such as drays, transfer and express wagons scurried about San José in ever increasing numbers during the half century between 1864 and the opening of World War I. Among the large drayage companies engaged in local short hauling were the San José, the James, the Nickell, and the City, each of which also conducted a large storage business. The San José Transfer & Storage Co. had a huge barnlike warehouse at 327 West Julian Street and a downtown office at 62 East Santa Clara Street. The others had their offices in the same buildings as their warehouses.

Individual operators such as Linn Norton, Charles Down, Fred Hamer, and Spencer H. Jones, were literally one-horse (later one truck) outfits. Their places of business were curbside stands at street corners convenient to some business establishment

that had a telephone. B. Laughlin's Drug Store on the northwest corner of Third and Santa Clara Streets, for example, took calls for Norton. Morehead-Fleming's Drug Store at Second and San Fernando Streets did likewise for Jones.

Even hotels got into the transport business. The Auzerais House, St. James, and Vendome sent their own carryalls and later, buses to the Southern Pacific's Market Street station to pick up and deliver guests. The Montgomery Hotel, opened in 1911, followed suit. Also, practically every well-appointed livery stable in town had one or more carryalls, a number of hacks, and maybe a hearse or two. They thus assured the public of high class rented transportation for every occasion.

Stagecoaches and Drivers

The stagecoach, however, attracted more attention than any other "over the road" vehicle. Long before the arrival of the railroad, it speedily transported passengers from St. Louis to San Francisco, and from one community to another in California.

In course of his duties, the stage driver acquired the Old Testament appellation of "Jehu," which likened him unto the furiously driving son of Nimshi. He also pointed up the old assertion that the drama of history remains forever the same. Only the cast and props change. The stage driver, most skillful high speed man of his day, inevitably became the Greyhound bus driver of a later generation. The bullwhacker and jerkline mule skinner took over the great "semi" rigs of post World War I highways. The roadside blacksmith became a garage owner and automotive vehicle repairman. The old-time horse trader transferred his talents to selling used cars, and according to more than one wag, "the truth is still not in him."

In September, 1849, John Whisman of Mountain View opened California's first stagecoach service with a line between San José and San Francisco. His rolling stock, an old uncomfortable French omnibus, was pulled by uncurried, half-wild mules and mustangs. Yet it covered the distance between terminals in nine hours until the abominably wet winter of

1849-50 turned the road into hub deep mud. The proprietor then shifted his northern terminus to Alviso, permitting passengers to transfer to and from steamboats until resumption of peninsular service the following spring.

In the meantime, Whisman hiked the fare between San José and San Francisco to two ounces of gold dust (\$32), which did not pass unnoticed. On April 12, 1850, the *Alta California* of San Francisco announced his first competition. "We are glad to learn," this paper stated, "that a line of stages has been established between this place and San José by Messrs. Ackley & Maurison. The Stages leave *St. Francis Hotel*, at 7:00 A. M., three times a week, and go through in about nine hours. The proprietors have placed us under obligations by taking charge of dispatches from our reporter and promptly delivering them."

On May 27, the same paper carried another announcement revealing Ackley & Maurison's firm name. Under head of New Arrangements, it said, "The United States Mail Line of Stages are the only line of daily stages running to San José. They leave the *Empire* every morning at eight o'clock, precisely. It will be to the travelers' interest to call at the office and secure their seats at an early hour. Fare Reduced. Ackley & Maurison, Proprietors. George R. A. Leonard, Agent."

This news either frightened or over-impressed Whisman. That summer, he sold out to two of the most capable men in the stagecoaching business, Warren F. Hall and Jared Burdick Crandall. Both had had wide experience in the Eastern United States and México. They also had sufficient capital to finance a first class outfit in California.

In anticipation of a four-year mail contract, Hall & Crandall equipped themselves with three thoroughbred, four-horse coaches that a William Beeks had just hauled overland. Before the end of the year, they had between 3,000 and 4,000 mustangs on their Santa Clara Valley ranch bought at \$20 a head and being broken for stage coach service. After establishing a regular schedule on the San José-San Francisco run they extended their service to Monterey, giving that community twice a week connection with the

outside world. Their advertising soon gave Ackley & Maurison something to think about.

Ackley & Maurison, appealing to creature comfort, had already described their San José-San Francisco run as a "Cheap Pleasure Excursion." They informed the public that their stages left San Francisco's Empire House "daily (Sundays not excepted) at 8 o'clock, A. M., for San José. And from the Mansion House, San José, daily at 7 o'clock, A. M. for San Francisco."

"This line," they continued, "is furnished with the best stages and horses the country can produce, and carries passengers through the whole distance—60 miles, in about six hours.

"The proprietors have reduced the rates of fare so as to enable all who desire a trip over one of the most beautiful roads in the world, to do so at a very small expense, and hope thereby to receive as much patronage as the enterprise merits. The climate of San José being one of the most healthy in the country, is highly recommended to invalids exclusive of the pleasure of the excursion."

Hall & Crandall, carrying Berford & Company's Express, used similar rhetoric in appealing to the traveling public's comfort and pocketbook. They advertised daily departures from "Berford & Co's. office in the Plaza (Portsmouth Square), at 8 o'clock, A. M. and the City Hotel in San José at 7 o'clock, A. M."

"The reduced rate of fare," they said, puts it in the power of every one to visit the beautiful and healthful valley of Santa Clara. There is no more charming drive in California than that from San Francisco to San José, and as one is whirled rapidly through the oak openings and across the level plains under the skillful driving of Professors Dillon or Crandall, who drive their own coaches, he finds that pleasure is united with business, and wonders why he had never made the trip before.

"The great advantage this line possesses over all the others is that the Stages were bought expressly for the road, and with particular attention to *safety*, while the drivers, who have served a long apprenticeship from New England to México, make the *quickest* time and *never meet with accidents*, which are so

TRANSPORTATION

likely to occur with the old-fashioned stage coaches. We invite our friends to give this line a trial."

Heavy rains during the winter of 1850-51 must have disrupted the pleasure derived from peninsular stagecoaching to a considerable extent. On January 1, 1851, the far distant *Sacramento Transcript* observed, "The U.S. Mail Line of Stages have discontinued running their line through by land, between San Francisco and San José, and are now running a daily line to and from the Embarcadero (Alviso) in connection with two steamers, the *Wm. Robinson* and *New Star*. The traveling public will find this a much more pleasant route than by land at this season of the year, as well as cheaper."

Two days later, the *Alta California* informed its readers that the "fine fast-running steamer *Wm. Robinson*, Charles Emerson, Master, will commence her regular trips" on the San José and Santa Clara run.

After this change of service Ackley & Maurison faded from the news pages. Hall & Crandall, however continued to flourish. By 1853, they had expanded their services into the northern California mining districts. No expense had been spared in procuring the best horses, finest Concord coaches, and most careful and competent drivers. Yet, Hall & Crandall sold their peninsular line in 1853.

Then on Saturday, May 13, 1854, as their mail contract neared its expiration date, the *Alta California* carried an important notice dated at San José three days earlier! "DISSOLUTION OF CO-PARTNERSHIP. TAKE NOTICE—That the firm heretofore known as the firm of Hall & Crandall, State Proprietors, is hereby dissolved by mutual consent." Though the Halls continued in the stagecoaching drama, they had for some time past been assuming less conspicuous parts. On January 1, 1854, they and Crandall helped to organize a dozen competing lines into the California Stage Company, with headquarters in Sacramento. This merger reputedly took in five sixths of all the stage lines in the state. It was designed to head off suicidal competition among a host of small, inefficiently-run outfits.

William Henry Hall, less adventurous than Warren, lived in San José for many years after disso-

lution of the Hall & Crandall partnership. The *San Francisco Daily Morning Call* of September 29, 1867, mentioned him as one of the four trustees of the newly-incorporated Oregon and California Stage Company. Two years later, the *San José Mercury* reported his selling the Santa Cruz Stage Line to William McFarland for \$10,000. He was 49 years old at the time and, apparently, doing well for himself in the financial world.

On the other hand, Crandall kept very much in the public eye. Newswriters all over the state enthusiastically jotted down his comings and goings. He made big news for the first time in the wildest stagecoach race ever seen on the San Francisco Peninsula, an event recorded by no less a person than Governor Peter H. Burnett.

When Crandall and his Ackley & Maurison "opposition" rolled into San Francisco on October 18, 1850, they found the town deliriously celebrating California's admission to the Union. The news, which arrived on the Steamship *Oregon* that morning, had not left for the state capital, because no stages were leaving for San José that day. On the morning of the 19th, however, Crandall and the "opposition" kept a sharp eye on each other from their respective stands on the Plaza. Burnett, en route from Sacramento to San José, sat on the driver's seat next to Crandall. Suddenly, whips popped, and the two rigs shot for San José, racing to deliver the momentous tidings.

Burnett, customarily an extremely sedate man, entered into the spirit of the occasion, shrilly shouting "California's admitted" to everyone within earshot of the roadway. At one point, he looked back to see several onlookers throwing their hats into the air and turning handsprings in clouds of dust. More than once, as his vehicle cut across sweeping turns, he jerked off his plug hat and ducked overhanging oak limbs with amazing agility.

At what is now known as the Martin Avenue and Race Street turn of The Alameda, Crandall had a commanding lead. Moments later, he braked his vehicle in front of the Statehouse. Burnett got to the ground as fast as his dignity would permit, patted the dust from his clothes, and stepped indoors to announce the state's admission.

Crandall's popularity and business success must have influenced other aspiring Jehus. In September, 1850, the *Sacramento Transcript* reported stagecoach service from San José to Sonora via Mission San José, San Joaquín City, Graysonville, Tuolumne City, Empire City, and Jamestown. The *Sacramento Union* soon noted an outfit providing once a week service between San José and Stockton via Mission San José and "Livermore's." William H. Hoy improved the San José-Sonora run in 1857 to three round trips a week at a fare of \$10 a way.

Los Angeles connections came on August 25, 1858, when the Overland Mail Company sent the first stagecoach of its triweekly service southward from San Francisco. The first eastbound Butterfield Overland Mail stage rattled through San José three weeks later to the day, bound for St. Louis, Missouri, via Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Arkansas.

Waterman Lily Ormsby, *New York Herald* reporter, described passing through San José about midnight, October 9, on the Butterfield's first west-bound trip. He had left St. Louis on September 16, and was more than a little saddle sore when he joyfully sighted the hills of San Francisco just after sunrise on October 10.

Initial one way fare on the Butterfield was \$100, which was raised to \$200 in January, 1859, and reduced to \$150 the following May. Service ended with the beginning of the Civil War in April, 1861; the line's southwestern route was too vulnerable to Confederate attack. Passengers, mail, and express were transferred to the more northerly Central Overland route.

By the end of the 1850's, stage lines radiated in every direction from San José, with the California Stage Company dominating the field. Less than a year after perfecting its Sacramento Valley and Mother Lode network, this company expanded southward to the San Francisco Bay area. In January, 1855, it took over Dillon, Hedge and Company's San Francisco - San José - Monterey run, and J. A. Talmadge's San José - Oakland line. James W. Birch, its president, not only had an eye to profit, but also a determination to eliminate the economic anarchy inherent in the business practices of too many small companies. He also won public favor by reducing rates to a figure "far below any previously advertised."

In 1856, however, General Superintendent Charles McLaughlin pulled his United States Mail Line out of the California Stage Company's combination to offer his own service on both sides of San Francisco Bay until the coming of the iron horse. McLaughlin was a born transportation man, interested in railroad building as well as stagecoaching. After he and Alexander H. Houston built the San Francisco & San José Railroad's line at a cost of \$2,000,000, he contracted to build the original Western Pacific from San José to Sacramento via Niles Canyon, Livermore Valley, and Stockton.

This latter project got McLaughlin into "financial difficulties" that resulted in no irreparable loss to himself. The "Big Four's" Central Pacific took over the W. P.'s right of way and improvements while he kept the vast acreages of public lands that had been set aside to finance building of the line. His name remained one of the most prominent in the Santa Clara County Assessor's books for many years. His Diablo Range holdings practically dominated that area of the County's Official Map. Sixty years later, old-timers still referred to them as "railroad lands."

One could well describe McLaughlin as a man who put himself out of the stagecoaching business by building railroads. His last Bay Area run as a stage driver occurred on September 6, 1869, the day that the W. P. inaugurated service. An old-time print shows him holding the reins while racing the "opposition line's" coach from San José to Oakland.

Several smaller East Bay operators, who made connections with San José, likewise gave way to progress. In 1852, before Santa Clara County's Washington Township became part of Alameda County, John Horner established a run between Mission San José and Union City.² Centerville's Ashley Cameron established an opposition line between San José and San Antonio (Oakland). In 1855, an enterprising gentlemen historically referred to as "one Hoag" founded a company known as Hoag, Hoag & Bamber, which

²The original Union City adjoined New Haven, later called Alvarado. Both were in Santa Clara County until creation of Alameda County on March 25, 1853.

TRANSPORTATION

sold out to Bamber & Co. Then Bamber extended his services to include San José and Oakland.

Construction of the Santa Cruz Gap Turnpike in 1858 opened the way for stagecoaching through the Santa Cruz Mountains. The toll gates had hardly been set up when the Santa Cruz Stage Company commenced service between San José and the town at the mouth of San Lorenzo River.

This line passed through a succession of owner-ships that included the names of William McFarland, and George L. Colegrove. Its management was advertised as Colegrove and Ward in 1875, but only Colegrove appears to have been a resident of San José during the period covered.

On leaving his stand at 230 First Street (now 115 North First) each morning, Colegrove almost got in a day's work before striking the road. He picked up passengers at residences and hotels, mail at the Post Office, heavier items at Wells, Fargo & Co., and parcels from various stores for delivery to "the hill people." Moreover, as hero of the journey, he never wanted for feminine company. His log for Friday, October 24, 1873, read:

Call at 365 San Fernando St. opposite Carrol's Stables for a lady.

Mrs. Rutan, Santa Clara St. next to Pleasure Garden on Santa Clara St. Front inside seat.

On Sunday, August 9, 1874, a Miss Allston came to his office instead of waiting for him to pick her up as previously requested—probably to make sure she rode on the driver's seat. Miss Wood wished to be picked up at the Auzerais House; Mrs. Moser, who wished a "back seat inside," would meet the stage at the corner of San Fernando and Locust Streets. Masculine passengers included "Mr. Hockett & Co. 2 outside seats."

Summer vacation season, 1874, must have left Colegrove wondering whether he would have been better off in the freighting business. On July 11, he had to call at Wells, Fargo & Co. "for a box consigned to the Los Gatos Manufacturing Co.," and elsewhere for "packages for McKiernan."³ On July 15, he loaded a tent for Dr. Cory and helped Mrs. McLaughlin and

her two trunks aboard his vehicle at the stage office. Then, after picking up four passengers at other locations, he headed out The Alameda for Santa Clara.

Colegrove stopped at Santa Clara's Cameron House and nextdoor Union Hotel just long enough to pick up anyone and anything bound for Santa Cruz or waypoints. He had a choice of two roads in getting from Santa Clara to Seven Mile Cottage, his next stop. He could take the Santa Clara-Los Gatos Road (now Winchester Boulevard) or the Bascom Avenue-Lexington route, but unfortunately he left nothing in his log to indicate which he took.

As the South Pacific Coast Railroad inched its way through the mountains from Los Gatos to Felton between 1878 and 1880, Colegrove's stages filled the narrowing gap between advancing railheads, sometimes with disastrous results. Severe windstorms sent more than one of his vehicles crashing to the bottom of some deep canyon. To compensate for such losses, he charged a fare of \$2.50 a passenger and, as one observer said, "earned every nickel of it."

Colegrove drove his last run on April 15, 1880, the day that the South Pacific Coast line connected with the Santa Cruz & Felton tracks at Felton. Almost immediately on unhitching his team, he took a job as conductor for the railroad.

A month later to the day, a grand ceremony marked the formal opening of the line to passenger service. All across-the-mountain passengers, mail, express and freight arrived in Santa Cruz thereafter by rail instead of stagecoach. With four major rail services to buck, stagecoaching in the Santa Clara Valley steadily diminished in importance.

Two railroads—South Pacific Coast and Southern Pacific—built branch lines to New Almadén in 1886. The S. P. C. took off from its main line at Campbell; the S. P. from its Coast Line at Hillsdale, four miles south of San José. Both located their stations hard by the intersection of Harry and McKean Roads, where a rockaway, (a light horse-drawn vehicle

³Charles Henry McKiernan, 'pioneer Santa Cruz Summit lumberman, better known as Mountain Charlie.

resembling a hack) from The Hacienda and The Hill met all trains. These facilities eliminated most of the old, 14-mile alternately dusty and muddy stagecoach journey along Almadén Road to San José. They also eliminated the refreshing stops at Last Chance, Eight Mile House, Robertsville, and Sycamore Grove. Never again would the Jehu on that run be held up by highwaymen or lose his coach in the flood-swollen *Arroyo de los Capitancillos*.⁴

No history of Santa Clara County transport could be written without the name of Levi Millard, first postmaster and early day newspaper agent of McCartysville, now Saratoga. He drove about everything that had wheels on it. His equipment was mostly of the local omnibus and carryall variety, but it ranged a fairly wide field. On April 12, 1870, the *San José Mercury* announced his establishing an opposition line from the brand new town of Hollister "to the railroad." June 7, 1871, found him back in Saratoga, where his omnibus led the grand parade celebrating the opening of the Saratoga & Pescadero Turnpike (now Big Basin Road.) His San José livery stable advertised "the best in livery and hacks" in 1874.

Millard never got far from proprietorship of some kind of horse powered transport, but he at no time aspired to the stature of a Hall, Crandall, McLaughlin, or Colegrove.

Two other short haul men—William Fitts and William Tran—used equipment similar to Millard's. Their services constituted a sort of transit between San José and such nearby communities as Santa Clara and Alviso. They also solicited enough picnic and parade assignments to insure solvency.

Fitts drove an omnibus between San José and Santa Clara until completion of the San José & Santa Clara Horse Railroad in 1868 put him out of business. During the next dozen years, he served as horsecar driver, Santa Clara Town Marshal, and Santa Clara County Jailer. In 1881, he returned to transport as superintendent of the S. J. & S. C. horse line, holding that position until electricity successfully replaced

horse power in 1890. He kept his next job, with the City of San José, until his death at the age of 80 in 1916.

Tran, in contrast, stuck to transport the remainder of his working years. When "the cars" displaced his bus, he went to work for the Southern Pacific Railroad, from which he retired as a conductor half a century later.

As electric car rails stretched toward the foothills on both sides of the valley, thoroughbred vehicles of triple reach fame disappeared one by one into a cloud of dust from which there was no return. The graceful Concord and canvas-flapped celerity wagon soon stood forgotten alongside a leaking roofed shed in some out-of-the-way barnyard. Only a few made it into protective barns to be rescued by museum curators and antique dealers.

On March 19, 1904, the big cars of "the Interurban" whistled past the remains of Guberville; three years later, those of the Peninsular system reached Cupertino. Their speed and power doomed horse-drawn transport at almost every stop. In the end, both they and the cars that replaced them ironically gave way to a deadlier competitor—the automobile.

Of all the stage lines connecting San José with outlying communities, none was more notable than the one covering the twenty-eight miles between San José's Vendome Hotel and Lick Observatory atop Mt. Hamilton. It survived motorization and several changes of ownership to come down to the time of this writing.

Early in 1888, at least six men foresaw Lick Observatory, then under construction, as a great tourist attraction, and all of them felt that providing a good means of transportation to and from that point would be a good investment. The first into the field were F. S. Chadbourne, who owned a chain of furniture stores; A. H. Boomer of the California, Oregon and Idaho Stage Co.; and S. D. Brasto, a Wells, Fargo & Co. division superintendent. This trio organized the Mt. Hamilton Stage Co.

At virtually the same time, these gentlemen announced their plans to Major Horace S. Foote,

⁴Old time name of the mountain stretch of the Guadalupe River. Also the name of a rancho.

TRANSPORTATION

editor of *Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World*. A couple of men named Hodges and Griswold advertised themselves in the *City Directory* as *proprietors* of the Mt. Hamilton Stage Co., with offices in the Auzeais House.

Only the sketchiest accounts of the confusing origins of these two outfits have survived. Franklin Harris Ross, greatest transportation figure in the history of Mt. Hamilton Road, was already here and preparing to enter the field. Ross knew his way in the business, agricultural, and transportation worlds. He owned a fine hotel in Modesto, engaged in extensive livery stable ventures, enjoyed the favors of early railroad builders, and owned 6,000 acres of wheat land. In San José, the last nail had hardly been driven in construction of the Vendome Hotel when he established the Vendome Stables and incorporated the Mt. Hamilton Stage Co., which kept its vehicles in those stables. And under his management, the corporation practically controlled tourist traffic on the Mt. Hamilton Road. The Vendome Stables served as headquarters.

The regular daily stage left the Vendome on the "up trip" at 7:30 a. m. and arrived at the observatory at 1:00 p. m. On the "down trip," it left the observatory at 2:15 p. m. and arrived at the Vendome three hours and forty-five minutes later.

The stations between terminals were Junction House, Grand View, Hall's Valley, Cape Horn, Smith Creek, Water Tank, and Brick Yard. Horse changes enroute seem to have varied, perhaps with the weather and condition of the road. In 1888, *Pen Pictures from the Garden of the World*, mentioned two—one at Hall's Valley and one at Smith Creek. *Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers*, published in 1895, mentioned only Smith Creek. Grand View has also been mentioned as a horse change stop. The fare remained at \$3.00 up to the beginning of this writing, and the ride was worth it.

The Mt. Hamilton Stage Co. passed from Franklin H. Ross to his sons Franklin, Jr., and Fred C. Ross by 1910. The 1913 *City Directory* showed no member of the Ross family connected with the stage company. That same year, the company was on South First Street, a long way south of the Vendome Hotel.

A more important change, however, occurred in 1910 when Howard Range, who took over in 1910, switched from horse flesh to a Maxwell automobile. Other changes followed. Ernest Roper, who took over in 1922, sold out to Newton Davis in 1958, and Davis to Donald Wallace in 1969.

Such old-time horsemen as William Dampman and Frank Riddle boasted of making it "to the top" in four-and-a-half or five hours. Range, however, set the all time speed record. Under pressure to deliver the mail to the Mt. Hamilton Post Office on time, he put his Maxwell over the road in one hour flat. His successors, with bigger and more powerful cars, preferred a more leisurely hour-and-a-half, which allowed time for mail deliveries and incidental stops.

Driving conditions sometimes proved "ticklish" to the automobile stagers, but nothing comparable to those of the old-time horsemen. In addition to his regular run, an old-timer might have to take out one of Ross' many carryalls loaded with school students or foreign dignitaries who wished "to see the stars." This meant supper at Smith Creek Hotel, peering through the great telescope at the observatory, and getting back to San José between 4:00 and 5:00 a. m. If clouds or fog had settled upon their route anywhere between the observatory and Junction House, no one, including the driver, could see the edge of the road. Only the horses, which knew every turn, could get them through safely.

Yet from Ross to Wallace, no driver on the Mount Hamilton run ever had an accident chalked against him. The company's only casualty was the slight change in its name. After more than forty years of service, The Mountain Hamilton Stage Co. became the Mount Hamilton Stage Lines to conform with a Railroad (now Public Utilities) Commission requirement.

Railroads, Steam

In 1844, while his party toiled past the future site of Truckee, Dr. John Townsend stood off to one side and momentarily surveyed the scene. "One day,"

he said, "a railroad will come up this canyon from the east and go right over that mountain into California." The canyon was that of Truckee River; the mountain, Donner Pass. Townsend died in 1850 without seeing a rail laid anywhere in California. Yet his prediction proved amazingly accurate. A great railroad with transcontinental connections inaugurated service in 1869 along the route he had pointed out 25 years earlier.

Meanwhile, the citizens of his home town, San José, had become railroad minded. The Legislature of a Thousand Drinks had hardly convened when someone broached the subject of a line from San José to San Francisco. On January 26, 1851, Judge Davis Divine called a mass meeting to promote such a project on a community stock basis. He suggested that the City donate practically all of its vacant lands except Washington and St. James Squares toward financing construction. Other communities along the line would do likewise with their lands.

The Common Council favored Divine's plan, but hung back to see what portion of the costs the County and State would assume. This posed no great inconvenience because Divine had collected \$100,000 in subscriptions during the first month after the mass meeting. Also, he had privately discussed the matter with representatives of the Vanderbilts and Rothschilds. The Vanderbilt representative—banker William Chapman Ralston of San Francisco—was "favorably impressed." The Rothschild agent signified his favorable impression by immediately closing the deal; his company would finance the road.

There was nothing small about Divine or his fellow promoters. They were young, they "thought big," they were going to "build big." On September 6, 1851, they incorporated the Pacific and Atlantic Rail Road, with Divine as president. Their line would extend first from San Francisco to San José, and, after that, look toward the Atlantic.

They chose William J. Lewis as their construction engineer. Lewis had already made an armchair survey; now he rode horseback over the proposed right of way for the first time. He then submitted his in-the-saddle cost estimate which indicated consider-

able confidence in his own ability. On December 26, he published the following figures:

Construction	\$1,385,726.17
Buildings and fixtures	49,000.00
Running furniture	104,000.00
Total	\$1,539,126.17

Lewis' figuring down to a fine point of seventeen cents raised an eyebrow or two in the financial world. So did his choice of routes for getting into and out of San Francisco. Of three possible routes—Bayshore, San Bruno Hills, and Mission San Francisco—he considered the Bayshore the best. Yet for some unpublished reason he chose the Mission.

About this time, public interest in Pacific & Atlantic stock began to wane. As one writer put it, "the bulls were definitely outclassed by the bears" in the securities manipulations that followed. The Vanderbilts and Rothschilds discreetly withdrew. With \$1,945,000 of his \$2,000,000 in capital stock on his hands, Divine found himself in an embarrassing position. He applied to the Federal Government for land grants and other aid. The Senate approved a bill to help him, but the House killed it. Whereupon Mayor Cornelius K. Garrison of San Francisco and three associates surprised everyone by taking over the entire unsold block of stock in 1853.

According to the *Annals of San Francisco*, published in 1854, Garrison had many profitable investments in addition to a salaried income of \$85,000 a year—"three or four times greater than that of the President of the United States." Still, neither he nor his associates put up a cent of cash for their huge block of Pacific and Atlantic stock. Their attention seemed concentrated on their vast San Bruno Hills land acreage whose value could be greatly increased by building a railroad through it.

Early in 1854, this enterprising quartet engineered a stockholders' meeting in which they elected themselves to the Board of Directors and eased Divine from the presidency. There engineer Lewis experienced a change of heart regarding the San Bruno Hills route. Maybe it was the best after all, he said, as he reappraised resources of the country as far south as the New Almadén Mine. He accordingly figured

TRANSPORTATION

the income to be derived from quicksilver, lumber, and farm products traffic in the following manner:

Cost of construction . . .	\$1,744,680.30
Annual expenses	297,000.00
Annual receipts	895,000.00
Annual profit	598,000.00

Once again, he figured everything out to a fraction of a dollar. His confidence in a 34 percent return on the investment was amazing.

What Divine thought of all this activity is a question. He kept busy at whatever had to be done through it all. In December, 1853, he talked the Common Council of San José into granting St. James Square to his railroad for a depot.⁵ On finding that the corporation laws he had obtained from a mining and cow county legislature in 1851 were useless, he set about amending them. He personally wrote the amendments and, with the help of Charles Lincoln Wilson of the Sacramento Valley Railroad, pushed them through the 1854 Legislature.

Just as Divine thought he had cleared the last obstacle, hard times settled upon the country. A wave of financial panic that swept the nation from coast to coast carried the Pacific and Atlantic Railroad with it. The line's promoters had all they could do to keep their own heads above the flood without worrying about a railroad.

The peninsular railroad project "died" for a while. But San Joséans were a stubborn lot, determined to ride at least part way to San Francisco on steam cars. In February, 1859, they held a mass meeting to discuss building a line to Alviso to connect with steamers. This revived interest in "the larger concept," and a new company came into existence soon afterward under the modest name of San Francisco & San José Rail Road.

Impetus for this new move came largely from the San Francisco end of the line. In 1860, the pro-

moters, seeking public funds, wangled from the Legislature a plum that authorized the three counties traversed by the railroad to subscribe \$900,000.

San Francisco newspapers and other interests promptly screamed "Fraud!" and created a ruckus that caused the road's promoters to dissolve their corporation and quit in disgust. It was then that California's first foundryman, Peter Donahue, assumed command. Born of Irish parents in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1822, Donahue came to the United States at the age of eleven. Here, he was soon apprenticed to learn the machinist trade in the foundries of Paterson, New Jersey. While polishing his skill as a journeyman, he sailed for Peru in 1847 as assistant engineer on a gunboat. He left Peru as a passenger of the steamship *Oregon* in 1849, bound for the California gold mines, but when his vessel's machinery broke down, he repaired and took charge of it for the remainder of the voyage.

June, 1849, found Donahue in San Francisco, where he met his boilermaker brother James, and, with him, opened a smithy in a tent on Montgomery Street the following fall. A brief fling at gold mining in the meantime had convinced him that there was more profit in other pursuits.

Donahue moved his shop to the corner of First and Mission Streets in the spring of 1850, marking the beginning of San Francisco's world famous Union Iron Works. This venture was a success from the start. Donahue's ever increasing volume of business soon included everything from mining machinery and giant castings to steam boilers and a ship for the United States Navy. His establishment was so well organized that it practically ran itself, leaving him time for other enterprises—including a gas company—to keep his mind busy. As his mounting wealth kept him on the lookout for new investments, his eye fell upon the San Francisco & San José Railroad, then at the nadir of hope.

In July, 1860, Donahue and two San Francisco friends—Judge Timothy Dame and auctioneer Henry M. Newhall—took over this unfortunate project with all of its despair and frustrations. Under them, it was reorganized for the fourth time, still as the San Francisco & San José. Dame became president because

⁵The Council rescinded this action a few meetings later, considering the west side of San Pedro Street, between the present Bassett and Dame, a better location for the purpose intended.

Donahue, the real power, preferred the less conspicuous role of secretary. Newhall, who added land investment to his auctioneering and railroad activities, served wherever his business acumen would do the most good. He succeeded Dame as president of the S. F. & S. J. when that gentleman assumed the presidency of the original Western Pacific, another of the trio's ventures.⁶

Messrs. Donahue, Dame, and Newhall had abundant funds of their own. With them, there would be no hat-in-hand begging or "propositioning," but they had no objection to disposing of \$600,000 in S. F. & S. J. bonds to San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Mateo Counties.⁷ They contracted with Charles McLaughlin and Alexander H. Houston to build the road within three years at a cost of \$2,000,000. The ground breaking ceremony took place in San Francisco on May 1, 1861, and construction was under way almost before the public knew what had happened. Five construction camps sprang up along the route. Three of them concentrated on the San Bruno Hills stretch, where the tracks reached an elevation of 259 feet. The fourth located just north of San José; the fifth, near San Mateo.

The workmen were mostly greenhorns fresh from the East, but they tore into the job as if they intended to set an all time record. By the fall of 1863, they had cut through the San Bruno hills, graded the right of way, built bridges, and laid rails to Mayfield in Santa Clara County. Three brand new locomotives—the San Francisco, San José, and T. Dame—were already in service, and two more, costing \$15,000 each were on board ship, coming "around the Horn" from New York.

Enthusiasm ran so high that Donahue, Dame, and Newhall staged a picnic excursion from San

Francisco to Mayfield on October 17 to show 400 guests what had been accomplished. Among them were two governors, Addison Crandall Gibbs of Oregon and Leland Stanford of California. Their train stopped only briefly at the railhead, then backed up to the San Francisquito bridge in what is now Palo Alto for a "bounteous collation" of "fowl, ice cream, and unlimited champagne" beneath the trees. In the rhetoric that followed, Judge Dame echoed Judge Divine's 1851 prediction of a line all the way to St. Louis.

Next day, San Francisco newspapers announced the beginning of regular two-trains-a-day service on the peninsula. The first, or southbound, left San Francisco at 8:30 a. m., dropping off and picking up passengers at half a dozen stations enroute to the railhead. It reached Mayfield at 10:30, rested 15 minutes, and headed back to San Francisco as the northbound at 10:45. Meanwhile, the track layers were pushing on to San José.

The great event came just after 1:00 p. m. January 16, 1864. Two trains made up of 29 cars of every description rolled into San José's evergreen and flag-decked San Pedro Street station to signal completion of the line. They were greeted by blaring bands, saluting cannon, speeches, and the cheers of thousands. Mayor Quinby gave a rousing speech matched in eloquence only by that of Judge Dame. Bands, military companies, fire companies, visiting passengers, and almost everyone else who could ride in a carriage or walk joined a big downtown parade, after which they all returned to the railroad station for a plentiful free lunch.

Editor Owen of the *Mercury* took in the festivities from beginning to end, his sharp eye missing nothing. Of those who "wolfed" the free lunch he wrote:

"Did we attempt to describe the conflict enacted here against man and meat, our pen would fail us.

"We regretted deeply that this part of the programme was not carried out with the same order and system that had up to this time been observed, but here were thousands of hungry

⁶Newhall founded the Los Angeles County town of Newhall, named after himself. He was also responsible for naming the nearby community of Saugus after his Massachusetts birthplace, and, same as Divine and Dame, gave his name to a San José street.

⁷San Francisco County took \$300,000 in bonds; Santa Clara, \$200,000; San Mateo, \$100,000.

TRANSPORTATION

souls, many of whom had not tasted food for 24 hours, and some, as a gentleman remarked to us, had not had a square meal since Fourth of July last . . ."

More than a little of this unseemly hunger, however, stemmed from the fact that the trains, scheduled to arrive at noon, came in an hour late.

Elsewhere in his report of the affair, Owen warmed up a bit. After hailing "consummation of this enterprise as one of the proudest achievements of our State," he passed on to the national scene. "The time is not far distant," he said, "when the East shall join hands with the West across the continent and interlock with iron fingers in bonds nevermore to be disengaged."

The San Francisco & San José Railroad was completed in just two years and seven months after the ground breaking, well within the contractual time. Hand labor and dump cart had accomplished the task under delaying Civil War conditions that made it almost impossible to get rails and other supplies from Eastern steel mills. Owen and every other San Joséan had good reason to exult.

On the other hand, stagecoach and steamboat men evinced no hint of rejoicing. Railfare of \$3.00 and traveling time of two hours and ten minutes killed their passenger traffic between San José and San Francisco overnight. And as the American craving for speed began to divert freight to "the cars," Alviso lost her glory as San José's port of entry. Her shipping and warehousing business went into a decline from which it never recovered. As late as 1877, her citizens were still so incensed that they would not permit trains of the newly-constructed South Pacific Coast Railroad to stop there for anything more than mail service.

Alviso's complaint, however, received little notice. California's railroad age had long since arrived. On July 1, 1862 President Lincoln signed the Pacific Railroad Act, providing for construction of a trans-continental line composed of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific. This alerted Donahue and his associates to the possibility of great achievement. In December of the same year, they organized the Western

Pacific Railroad to connect San José with the Central Pacific's western terminus in Sacramento. Thus, San Francisco-bound freight and passenger traffic would transfer to the W. P. at that point for connection with S. F. & S. J. at San José. A Western Pacific branch from Vallejo's Mill (Niles) would serve Oakland and way points.

This new project had the blessing of the Central Pacific's chief engineer, Theodore Dehone Judah, plus Congressional ratification that included land grants and subsidy of \$16,000 a mile. Judah had encountered so many problems in the mountains east of Sacramento that he was probably glad to have someone else take over his company's right of access to Pacific tidewater. His concession to the Donahue interests caused San Joséans to rhapsodize in anticipation of their city's becoming an important rail point. It also opened an unholy session of railroad power politics that lasted until Hiram Warren Johnson assumed the governorship of California in 1911.

Construction of the Western Pacific got under way in January, 1865, with Dame as president, Lewis as engineer, and McLaughlin as builder. The rails reached Niles by October, and would have reached Sacramento under the original construction arrangement the following year if Judah had not died of yellow fever contracted in Panamá while on a trip East in 1863.

With Judah out of the way, the Central Pacific's Big Four saw no reason for abiding by his agreement with the Western Pacific. A rapid series of quiet financial moves enabled them to gain control and, eventually, ownership of the San Francisco and Marysville Railroad, later reincorporated as the California Pacific. This gave them a water level route from Vallejo to Sacramento, direct and much shorter than anything the W. P. could offer. It left the W. P.'s projectors holding the sack, a circumstance that facilitated the Big Four's taking over the W. P.'s franchise, track-age, and structures on their own terms.

The Central Pacific thus gained control of all traffic into and out of the San Francisco Bay Area except that which moved over the San Francisco & San José. The C. P. completed the W. P. from Niles to Sacramento, built the branch from Oakland to Niles,

and gained entry to San José. Commencing on September 6, 1869, trains could cover the entire distance from Promontory, Utah, to Oakland, California, on C. P.-owned tracks.

Of all the W. P. men involved in this venture, McLaughlin, as indicated elsewhere, probably came off with the least damage. When the C. P. took over everything else that belonged to the W. P., he got the public lands appropriated to finance construction.

The W. P. was only one of many smaller roads to be gobbled up by the C. P.'s rapacious Big Four, but Donahue and his backers had no intention of "taking it lying down." On December 2, 1865, they incorporated the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, with Congressional authority to connect at the Colorado River with Cyrus Holliday's transcontinental line then inching its way southwestward from Topeka, Kansas.⁸

The S. P., as projected by Donahue, would begin in San José, taking off from the S. F. & S. J. and building southward to Gilroy, it would cut across the Diablo Range via the best available route to the San Joaquín Valley and on to the Colorado. Construction began with a ground-breaking ceremony in San José on April 21, 1868.

This jolted the Central Pacific's Big Four into startled wakefulness. Donahue was playing for keeps. If they wished to retain their greedy monopoly of California traffic, they would have to buy him out at his price.

Railroad historian Gilbert H. Kneiss summed up the transaction in a single short paragraph: "Peter Donahue was willing. There was a new railroad project north of the Bay to which he would like to give his full attention. All he wanted was his price, which was now somewhat higher than it might have been before the little incident of the Western Pacific.

⁸Holliday's line approached California via northern New Mexico and Arizona. It reached the Colorado at Needles, originally on the Arizona side of the stream, in 1883. Today, it and the many smaller roads that it absorbed are welded into a single great system known as the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe.

Three and a quarter million dollars was the amount—just about a million more than the road had cost."

It was under these terms that the Central Pacific acquired the San Francisco & San José and Southern Pacific, with all the latter's tangible and paper properties, including the Santa Clara & Pajaro Valley line.

Except for three later-day narrow gauge lines (one of which it acquired in 1887), the S. P. owned every foot of important coastal rail between San Francisco and Los Angeles. It controlled all traffic between those points by any route until the Santa Fe reached Richmond in 1897, and San Jose welcomed the first through train on March 20, 1904.

But if the Big Four thought they had disposed of all serious coastal rivals in acquiring Donahue's holdings, they were mistaken. On March 25, 1876, James Graham Fair of Comstock Lode fame incorporated the South Pacific Coast Railroad to challenge the S. P.'s monopoly of East Bay business and to tap new territory between San José and Santa Cruz. Fair, who combined indescribable rudeness with incredible cunning, entertained no fear whatever of Messrs. Huntington, Hopkins, Stanford, and Crocker individually or collectively. With his Virginia City mines pouring millions of dollars into his pockets, he could well afford to finance such a project as he had in mind.

Fair chose Alfred E. Davis, formerly of Newark, New Jersey, as chief engineer and president of the road, vesting him with its entire management. Questionable tradition also had him handing Davis a blank check, to be filled in on completion of the job. The bill came to a minimum of \$11,500,000, or \$110,576 a mile, which somewhat cooled Fair's enthusiasm for further railroad building—at least under those conditions. He had the costliest narrow gauge line California had ever seen up to that time.

The South Pacific Coast's projectors thought pretty much along the same lines as those of the S. F. & S. J.—BIG in everything but the gauge of their track. They chose the narrow three-foot gauge instead of the wider standard of four feet eight and one half inches. The narrow track was skyrocketing into popularity at that time, boosted by the Baldwin Locomo-

TRANSPORTATION

tive works and General William Palmer of the Denver & Rio Grande line. Its power and other rolling stock were advertised as costing much less than standard equipment; its tracks, requiring less space and excavation, were easier to lay. In short, it supposedly offered more railroad for less money.

S. P. C. construction began in May, 1876, at Dumbarton Point just west of Newark. Construction materials brought by ship to this point were hauled over a quickly built supply track for use on the main line.

In the meantime, Davis kept his eyes open for opportunities to cut corners. His line was by no means the only narrow gauge in the state, and, fortunately, Santa Cruz County at the southern end of S. P. C. had several of them. One—the Santa Cruz & Felton—caught his attention. Incorporated in 1874 and built in 1875, this line could obviate the S. P. C.'s having to build ten miles of exorbitantly expensive mountain track. Early in 1880, it accordingly became the S. P. C.'s main line from Santa Cruz to Big Trees.

As his Chinese track crews rushed construction southward from Newark, Davis abundantly demonstrated his ability to "get things done." In the first place, he arrived at Dumbarton Point way ahead of his surveyors and had bought up 4,500 acres of land at the premium price of \$75 an acre. His purchase included buildings, sloughs, good land, marsh land, one defunct and one future townsite, a 2,000-acre dairy farm, and about everything else that would suit his company's purpose.⁹ He attended to details of "crossing over" the S. P. in Santa Clara; bought land for the West San José roundhouse and yards; directed

the shipping of ballasting gravel from Los Gatos Creek to wherever he happened to be laying track. He approvingly watched his bridge builders span Coyote Slough and other watery obstacles between Newark and Alviso.

Davis encountered his toughest structural problems in the Santa Cruz Mountains whose steep, forested canyon sides practically defied entry. It took two years "to bust a hole" through that barrier. Brush was so thick that preliminary surveyors had to lower themselves by ropes to their working stations. Los Gatos Creek alone had to be bridged eight times.

Compared with tunneling, however, the greatest difficulties met by surveyors were mere inconveniences. Seven tunnels—two of which were later opened up—pierced ridges that made any other construction impracticable. The longest, just below Wrights summit, stretched 6,115 feet from portal to portal. The next longest, at Bean Creek, accounted for 5,792 feet. Together, they held the line to a maximum elevation of 800 feet and a grade of 90 feet to the mile. Of the two, the Wrights, drilled through a mass of petroleum-impregnated rock, was the more dangerous to workers. Just one explosion here in February 1879 cost the lives of 32 men.

Yet the S. P. C.'s general construction proceeded with amazing speed because Alfred Davis was to his company what Henry Miller was to the California cattle industry. Davis was suspected of being "everywhere all the time," missing nothing that was going on. His quid-bulged cheek became a roving landmark. Hardly a foot of S. P. C. right of way escaped stain from his "nicotinic ejections," including that of his horse railroad which connected Newark with Center-ville from 1882 to 1909.

The S. P. C. railhead reached San José late in 1877, and June 1, 1878, saw the first train roll into Los Gatos. Connection with the Santa Cruz & Felton took place about a mile and a half below Felton on April 15, 1880, but inauguration of regular passenger service had to wait until May 15. On that date, and for years afterward, the traveler could board a plush passenger car at the S. P. C.'s Alameda ferry slip and "highball" for Santa Cruz almost 80 miles away.

⁹The dairy farm, known as the Green Point Dairy & Transportation Co., reputedly furnished the S. P. C.'s only revenue for six months. Its several hundred Jersey cows produced 30 tons of cheese, about the same amount of butter, and thousands of gallons of milk and cream. But since conglomerates were unknown at the time, the S. P. C.'s dairying operations were short-lived. The company needed the barns and corral space for its Newark yards and shops. The Jerseys thereafter yielded their milk to neighboring farmers.

S. P. C. activities after that were most anticlimactical, more or less limited to Oakland and Alameda facilities, the Centerville branch, and a branch from Campbell to New Almaden in 1886.

The last venture has been described as a gesture of mutual harassment, for the Southern Pacific built a branch from its main line Lick Station (Hillsdale) to New Almadén that same year. The tracks of both companies crossed just north of McKean Road, forming a letter X pattern that almost placed their respective ticket offices adjacent to each other.

Both companies undoubtedly got a fair volume of business from the Quicksilver Mining Co., but the S. P. probably drew the greater tonnage from the area in general. During the first five years, it practically concentrated on hauling sandstone for Stanford University's original buildings from the Goodrich (Greystone) Quarry on Greystone Lane. Later, it dispatched trainload after trainload of the same material for buildings all over the state, including San José's 1892 Post Office and 1905 Hall of Justice.

In 1885, James Graham Fair came from behind the scenes to take over the presidency of the South Pacific Coast. Whether his interest in railroading had begun to wane, or he had become more mindful of domestic problems and other uncertainties of life, is a question. It is certain, however, that he was a millionaire many times over when he entered one of his S. P. C. parlor cars at Alameda with Leland Stanford, A. N. Towne, and A. C. Bassett in November, 1886.

Both Fair and Stanford were railroad presidents—Fair of the S. P. C.; Stanford of the S. P. Both were United States Senators. Towne was general manager of the S. P.; Bassett, superintendent. Their purpose was an inspection tour of the South Pacific Coast's main line, and perhaps, as many of its other facilities as might thereby come to view.

As a result of this trip, all S. P. C.-owned holdings consolidated into a single corporation known as the South Pacific Coast Railway Company on May 23, 1887.¹⁰ On July 1, Fair and Stanford signed a 55-year lease that conveyed the S. P. C. to the Southern Pacific for \$5,500,000 in bonds bearing "four percent inter-

est per annum, principle and interest payable in gold coin."¹¹

The "slim track" line from Alameda's tidewater to that of Santa Cruz thus passed from control of the man whose money made it possible. It had long since won distinction in California railroad annals. It was built entirely with private funds in a day when most roads depended on large grants of Government land and money. Its builders kept their mouths shut and cunningly avoided tipping their hands to the public or possible rivals, particularly the S. P., which was diabolically adept at stifling competition. Even the cleverest journalist got nowhere in their efforts to find out who, if anyone, was backing Davis, which caused a San José publisher to suspect "another Central Pacific plot." No one but Fair and Davis knew the intimate details of their venture—whether it cost \$11,500,000 or \$13,000,000. All the records thereof were lost in the San Francisco fire of 1906.

Old-time San Joséans' memories of the S. P. C.'s ornate West San Jose depot on Cahill Street would linger for a long time to come. To them, it would always be the "Narrow Gauge Depot."

Sunset Years Under the S. P.

Because the South Pacific Coast was a good money maker, the S. P. saw no reason for an immediate or radical change in the operational setup. Most changes came in the form of road bed improvements, new and rebuilt rolling stock, replacing wood with coal for fuel, and adopting the S. P.'s paint scheme for buildings and locomotives.

By 1899, however, the public noticed that the S. P. C. had begun to take on "that S. P. look." Heavier rail and ties appeared along the main line. Presently, a third rail lay alongside the narrow gauge steel, creating a dual gauge for use of both narrow and

¹⁰In contradistinction to the old corporate name of South Pacific Coast Railroad Company.

¹¹San José newspapers published a rumor on September 13, 1883 that Henry Villard's Northern Pacific was trying to obtain control of the S. P. C.—perhaps in the same manner.

broad gauge equipment. This, with the widening of tunnels and cuts in the mountains, eased the S. P. C.'s inevitable transition to a full-sized road.

The last narrow gauge train was scheduled to make the run from Alameda to Santa Cruz on April 18, 1906, but all plans for both narrow and broad gauge came to naught in just ten seconds at 5:14 that morning. The Great San Andreas fault, which the railroad crossed near Wrights, slipped along its fissure from Sonoma to Monterey County, causing the worst earthquake felt in this area since 1868. The earth's undulating crust heaved flatland roadbed out of alignment, tore bridges from their abutment, twisted rails almost into knots, and tipped over cars and locomotives. The same kind of damage, augmented by caved-in tunnels and gigantic rock slides, occurred in the mountains. The South Pacific Coast was described as "dismembered from one end to the other."

Yet the last thunderous rumble of the "shake" had hardly died away when a veritable army of S. P. men rushed in to clear the debris and repair the line. The narrow gauge construction trains, easy to handle in the mountains, stayed in service another two years. They threaded their way on "shoofly" track around landslides in the canyons and were the first through reopened tunnels.

The line was quickly repaired down on the flat, but the first broad gauge train did not cross the *Sierra Azul* (Blue Range) until January, 1908. When the fires went out in the trim little narrow gauge Baldwins that month, a railroading era ended for Santa Clara County.

Business, however, remained healthy. Three daily passenger trains and a freight or two in each direction continued to serve the public. A profitable volume of mail and express seemed assured for a long time to come, but after World War I, a spreading network of paved highways designed for automotive traffic began to change the picture. The ease with which buses and trucks could serve rail and off-rail points cut deeply into rail revenues. Even the popular doubleheaded Suntan Special, which carried thousands of pleasure excursionists to the coast every summer week-end, found a lethal enemy in the family

automobile. Within a decade, declining revenues and increasing operational costs could not be ignored. Together with the general economic depression of the 1930's, they compelled the S. P.'s management to question the future of the line between Los Gatos and Santa Cruz.

The first cutbacks occurred in the branches, beginning with abandonment of the Felton-Boulder Creek line January 5, 1934. After long service as a storage track for superannuated gondolas, the Campbell-New Almadén branch was cut back from New Almadén to LeFranc on April 5 of the same year. The remainder of the line from LeFranc to Campbell ended on December 4, 1937, one day after the S. P. terminated its 50-year old lease and bought the S. P. C. outright for \$6,000,000. Final disposition of the branch came on November 9, 1940, when the Southern Pacific deeded its right of way to Santa Clara County for a public thoroughfare.¹²

Meanwhile, exceptional rains during the winter of 1939-40 wrought heavy damage to the main line in the mountains—weakening tunnels, carrying away ballast, and precipitating mountainous earth slides. After careful consideration, S. P. president, Angus D. McDonald, felt that the revenue derived from that stretch of track would not justify the cost of maintenance. On March 4, 1940, the last train through the mountains called in the rear flag and whistled for the block.

The Modern S. P.

The story of the S. P. begins with the construction of the Santa Clara & Pajaro Valley line which got under way in April, 1868. As this company's track moved toward Gilroy, San José newspapers regularly reported on its progress, and all of them had difficulty getting its name straight. On April 23, Editor Owen of the *Mercury* noted that contractor J. H. A. Mills had commenced grading along San José's Fourth Street. He soon afterward commented on the result-

¹²This thoroughfare, now known as Camden Avenue, took its name not from Camden, New Jersey, but from the first syllable of Campbell and the last syllable of New Almadén.

ant improvements along that street and in neighboring properties. "It is pleasing to behold," he wrote, "one of our most undulating, muddiest and filthiest thoroughfares being transformed into a neat and tidy street." He rhetorically informed his readers that they already could hear "the puffing of the iron horse on its onward course to the Pajaro Valley."

Miss Fanny Price, teacher at the crude little elementary school in the southwestern corner of Washington Square, saw the matter in a less enthusiastic light. "There was just no keeping the children's attention when a train went by," said a former pupil, Theodore Brohaska, seventy years later. He further recalled that she had a hard time keeping the youngsters away from the tracks during recess or while on their way to and from school. This eventually compelled the school to move to a more remote site to minimize a youngster's chances of being killed by a train.

Miss Price's apprehension, however, could hardly match the enthusiasm of William Alexander January, publisher of the *Santa Clara Argus*. This gentleman doted on construction details even to listing the seven ships that brought the line's 2,600 tons of rail around the Horn.

On November 28, the same paper reported that the S. C. & P. V's track, laid "at the rate of a mile a day," had reached a point a little south of the present Cottle Road. "We are not a railroad expert," the editor said, "yet we can venture the assertion that this will be the best built road in California." On December 19 the railhead was at the Point of Rocks, a spur of hills dropping from the west to the bank of Coyote Creek just north of Twelve Mile House (Coyote).

Owen was quick to report changes that the railroad had wrought in San José's travel pattern. On January 14, 1869, three days after noting that rail service had extended to Eighteen Mile House (Madrone), he sighed, "We miss the eleven o'clock rattle of our Southern stages now that the cars have supplanted them on this end of the route."

On February 11, he dashed off the happy tidings that the rails had been laid to Gilroy . . . "the locomotive entered that town last week to the jubilant delight

of the inhabitants." Regular service would get under way soon as a little more ballasting could be done. An official announcement on March 11, informed the public, "On and after Saturday next (March 13), the Gilroy trains will stop at their new depot on Fourth Street for the accommodation of San José passengers." A grand festival held in Gilroy on April 8 formally marked completion of the line.

Owen generally complimented the railroad at every opportunity, but he had reservations regarding San José's having two stations owned by the same company only a mile apart. To him the Fourth Street Station was a duplication of facilities whose buildings and shops would occupy all of the block bounded by San Carlos, Fourth, San Salvador, and Third Streets. It would be more economical and efficient, he thought, to use the S. F. & S. J.'s pre-existing facilities at San Pedro Street. A sharp note in the *Mercury* of September 15 labeled the two depots as nonsense.

Though Owen's comment may have had some effect, it did not bring about immediate abandonment of the Fourth Street Station. Long after all other facilities had located north of Bassett and west of San Pedro Street, the little yellow structure on Fourth Street, midway between San Carlos and San Salvador, remained a familiar sight to train crews and neighboring residents. Timetables listed it for more than half a century, and "Ol No. 32" stopped there every morning until 1935 to deliver San José State Teachers College students from north county points.

But long before this—on February 15, 1870—the *Mercury* reported a rumor that the Big Four of the Central Pacific had bought the S. F. & S. J. Confirmation of this rumor soon convinced San Joséans that Stanford & Co. were the new proprietors. As previously indicated, they had quietly bought not only Donahue's S. F. & S. J., but also all of his projected Southern Pacific.

An unending series of expansions and improvements soon characterized the S. P.'s San José story, with the College Park Yard and Market Street Station as excellent examples.

The yard fanned out on a huge curve from San Pedro to Polhemus Street, crossing the Guadalupe by

TRANSPORTATION

four large bridges, two of them doubletracked. Its trackage accommodated everything that Coast and Western Division power could pull into it for more than 50 years. The Coast Division passenger leads along its south side delighted countless camera buffs who loved to shoot trains rounding a sweeping curve at high speed. The familiar "puffing" of pre-diesel "yard goats" lulled three generations of neighboring residents to sleep every night. At the corner of Center Street and Lenzen Avenue, stood the round house whose triple unit whistle formed a perfect chord that enabled people living five miles away to set their clocks. Other structures within the yard included various machine and maintenance shops, freight office, yard office, and College Park Tower.

As the volume of business outgrew the College Park Yard, the S. P. acquired a wide strip of land between Newhall Street and Brokaw Road, adjacent to and paralleling the main line. Located in both San José and Santa Clara, this acquisition became the Santa Clara Yard, which was really an expansion or extension of the College Park Yard. It held 39,000 feet of trackage, and was reported by the *Mercury* as 98 percent complete on August 17, 1927. Its official opening took place on October 29 of the same year.

Details of the Market Street Station, however, were better known to the traveling public than those of the yard. The station stretched out along the north side of Bassett Street from San Pedro to First, with Market Street ending at the front door of its two-storied, board-and-battened main structure. A great shed-like canopy covered the Coast line's east and westbound tracks for the full length of the building, shielding passengers from the elements at all seasons. Two large waiting rooms—one for men and one for women—occupied the center unit, each with its own ticket window and rest rooms. The railroad's baggage room occupied the east wing; Wells, Fargo & Co's depot office, the west wing. Landscaping at each end of the whole consisted of lawn, orange trees, Washingtonia palms, ornate vine-covered fencing, with a huge water tank towering above that at the west end.

Save for a subsidiary and a few sidings, industrial spurs, and occasional increases in yard trackage, the S. P. added no noteworthy mileage to its Santa Clara

Valley holdings between 1888 and 1905. In 1906, however, it quietly began a long series of land purchases for two new lines. One extended southward from Mayfield via Los Altos, Monta Vista, and Congress Junction to join the old S. P. C. Santa Cruz line just north of Los Gatos. The other anticipated expiration of the Fourth Street franchise issued by the City of San José to the Santa Clara & Pajaro Valley Railroad in 1868.

The Mayfield line, completed in 1907, became the Vasona Cutoff, taking the name from Vasona Junction, where it joined the S. P. C. The San José right-of-way was generally referred to as the West Side Relocation Project.

The State Railroad Commission approved the San José project in 1916, but negotiations with the City continued long after expiration of the Fourth Street franchise on January 27, 1916. They lasted until frustrated citizens began to lose hope of preventing crawling freight trains from bisecting the city from Julian to Keyes Street several times a day. "What if a fire broke out," they complained, "how would the fire engines get from one side of Fourth Street to the other with a mile long freight train blocking the way?"

This painful state of affairs became incredibly complicated, involving the Legislature, courts, two city councils, and any number of irate citizens. Moreover, residents of the Willow Glen area hardly improved matters in 1927, when they incorporated expressly to "keep the S. P. out." The result was an expensive, delaying realignment of the railroad to avoid passing through the northeastern corner of their community, which has since shown unmistakable symptoms of decay.

The man on the street probably got the first hint that action had supplanted talk when trucks began dumping earth fill for a new station at 65 Cahill Street in August, 1928. Confirmation of this hint came with commencement of work on the Park Avenue underpass in January, 1931. Similar underpasses followed on Julian, Santa Clara, San Carlos, Prevost, and Willow Streets, and Bird Avenue, Park Avenue and Almadén Road. The Cahill Street station, finished in 1935, marked the completion of a project

that cost \$3,250,000—when the nation was still in the worst economic depression in history.

A commemorative train loaded with S. P. and public officials departed from the Market Street station at 10:00 a. m., December 30, 1935. It proceeded southward along the Fourth Street right-of-way to Lick Station, just south of Oak Hill Cemetery, where it switched over to the new line. From there, it rolled northward, bell ringing and whistle blowing, to become the first Coast Division passenger train to enter the Cahill Street installation.

All around service did not commence in the new station, however, until midnight, December 31. All that afternoon and evening, crews of railroad and express employees had busied themselves transferring office and platform equipment from Market Street to Cahill Street. Just after midnight, the first train, a local, arrived from San Francisco. The two big overlands, Nos. 69 and 75, arrived from Los Angeles seven hours later.

Since that memorable 1936 New Year's Day, the Cahill Street station has seen many changes in local railroading. In 1937, it greeted the brightly-colored Daylight streamliners of the San Francisco-Los Angeles run, and bade goodbye to No. 34 in 1940 as it departed on the last run across the Santa Cruz Mountains. Along the western edge of its train yard, huge freight engines—Mallets, "3600's," and "5,000's"—snaked "drags" far longer than anything that had ever blocked Fourth Street. It noted the change from steam to Diesel power—the demise of the Iron Horse. It saw light, doubledecker gallery cars replace the long, heavy commute cars of 1924 whose low-backed seats discouraged many a passenger from sleeping past his station. Indeed, except for Peninsula commute service and an infrequent anniversarial or rail fan extra, it has seen the automobile practically kill passenger service. It has even watched the great corporation it represents change from an exclusive railroad operation to one embodying trucking, busing, and pipeline activities.

What the future holds for this station is uncertain, but up to 1969 everyone who ever worked there remembered its structure and appurtenances with nostalgic affection.

Modern Western Pacific

For three decades after leasing the South Pacific Coast, the Southern Pacific monopolized steam trackage in Santa Clara County. Moverover, it extended that control to all electric lines after the turn of the century. The men who sat in the big office at San Francisco's Fourth and Townsend Streets (and later at 65 Market Street) hooted the possibility of another line's invading their San José domain. Yet George Gould's Western Pacific, organized on March 3, 1903, proved it could be done.

The first *modern* Western Pacific train entered San José via S. P. rails on November 18, 1912, eight months before its owners publicly revealed their intention to build a feeder line southward from Niles, and five years before they laid a rail anywhere in Santa Clara County.

The *Mercury*, covering this event in some detail, described the train as loaded with W. P. boosters, but had little to say about whose power or trackage it used in getting here. To a few observers, these boosters would have been industrial spies; to most, however, they were merely genial solicitors of interline business for their favorite company.

This same year a W. P. agency was established in San José, with J. Q. Patton as general agent. Patton held this position until he declined his company's offer to transfer him to San Francisco in 1918. He then tried truck salesmanship, but ultimately chose warehousing, becoming founder and manager of the Security Warehouse & Cold Storage Co. on North First Street.

Meanwhile—in 1917—the W. P. obtained a franchise to build into San José, with a large "hook" half encircling the city from 27th and Santa Clara Streets to The Alameda and Bush Street.

The "hook," designed to serve neglected industrial and business establishments, promptly encountered Southern Pacific opposition. Wherever the Western Pacific had to cross S. P. or subsidiary rails, W. P. construction engineer George H. Ballantyne had a problem. On Coe Avenue, for example, the S. P. kept a big Peninsular car moving to and fro over the crossing, hindering W. P. tracklayers to the point of

TRANSPORTATION

inactivity. Also, local residents threatened incorporation as a means of barring the W. P. from their neighborhood.

Neither the S. P. nor residents won. The W. P. had an airtight franchise and excellent legal counsel, plus the support of T. S. Montgomery, San José's leading real estate developer. Also with the United States' entry into World War I, the contestants got an unexpected cooling off period. The nation's railroads passed to Government control, and all construction work ceased "for the duration."

When work on the San José branch resumed in 1919, the S. P., still hot under its corporate collar, tried for the last time to block the W. P. If the W. P. could be prevented from crossing the S. P.'s Coast Division main line at 1600 South Fourth Street, the W. P.'s freight depot, then under construction at Bush Street and The Alameda, would be useless. The W. P., however, won not only the Fourth Street and Coe Avenue crossings, but also those at Berryessa Road, Park Avenue, East Santa Clara, Willow, and San Carlos Streets.

In 1921, the first W. P. worktrain crossed Santa Clara street on unballasted track that soon proliferated into a host of freight approaches in the new W. P. yards southwest of the intersection of McLaughlin Avenue and East William Street. The first freight depot opened up for business on the east side of 27th Street, just north of Santa Clara, the following November, with C. C. Keyes as agent. Keyes later had the assistance of his son, George D., who served as "trucker, expense clerk, demurrage clerk, revising clerk, yard clerk, cashier, and janitor." And whenever these duties were not sufficiently rewarding, George picked up a few extra dollars playing banjo in local dance orchestras.

The main freight depot opened at The Alameda and Bush Street on May 1, 1922. It and its immediate facilities occupied most of the block bounded by The Alameda, Wilson Avenue, and Bush and San Fernando Streets. General Agent, W. G. Curtiss, Agent C. C. Keyes, and Assistant Agent George D. Keyes arranged the dedicatory celebration. In time, the bulk of the company's freight business was transferred to this depot, and the 27th Street structure was leased

to A. Levy & J. Zentner Company, a statewide fruit and vegetable buying and forwarding firm.

Because the W. P.'s San José yards had no switch engine during the company's early days here, a road crew had to do all yard and industrial switching. But a rapid increase in business soon justified a full time switch engine whose crew often had to be helped by road crews from Oakland and Stockton. This applied especially to summer when long trains of perishable fruits and vegetables moved eastward from Santa Clara and Salinas Valley shippers.

The less-than-carload-lot volume of business increased to the point of crowding the West San José freight depot, whose warehouse was constantly filled with in- and outbound freight. Besides the agent and assistant agent, it soon boasted a cashier, revising clerk, claim clerk, demurrage clerk, stenographer-expense clerk, warehouse foreman, four regular truckers, and such other employees as might be needed. An electric crane eventually eased the handling of unusually heavy shipments.

Business likewise increased for the downtown traffic office, which first opened in the Twohy Building at 210 South First Street, and in 1924 moved directly across the street to the Montgomery Hotel building. The office force consisted of W. G. Curtiss, General Agent; P. R. Tobin, Traveling & Passenger Agent; R. B. Christenson, City Freight & Passenger Agent; C. A. Cameron, Chief Clerk; Carl Nipper, Stenographer. In 1926, the office moved to 40 West San Carlos Street where it stayed for many years. During its first five years in San José, the W. P. offered limited passenger service, using an internal combustion-powered car to connect with the main line at Niles. This car left the 27th Street station daily at 9:40 a. m., and returned at 5:05 p. m. One way fare was sixty-six cents.

The car occasionally picked up or delivered a passenger at Milpitas or Irvington, but, as Carl Nipper pointed out, "never took in any real money." Railroad union rules required increasing its crew from two to four men, and then the union followed up with an additional claim for "pay as express run." The W. P. transferred all passenger and express traffic to Peerless Stages.

Peerless continued to handle passengers and express until a San José undertaker brought a corpse to the office for shipment to a Missouri Pacific point. The bus' inability to handle this shipment caused an investigation that enabled the W. P. to abandon bus service for any purpose between San José and Niles.

The 27th Street passenger station, incidentally, was no Grand Central establishment. Yet, its structure, hardly larger than the interior of its own ticket office, possessed charm that won it citywide acclaim. It was a neat little architectural gem of brick in a floral setting. Surrounded by roses on three sides, it also boasted a garden filled with every flower, plant, and shrub that Agent Keyes and Telegrapher-Clerk F. I. McCain could obtain from neighboring house gardens and elsewhere.

Once it gained safe entrance to San José, the W. P. had no time for further controversy; there were better ways of getting into the news. Its hook-up with the Great Northern at Bieber, Modoc County, in 1931 doubled San José's direct connection with the Pacific Northwest. The diligence of District Freight & Passenger Agent Carl Nipper later paid off when his company quietly acquired vast tracts of prospective industrial land along the Niles-San José right-of-way. In 1953, Nipper electrified Santa Clara Valley residents with news that the Ford Motor Co. had signed to build a multi-million-dollared assembly plant on a portion of this land at Milpitas. This coup not only caught the S. P. asleep, but also led to incorporation of Milpitas and a heavy influx of newcomers for San José.

The W. P. then had to be considered in all major rail transport affecting San José and neighboring towns. Its Milpitas yards rivaled those of San José in size. Its San José and Milpitas interchanges with the S. P. afforded profitable point-of-origin access to communities served only by the S. P. and otherwise unconnected feeders. The volume of business that once amounted only to half a dozen cars a day each way had swelled to several long trains a day.

The little feeder line, whose San José agent and assistant agent had to function in almost every capacity around their station, had come a long way since 1921.

Urban Transit

The desire of San Joséans to get from one point to another in their community with minimum delay led to establishment of a valley wide electric transit system boasting 80.48 miles of track. Another system with little more than half that mileage—46.23—lay within the corporate limits of San José and Santa Clara. Both became subsidiaries of the Southern Pacific—the urban lines as San José Railroads, the rural, as Peninsular Railway.

The nucleus of this system may be traced to the initiative of Samuel Addison Bishop, a 300-pound Virginian who came to California from Missouri in 1849. Bishop, a veteran of the Mexican War, returned to Missouri after the cessation of hostilities, but soon harkened to the golden promise of California's Mother Lode.

Mining, however, accounted for only a small part of his amazingly active California career. In 1851, he campaigned against the Yosemite Valley Indians as sergeant of Captain William Dill's Company C of Major James Savage's Mariposa Battalion. Then he successively engaged in a trading venture with Savage, participated in Indian management with Lieutenant (later General) Edward F. Beale, agreed to build a military road across Arizona, and became purchaser of the 22,178-acre Rancho Castec (Castaic), in what is now Kern County.

While ranching, Bishop grazed herds of his cattle in the Owens Valley country, where a peak, creek, and town were named after him. He also helped to create Kern County in 1866, hoping to make Fort Tejon, on his rancho, the first county seat. He served on the new county's first board of supervisors, but the seat of government went to the more populous Havilah, a newly-discovered gold digging on the Kern River.

In 1867, Bishop sold his Kern County holdings and moved to San José, where his energy and ambition catapulted him to civic leadership before the end of the year. His interests ranged over a wide field, including banking, urban real estate, land speculation, and lumbering, with public transit uppermost. He had hardly arrived here when he resolved to do

TRANSPORTATION

something about Hiram Shartzer's highly unsatisfactory toll road operation of The Alameda. The County, which had granted the franchise to Shartzer, was being requested to "buy it back."

As negotiations between the County and Shartzer neared conclusion, Bishop heard that other parties had begun to show interest in The Alameda. That was all he needed to know. On March 24, 1868, a Legislative Act declared him, Charles Silent, Daniel Murphy, Daniel B. Moody and others "an association to run and maintain a horse railroad within Santa Clara County..." Their line would extend via Santa Clara Street and The Alameda from Coyote Creek bridge in San José to the center of the town of Santa Clara, a distance of four-and-a-half miles.

Bishop and his associates had three years to complete the entire project. On July 9, they incorporated as the San José and Santa Clara Railroad Company, capitalized at \$200,000 and empowered to operate for 40 years. Bishop became president; Dr. Benjamin Bryant, vice-president; Dr. James Clark Cobb, treasurer; Charles Silent, secretary. Other incorporators were Thomas Bodley, Isaac Branham, Samuel Q. Broughton, Dwight Burnett, John Henley Moore, Adolph Pfister, John Trimble, and Lewis H. Van Schaick.

Bishop held the biggest block of stock—\$4,000. Burnett and Moore had \$1,000 each, with the others tapering off to smaller amounts.

The railroad company agreed to build the line along The Alameda only if the County bought out Shartzer, and, as evidence of good faith, Bishop and his partners put up \$500 of the \$16,500 purchase price. Shartzer proved stubborn at first, asking more for his franchise than the County considered it worth. But the county won out. As the toll gate at Cinnabar Street came down, the railroad rushed the line's survey and let a construction contract to S. J. Davenport of San Francisco. Formal ceremonies on August 31 marked the beginning of construction whose quick completion opened the line to traffic on November 4.

The S. J. & S. C. Horse Railroad proved popular from the start. Its ten cent fare between San José and

Santa Clara was only two fifths of the prevailing stagecoach rate.

This, however, was only a start. On July 6, 1870, the County permitted Bishop to experiment with steam on his line. The Common Council half agreed to a similar experiment within San José's city limits, but soon recanted, observing that the original franchise called for horse power, and that is what it would have to be.

This shook Bishop somewhat because he had hoped to use steam on a contemplated line to Alviso. Yet, he fared pretty well. On October 17, 1871, the Council granted him a franchise for a line extending from the Southern Pacific Depot at San Pedro and Dame Streets to approximately the present First and Willow Streets. Except for two blocks on San Pedro Street and two on Julian, all of this line lay on First Street, and was known as the First Street Railroad.

This gave Bishop a line at right angles with his S. J. & S. C. Its crossing the S. J. & S. C. at Santa Clara Street neatly separated the city's four wards from one another.

Hardly a decade elapsed, however, before Bishop disposed of his First Street line to Major Franklin C. Bethel who, in turn sold it to former State Senator George F. Baker in 1881. Both Bethel and Baker contemplated important improvements of the line, but neither got around to anything more than obtaining franchises for extensions at both ends. Bethel sold out too soon; Baker died in March, 1882.

All further plans depended on Jacob Rich, who had already taken control.

As other investors assured themselves of the money to be made in public transit, San José witnessed a rush of railroad construction. On June 16, 1875, Bishop's interests got their first competition when the North Side Horse Railroad, capitalized at \$8,000, got a 50-year franchise to serve residents of the Second Ward. This line began at First and St. John Streets, proceeded along St. John to Main (now Fifth), on Main to Washington, on Washington to Sixth, on Sixth to Empire, on Empire to 12th, on 12th to Jackson, on Jackson to 14th (now 17th), and on 17th to the rail terminus near Berryessa Road. Judge Davis

Divine was first president, John Y. McMillin, secretary; Cornelius G. Harrison, manager. William S. McMurtry (successor to Divine who died the following year), Stillman A. Moulton, DeWitt Clinton Vestal, and William P. Dougherty completed the company's list of incorporators.

Eager for profits, the builders of the North Side rushed construction, finishing by the end of the year. The tracklayers had hardly laid down their mallets, however when a third company headed by Isaac Bird, John Auzeais, Calvert Bird, Ferdinand Brassy, Francois Sauffrignon, and J.J. Denny got a franchise to serve Willow Glen. Their line, called the Market Street & Willow Glen, was incorporated February 23, 1876, and followed a much more scenic route than that of the North Side company. More than one passenger suspected its builder of operating on the theory that one good turn deserved another. Moreover, it crossed the Guadalupe via a bridge that the City helped to build.

The M. S. & W. G. passenger rode via Market Street to San Fernando, then to Vine, from there to San Salvador (now Auzeais), across the bridge and on to Delmas Avenue, then to William Street, and via William to Bird Avenue. This last stretch took him out of the city limits, after which he followed Bird Avenue to Willow Street, skirting what is now Palm Haven. From Willow and Bird, he continued along Willow to Lincoln Avenue (also referred to as El Abra), and from there to the end of the line at Lincoln and Minnesota Avenues.

Three incorporators of this line left their names on streets traversing the area it served—Calvert and Isaac Bird and John Auzeais. Others sharing its franchise attained more prominence in different enterprises. They were Oliver Cottle, Sylvester Newhall, John C. Bland, Thaddeus Warsaw Spring, James R. Lowe, Rufus C. Swan, and Charles B. Hensley. Though cars appeared on the M. S. & W. G. line for display purposes on January 6, 1877, regular service did not begin until the 13th.

By this time, the Common Council was in a fine franchise granting mood. On February 26, three promoters of the North Side line—McMurtry, McMillin, and Harrison—joined Jacob Rich and

Samuel Watson Boring in obtaining a charter for the South-East Horse Railroad. They filed their articles of incorporation March 14 and promptly let a construction contract to Henry Craven who began to lay track along East San Carlos Street with equal promptness.

Craven connected the South-East Side rails with those of the North Side at Second and St. John Streets on April 8. The finished line extended from this point via Second Street to San Carlos, out San Carlos to 11th, and along 11th to Reed, where the builders planned to locate their carbarn. Its connection with the North Side line enabled the North Side to shift its western terminus from First and St. John Streets to Second and Santa Clara.

Craven's speed and efficiency finished the South-East line before its rolling stock arrived, a noticeable but not fatal circumstance. The South-East people simply borrowed a North Side car for the South-East's formal opening on April 25. This, and shifting of the North Side's western terminus probably accounted for a later confirmed rumor that the two companies were contemplating a merger. They also brought San José's second great transit tycoon, Jacob Rich, to the forefront.

Rich, a native of Poland and tailor by trade, had worked in Germany and England before coming to New York about 1852. He stayed in New York just about long enough to get off the ship that brought him across the Atlantic. The year 1853 found him and his business partner, Herman Levy, permanently settled in San José, operating a prosperous tailoring establishment on Market Street under the firm name of Rich & Levy.

While Rich was dipping his toes into local transit waters, an unwise Common Council and the Market Street & Willow Glen Railroad precipitated a franchise row that shook the town. On April 2, 1877, the M. S. & W. G. sought a franchise to extend its line from Market and Santa Clara Streets to the Southern Pacific Depot of San Pedro and Dame Streets. The Council unofficially approved the petitioned-for line, and Henry Craven's tracklayers, waiting for no final approval, immediately began to lay rail—even by candle light at night.

TRANSPORTATION

Sam Bishop roared unavailingly that the M. S. & W. G. tracks paralleled those of his own First Street line on both Julian and San Pedro Streets to the same terminus. Julian Street residents "erupted" into what was referred to as the "Battle of Julian Street." One, Thomas McCloskey, went to jail for punching M. S. & W. G. director Ferdinand Brassy in the nose.

Bishop got nowhere in the legal shenanigans involved, but he did come off with a couple of consolation prizes elsewhere. On May 16, the City Fathers probably sought to make amends for their bad judgment regarding Julian Street by granting him a franchise to extend his First Street Line to the southern limits of the city. This, supplemented by a franchise from the County Board of Supervisors, on June 6, enabled him to run his cars all the way to Oak Hill Cemetery.

The second franchise offered even better prospects. It authorized extension of his S. J. & S. C. line from 14th Street to McLaughlin Avenue as soon as a bridge strong enough to carry his rolling stock could be built across the Coyote. It also meant access to the rapidly developing San José Homestead Association area in which he was financially interested.

Bishop sold his First Street line long before its extension to Oak Hill Cemetery. But three months to a day after completion of the new Coyote Creek bridge, he opened through service from the town of Santa Clara to Alum Rock and McLaughlin Avenues in San José.

Bishop's satisfaction with this latest development, however, was short-lived. He had to determine whether he had competition or opposition—in court and out.

As Rich gained sizeable, if not controlling, interest in every non-Bishop line in town, he decided to compete with Bishop for the Santa Clara traffic. On April 11, 1878, he petitioned the Common Council for a franchise along Santa Clara Street from Second to the western city limits. From there, the Board of Supervisors permitted him to proceed via Stockton Avenue, Emory Street, Elm Street, and University Avenue to a terminus at The Alameda.

Bishop immediately claimed an exclusive right to the Santa Clara run. He protested that Rich's line

paralleled the S. J. & S. C. for more than five legally permissible blocks. On getting nowhere with the Common Council, he went to court, where he obtained a temporary injunction.

The final decision of the County Court went against Bishop, but, on appeal, the Supreme Court found in his favor in 1879.

It was labor lost, however. On December 4, 1878, pending the high court's decision, the Board of Supervisors had permitted Rich to cross The Alameda and continue along University to Union (now Park) Avenue. The last obstacle was cleared five days later, when the Santa Clara Town Board granted Rich a franchise to lay rails via Park Avenue, Bellomy, Alviso, Santa Clara Streets to the intersection of Main and Franklin Streets.

To avoid paralleling Bishop's S. J. & S. C. tracks within the legally forbidden five blocks along Santa Clara Street, Rich shifted his westbound line to San Fernando Street. This brought legal complications that involved the Market Street & Willow Glen line as well as those of Bishop and Rich. Bishop, confident of another favorable decision, had meanwhile filed an appeal with the Supreme Court—probably much to the displeasure of Superior Judge Belden.

The "battle of the Titans," however, ended in 1882. Bishop and Rich, unable to "lick" each other, announced on April 14 that they had joined forces. Eight days after this merger, Rich's People's Horse Railroad absorbed the North Side Line, and the combined facilities passed into possession of the Santa Clara & San José for \$66,666.

Bishop became president of the S. J. & S. C.; John H. Moore, secretary; Rich, treasurer. Also on the new board of directors were W. S. McMurtry and John Auzerais. McMurtry was the North Side's largest stockholder at the time of its sale; Auzerais had been influential in the Market Street & Willow Glen. All together, they could thereafter devote to equipment and right of way improvements large sums of money that had formerly gone to legal fees.

Bishop and Rich stood ready to pour half a million dollars into improving their lines, but found that public opinion on the kind of power to be used

was by no means unanimous. Even though San José had flat terrain, a large segment of the citizenry wished cable cars the same as those of San Francisco. Diehards favored "good old-fashioned reliable horse-cars." Bishop's preference for electric power supplied by overhead trolley wires encountered too much resistance from horrified critics to be put into effect at that time.

In 1886, Bishop went East to inspect an electric car system demonstrated in St. Louis, Missouri, and Highland Park, Michigan, by a Detroit inventor named Frank Fisher. The inventor convinced Bishop that this was the system for San José and Santa Clara. It would cut running time between the two communities to less than half of the horsecar time of 45 minutes. Its total cost—\$500,000—proved a better selling point than that of the cable system, which would range from \$800,000 to a million dollars. Its power, coming from a concealed underground bar four miles long, oddly met no resistance from trolley opponents.

Critics, including those on the Santa Clara Town Board, were still numerous enough to delay franchises and construction, but work finally commenced on October 5, 1887.

To insure success of their venture, Bishop and his associates had reorganized their company and increased its capitalization from \$200,000 to \$500,000. After ordering a dozen cars from the Pullman Company, and all underground electrical work from the Detroit Electric Co., they engaged the San Francisco Electric Improvement Co. to build the line.

Until 1887, The Alameda had boasted three rows of trees, one along each side of the roadway and one along the middle. The middle row was originally one of only two rows of red willows planted by Padre Magin Catalá of Mission Santa Clara in 1799. It was often referred to as the outside row because it delineated the south side of the avenue to the big turn at what is now Race Street and Martin Avenue. North of that point it marked the west side.

Because it planned to lay double tracks along the middle of The Alameda, the railroad company has been accused of deliberately destroying the middle

row of trees. Or, as several writers have stated, the trees were removed expressly to "make way for the railroad." The Board of Supervisors road files, however, show the trees were removed for safety reasons.

Despite the winter slowdown of 1887-88 and the possibility of a competing cable car system, the S. J. & S. C.'s electric line got its first test shortly after midnight March 16, 1888. It was hardly an auspicious event. The test car's power contacting device struck an underground insulator, causing a short that stopped the car in a burst of beautifully colored fireworks. Many years later, Mrs. Lida Mae Gillette, one of the passengers, loved to describe the affair for friends. "We got almost to the Fredericksburg Brewery," she recalled, "when the car stopped. We saw all kinds of sparks and flashes coming from the ground under the car, and we all had to walk back to town."

Next to mechanical defects and accidents, the greatest trouble came from inquisitive persons who dropped metal objects or poked umbrella points into the power slot "to see the sparks."

The S. J. & S. C.'s builders continued testing their line until July before attaining anything approaching a semi-successful operation. Even with the designing engineer on the job, successive mechanical failures, unfair public criticism, and official opposition ended the line's underground power experiment the following October. To the disgust of all who had enjoyed the line's service between mishaps, horsecars resumed service.

Resultant financial difficulties, requiring heavy assessment of stockholders, threatened the company with bankruptcy by July, 1889. San José's hostile Common Council did little to improve matters when it ordered Bishop to remove all S. J. & S. C. tracks from the city streets, but, fortunately, the county supervisors were more lenient. Seeing that Bishop had suffered misfortune not entirely of his own making, they granted him and his associates a 60-day extension to overcome their difficulties.

During this period, Bishop got rid of inventor Fisher and the San Francisco Electric Improvement Co. whose incompetence had cost the S. J. & S. C. hundreds of thousands of dollars. He reinvestigated

TRANSPORTATION

his first love, the overhead trolley, making a special trip to inspect Seattle's highly successful trolley system, installed by Thomson-Houston of Boston. In hope that what they saw would improve his chances for a better deal at home, he took along a San José councilman, a Santa Clara trustee, and a county supervisor.

His trip was not altogether in vain. That September, the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors granted him a 35-year franchise to operate trolley cars on The Alameda. The Santa Clara Town Board did likewise the following November, only to be overruled by its chairman. San José did nothing.

Then came James H. Henry, hero of the play. Born in Michigan in 1848, Henry had already crowded a world of experience into his 42 years. After serving as bugler of the 12th Kansas Cavalry during the Civil War, he demonstrated amazing genius in finance and railroading. His record shows him as a retired banker at the age of 40. If popular belief is true, he had steel wires for nerves and ice water for blood.

Henry had come to San José about a year and a half earlier, fully intending to settle down in retirement. On March 14, 1888, he bought a 200 by 250-foot lot on the northwest corner of University Avenue and The Alameda for erection of a magnificent mansion known to a later generation as "the Century House."

In his retirement, Henry had abundant spare time, which he whiled away with a few hands of cards at the Sainte Claire Club every afternoon. He preferred to use the S. J. & S. C.'s horsecars in getting to and from town, but soon found that mode of transit somewhat wanting. As the company's financial and franchise troubles multiplied, the cars inevitably fell farther behind schedule.

One afternoon in late summer or early fall, 1889, Henry stood on the corner of First and Santa Clara Streets, waiting for a long overdue car to take him home to dinner. He impatiently shifted his cigar from one side of his mouth to the other while conjuring up appropriate epithets to describe the service. At length, he strode over to the nearby office of C. W. Wooster, well-known real estate man. "C. W.," he

exploded, "I'm tired of waiting for those damned cars! Buy up the line for me! I'm going to do something about it!"

On November 27, the public learned that Jim Henry had bought the S. J. & S. C. outright for \$229,000, and had become owner of every outstanding share of its stock. He promptly reorganized the company, with himself as president and Wooster, Judge S. F. Leib, former State Assemblyman Frederick C. Franck, and fruit processor Campbell T. Settle as directors. He also brought in W. N. Sheaf as general superintendent and F. K. Bowden as electrical superintendent.

Thus Sam Bishop and his associates lost all connection with the road that Bishop had helped to organize more than two decades earlier.

Bishop and Rich kept busy, however. Shortly before his death in 1893, Bishop began to subdivide and develop a large tract of land that he owned along Cinnabar Street. In doing so, he affixed his surname to a tiny-block-long, dead-end street that the city declared an extension of North Morrison Avenue some 60 years later.

With that turn of events, Bishop passed from the scene. Rich still had all he could do with his city street lines. He extended, electrified, and improved them generally with \$225,000 borrowed from the German Savings and Loan Society of San Francisco. By 1892, he had finished his Hobson Street line from First Street to The Alameda, extended his First Street tracks from the present Alma Street to Oak Hill Cemetery, and built a branch along San Fernando Street from Delmas Avenue to Cahill Street. To these he added a line extending from Second Street to Keyes Street via San Antonio, Third, Reed, and Seventh. He electrified his East Julian Street line and made similar improvement of the one along Lincoln Avenue.

These extensions and improvements gave Rich command of 17 miles of up-to-date transit trackage. Then, as hard times settled upon the nation, the German Savings and Loan Society got a new board of directors who cared little for Rich's financial problems in San José. They forced him into the hands of a

receiver and bought his lines for \$225,000 at a foreclosure sale in 1899. Jacob Rich went to his grave in 1901 freed of his debts, but still trying to pay them.

Meanwhile, Henry demonstrated amazing ability at home and abroad. He took time out from the S. J. & S. C. in 1890 to build an electric line in Sacramento, and then returned to San José to electrify and reroute to Tenth Street the old Ninth and Keyes St. line. Despite decreased revenues, he easily weathered the depression of the early 1890's and laid plans for electrifying the old Stockton Avenue horse line. A second reorganization of the San José & Santa Clara retained him as president, kept Wooster as secretary, and brought Rich back to the board of directors.

By this time, Henry had disposed of his controlling interest in the company. He owned 1,513½ shares; former San José mayor Bernard Murphy, 1,514½ shares; and John P. Burke of Sacramento, 1,000 shares.

After doing more than any other man to stabilize the S. J. & S. C.'s fortunes, Henry gradually lost zest for further maneuvering. He had considered selling his stock to a group of Baltimore financiers, but owing to an unrelated personal matter, Murphy stoutly opposed him.

Word got around that Henry and Murphy had always enjoyed their afternoon poker games at the Sainte Claire Club until a short time previously, when one game's stakes changed their opinions of each other. Henry bet his San José transit system against what appeared in print as Murphy's "22,000-acre Rancho Atascadero," in San Luis Obispo County.¹³ Henry won, and a day or two later, rejected Murphy's suggestion that they call off the bet. If the cards had turned the other way, Henry reasoned, Murphy would have collected everything possible. In any event, Henry allegedly took possession of Rancho Atascadero, which he soon sold at a price most advantageous to himself.

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The card game that made this deal possible supposedly engendered Murphy's opposition to the sale of Henry's S. J. & S. C. stock to the Baltimore group. Murphy, as subsequent events indicated, had another customer in mind. Both he and Henry went to court to win their respective points, but ownership of the Santa Clara & San José inevitably passed to a couple of San Franciscans—Hugh Center and his brother, George.

Hugh Center had already acquired and revived the incomplete Alum Rock Railway Company. Then learning that Henry's S. J. & S. C. stock was for sale, he quietly bought 1,000 shares, after which he offered Murphy \$14,500 for his 1,514½ shares. Before long, he had 3,737½ shares of S. J. & S. C. stock, far more than enough to give him control of the road. Henry, keeping only 10½ shares of S. J. & S. C. stock for himself, left San José soon afterward for Portland, Oregon, where he died in 1939 at the age of 93.

Purchase of Henry's S. J. & S. C., however had nothing to do with the Centers coming to San José. Their objective was the Alum Rock Railway, a narrow gauge steam line projected in 1891 by a Canadian named Richard Henry Quincey. It was while operating this road that Hugh had the good fortune to pick up the S. J. & S. C.

Quincey, a San José wood and coal dealer, probably got the idea of railroading from earlier talk of a much needed line to the City-owned Alum Rock Park. He commenced construction at Alum Rock and McLaughlin Avenues on May 11, 1891, but halted, out of money, at White Road on June 26. Thereafter, he personally continued to work as best he could with a pick and shovel until an angel in person of John Center came to his rescue. Center, a Scot by birth, had made a fortune in San Francisco real estate, and could afford to take a few chances. With such backing, Quincey formally incorporated the Alum Rock project as the Alum Rock Railway Company on November 2, 1893.

Though no more than \$7,500 of the company's \$300,000 capital was ever subscribed (and Quincey

¹³Rancho Atascadero was one of three Murphy-owned ranchos in San Luis Obispo County; the other two were Santa Margarita and Asunción. Their United States patents showed Atascadero with 4,348 acres; Santa Margarita, 17,735; and Asunción, 39,225. Unless Murphy added land from either or both of the two big ranchos to his Atascadero bet, Henry could not have won more than 4,348 acres.

TRANSPORTATION

put up \$7,300 of that), optimism ran high. The line got its first rolling stock, one unit of which was reputedly the first internal combustion transit power ever used in Santa Clara County—the Haskins Motor Railroad.

Then came the crash of '93. Railroads and countless other enterprises either succumbed outright or barely survived. Among the latter was the Alum Rock Railway whose management under Quincey had never been an outstanding success.

John Center foreclosed on Quincey, took over the line, and sold it to his nephew, Hugh Center, for \$1.00. And Hugh brought George to San José to help operate the property.

Hugh's experience as manager of a large Hawaiian sugar plantation proved useful in this later venture. He promptly obtained a steam locomotive and restored service to the railhead. Then he obtained franchises to complete the line via Kirk and Toyon Avenues to Penitencia Road, and then along Penitencia Creek into Alum Rock Canyon.

By the end of 1896, the Alum Rock Railway was fulfilling its obligations as a public utility. Its first cars, hardly larger than a Concord stagecoach, resembled the light-wheeled gaudily painted English "railway carriages" of the era. The first locomotive, built by Daniel Best & Co. of San Leandro,¹⁴ weighed only eight tons. The second, a Baldwin, compounded of 15 tons, was followed by a still heavier Baldwin of 25 tons. A large frame structure on the northeast corner of Hale and Alum Rock Avenues (now Twenty-sixth and Santa Clara Streets) served as the engine house until electrification of the line in 1902. It then became "the car barn," continuing as such for many years before finishing its days as a paint shop for the San José Railroads.

In operating this line, Center gave special attention to power. Three or four years of operation and a number of breakdowns convinced him that his system could stand improvement. On September 13, 1901, the *Mercury* announced his intention to switch from

steam to electricity. On March 28, 1902, prospective passengers learned from the same source that trolley service had been opened between San José and Alum Rock Park.

The tracks remained narrow gauge, but except for two or three rebuilt units, the cars were heavier and much more commodious than those used by their steam-pulled predecessors. Each had 20 broad windows that afforded picnickers unobstructed views of the Ostrich Farm and other points of interest along the right of way. While rolling through the Pala Olive Grove on Toyon Avenue, local natives plucked olives from branches that brushed the car sides.

By 1902, Center had incorporated the Alum Rock line into his Santa Clara & San José system. This made for increased revenue, particularly on week-ends and holidays. A picnic-bound Santa Clara Sunday school class could board a San José & Santa Clara car at the Mission Town's Franklin and Jefferson Streets and ride electric all the way to the Alum Rock terminal. The only interruption—a momentary one—occurred in East San José while transferring from the broad gauge S. J. & S. C. to the narrow gauge Alum Rock Park line.

The Alum Rock Division was basically a pleasure line throughout its entire existence. Yet tragedy occasionally rode its rails. In June, 1903, a trailer broke loose while taking on passengers at the park terminal siding, killing one person outright and fatally injuring two others.

A more gruesome accident on April 11, 1909, frightened mothers of every picnic-bound juvenile for years to come. It cost the life of 15-year old Richard Brown of San José who thrust his head out of a window just as the car entered the tunnel. A projecting timber caught his head and shoulders, dragged him through the window, rolled and crushed his body between the car and tunnel side timbers, dropping what was left of him beneath the wheels.

By this time, however, Center had taken advantage of an opportunity to get out of street railroading. Following a series of maneuvers involving the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Santa Clara Valley's

¹⁴Forerunner of the Caterpillar Tractor Company.

nascent interurban lines, he sold his Alum Rock and San José & Santa Clara holdings to Lewis E. Hanchett of San Francisco for \$650,000. Hanchett formally closed the deal on November 2, 1905, paying \$250,000 in cash and \$400,000 in bonds.

Backed by a local syndicate, Hanchett re-incorporated the S. J. & S. C. on December 13 as the San José and Santa Clara County Railroad Company, with himself as president. Karl E. Kneiss became treasurer; C. C. Benson, operating manager. John Martin of the California Gas and Construction Company, Henry Bostwick, and Leo Sussman rounded out the board of directors.

The new management promptly set about improving the whole system. In addition to buying a new right of way to Alum Rock Park via Berryessa Road, they broad-gauged the Tenth Street and North Fourteenth (now Seventeenth) Street tracks. In 1906, they laid a third rail upon The Alameda's narrow gauge ties, thereby facilitating the broad-gauging of the entire line without interruption of service. Also, thanks to Hanchett's foresight, they obtained a franchise to connect San José and Palo Alto with a line called the Santa Clara Interurban.

Along with these activities, Hanchett took on a number of side enterprises with the intent of increasing his rail revenues. Broad-gauging the Fourteenth Street tracks, for example, gave him an easy freight connection at Berryessa Road with his new Alum Rock line, which tapped a rich fruit growing area. It could also handle crowds of passengers to and from his contemplated amusement center, Luna Park.

As a real estate developer, Hanchett acquired the Santa Clara Valley Agricultural Society's moribund 76-acre Agricultural Park and subdivided it into San José's most fashionable residential tract. He named it Hanchett Park after himself, and built a car line through it from The Alameda via Martin and Tillman Avenues to Park Avenue and Race Street. Fifty years later, the local Chamber of Commerce still advertised the area's gracefully curving, tree-lined avenues as "typical San José thorough-fares."

By 1907, Hanchett was easily the giant of San José transit. He dealt in millions of dollars where his

predecessors had confined themselves to a few hundreds of thousands. Only the German bank's Rich-built San José Railroad remained outside his control of San José's intracity transit, but it, too, would soon be his for a mere \$300,000.

Just as prospects looked best, however, another depression settled upon the nation. Hanchett prudently suspended several of his projects, including the new Alum Rock line, to give undivided attention to other matters. He soon had reason to suspect the Common Council of unfounded animosity in laying down unduly strict grade and paving requirements for all streets carrying his rails. Also, he sensed a possible rival in the Southern Pacific ownership of two interurban electric lines desiring easy access to their San José terminals. One, the San José & Los Gatos, already connected San José with Campbell, Los Gatos, and Saratoga. The other, known as the Peninsular, would tie Cupertino, Los Altos, Palo Alto, San Mateo, and other peninsular communities together like beads on a string. Only Hanchett's Santa Clara Interurban prevented the S. P.'s monopolizing all electric traffic between San Francisco and San José.

Hanchett eventually—and successfully—resorted to court action to defeat the Council's "unreasonable demands." He also ignored a questionable judgment won by the City in a subsequent tiff.

On the other hand, he had no trouble heading off unpleasanties with the S. P. That realistic company simply offered him an irresistably tempting price for his Santa Clara line and other properties. He accepted and, later, magnanimously permitted the S. P.'s Peninsular cars to run over his tracks wherever necessary in the city of San José.

On October 17, 1902, James W. Rea and F. S. Granger headed a San José syndicate in organizing a company known as the San José, Saratoga, and Los Gatos Railroad. Construction began January, 1903, but soon ceased owing to lack of financial support. The following May, however, reincorporation as the San José - Los Gatos Railway and half a million dollars from the Germania Trust Co. of St. Louis enabled the promoters to resume work. On June 13, their tracks began to stretch out along Stevens Creek Road, Saratoga Avenue, and other county roads for a total of 18

TRANSPORTATION

miles. By November, 1904, they formed a loop that took in Meridian Corners, erstwhile Gubserville, Saratoga, Congress Springs, Los Gatos, Campbell, and Willow Glen. Their big black cars, often coupled together as trains, delighted countless daily passengers and thousands of week-end picnickers.

Meanwhile, the S. P.'s covetous eyes had not remained unnoticed by Rea and Granger. Moreover, several other well-financed companies had envisioned lucrative opportunities along the peninsula. The St. Louis trust company backing Rea and Granger prudently avoided what could have become "a disastrous railroad war" by selling control of the Interurban to Oliver A. Hale, San José merchant and front man for the S. P.

With Hale as president and Frank E. Chapin as manager, the Interurban now reposed safely in the S. P.'s corporate pocket. The big company could now set about discouraging any other presumptuous outfit contemplating entering the S. P. peninsular domain.

The "Octopus" handled this matter with incorporation of the \$5,000,000 Peninsular Railroad in December, 1905. It also made sure that the new line's official staff consisted entirely of San Joséans. Oliver A. Hale became president; Frank E. Chapin, manager. Together with Gustave Lion, W. C. Andrews, and A. E. Wilder, they composed the board of directors.

Any plans the S. P. had for the Peninsular's construction, however, soon had to take into consideration the Colorado River disaster of 1905 and the San Francisco earthquake of 1906. Both diverted from the parent company's treasury funds intended for other use. Though rails were on the ground at an early date, the *San José Mercury* did not announce the beginning of service from San José to Cupertino until January 10, 1907. The following October, the same paper noted that the Peninsular had finally acquired all the right of way land it needed in the Palo Alto area.

On March 5, 1910, through service between San José and Palo Alto commenced under somewhat disappointing conditions. The first car, which left San José at 6:00 a. m., took an hour for a trip that should have required no more than 40 or 45 minutes. Failure

of the unfinished Los Altos substation to "boost enough juice into the line" prevented attainment of the high speed for which the system later became famous.

Meanwhile, on June 30, 1909, the Peninsular Railroad consolidated with the Interurban, reincorporating under the slightly different name of Peninsular *Railway*. With that, the "big black cars" of the Interurban became the big red cars of the Peninsular. The new system got through its first decade with only a few unforeseen eventualities.

The first came in March, 1911, when the flood-swollen Penitencia Creek washed out the old S. J. & A. R. P. narrow gauge line in Alum Rock Canyon. As a result, February, 1912, saw Peninsular grading crews working eastward along the south side of Berryessa Road, hastily carrying out Hanchett's plan for a standard gauge line along that route. This new project, providing passenger and freight service over a wide area, switched into the main line of the S. P.'s Western Division by means of a yard track between Luna Park and Tenth St. It also used a later cut-off along King Road to connect with the Alum Rock Avenue line.

Directly across the valley, on June 28, 1917, the company experienced a tragedy that shocked residents for miles around. A big red car tearing along Stevens Creek Road snuffed out the lives of six persons when it struck the automobile of Col. John Powell at the Stelling Road crossing near Cupertino. Similar accidents, taking toll of two or more lives each, promised to become commonplace within a few years. As automobiles multiplied in number, drivers became increasingly careless. Even those who lived alongside the railroad absentmindedly forgot its presence until caught on the tracks by an oncoming car.

One accident remained unique. It occurred at 5:17 a. m., October 20, 1917, when a train of three heavily loaded freight cars proved too much for the Santa Clara Street bridge across Coyote Creek. The bridge, which had been shaky for some time, collapsed, dropping the whole train into the creek. The train crew escaped unhurt, but 12-year old cyclist Larry Foster, crossing the bridge while delivering milk, died of his injuries.

The Peninsular reached the peak of its career shortly after the end of World War I. In 1926, the California State Railroad Commission (now Public Utilities Commission) credited the line with 80.48 miles of track. Addition of the San José Railroad's 46.23 miles to this figure gave the S. P. a total of 126.71 miles of electric line in Santa Clara County.

Swarming automobiles, however, continued to carry off passenger traffic; trucks diverted freight to the highways. Manager Chapin, hard put to cope with a patently worsening situation, soon sensed that his company's days were numbered. As a matter of routine economy, the company had discontinued the Oak Hill line south of Alma Street on August 1, 1918, replacing it with unsatisfactory bus service that ceased virtually unnoticed on April 26, 1933. Hobson Street service, also replaced by a short-lived bus run, ended in 1920. Keyes Street service, which once extended to Coyote Creek and Cedar Brook Park, was shortened to Tenth Street in 1922. And between then and 1930, the system began to take on the aspects of an overpruned bush. Twigs were snipped back, and whole branches lopped off.

The Santa Clara line between the town limits on Saratoga Avenue and the S. P. depot died when its lone car developed mechanical trouble that did not justify a repair bill. The Town Board informally approved its suspension in January, 1923, four years before final abandonment in April, 1926. At the time of suspension, revenue had dropped to \$1.20 a day.

Other lines following in quick succession were the Hanchett Park, 1926; Mayfield, 1929; Willow Street (McClellan to Lincoln Avenue), 1931; Los Gatos via Campbell, April 1, 1932; Alum Rock, June 12, 1932; and all lines west of Bascom Avenue, March 12, 1933. (The last mentioned discontinuance meant the end of all service to Los Gatos, Saratoga, Palo Alto, and way points.)

In March, 1933, the S. P. decided to divest itself of all Peninsular holdings. The Peninsular thereupon obtained permission to abandon service on September 13 and, on November 30, merged 11.68 miles of remnants with the San José Railroads. Its profitable Berryessa freight line passed to control of Visalia

Electric, an S. P. subsidiary, which operated locally as "San José District of Visalia Electric."

Several city lines were still in service when Arthur L. Woods took over their superintendency early in 1934 and introduced to the city the first 42-passenger bus the following July. By this time, multiplying street improvement bills vied with declining revenues to administer a *coup de grace*.

The life of all electric service in San José drew to a close the evening of April 10, 1938. Midnight witnessed the end of the rail system pioneered by Samuel A. Bishop in 1868.

City Buses

At 6:00 a. m., April 11, 1938, a fleet of 14 shiny new yellow and white buses rolled away from the Peninsular barn on West San Carlos Street, augmenting those which had been entering service three or four at a time since 1935.

Motormen who had become chauffeurs overnight headed for the beginning points of their old trolley runs. Most of them still looked like motormen, for the jaunty cap and informal dress of later years had not yet arrived. The shiny-backed blue serge coat, with its punch and transfer pockets, unmistakably betrayed the wearer's former status.

Moreover, nothing about the event marked it as the most auspicious in the city's history. The buses quickly melted into the chromatic pattern of downtown traffic. They made no faster time between terminals than did their rail predecessors. Their low, flat lines often made it difficult for waiting passengers to discern their approach, particularly if larger vehicles obscured the line of vision.

The bus's advantage in pulling over to the curb when picking up and discharging passengers was soon offset by reduced service. Adoption of the "alternate intersection" or "skip stop" system brought abundant complaints from passengers who resented having to walk an extra block or two. This and the inescapable inhalation of diesel exhaust fumes left no one in a mood to boost the new mode of travel. Before long, family cars began to pass an increasing

TRANSPORTATION

number of hours in industrial and downtown parking lots.

Despite occasional periods of managerial optimism, the bus company's revenue diminished in proportion to the loss of passengers. Gasoline rationing during World War II slowed the downward trend by cutting national mileage in general, but the coming of peace freed everyone who could turn a steering wheel. The era of the two-car family had arrived—a dark omen for automotive public transit.

The marked reluctance of the bus company officials to extend service to several fringe areas did little to improve this deteriorating situation. The non-driving public had no convenient means of getting to and from Oak Hill Memorial Park and neighboring industrial plants. Except for County Fair Week in summer it was equally difficult to reach the nearby County Fairgrounds whose year around array of events featured everything from religious conventions and antique sales to auto races and jazz bands.

Certain areas east of Coyote Creek got a measure of relief when an individual operator sought to supply their need with superannuated vehicles on allegedly paper thin tires. It soon became plain that this "Good Samaritan" could not hurdle the blockade of "safety regulations" that had the pious blessing of the City Lines. But if the City Lines management contemplated a takeover after someone else had done the pioneering, it moved too slowly. Peerless Stages, a well-financed corporation of long standing, took over instead.

Highway Buses

Automotive transport between San José and points thirty or more miles away came into existence long before anyone dreamed of the San José City Lines.

The newly-created California Highway Commission had hardly turned the first shovelful of earth for the state's highway system between Burlingame and San Bruno in 1912, when many an enterprising automobile owner saw an opportunity to make a few dollars. In 1915, for example, a Santa Clara grocer named Harry Drake took on the sideline of trans-

porting passengers to and from the San Francisco World's Fair. A crayon-printed sign in his store window announced that he and his E M F were available to all Santa Clarans who wished his services.

Nicholas Locicero of San José had greater plans. He started with a single "Overland Four" in 1916, operating between San Francisco and San José under the name of Pacific Auto Stage. Despite losing \$6,000 the first year, he added new vehicles as needed and opened a large maintenance and repair shop at 199 North Market Street. The 53-year-old Welch Livery Stable at 48 North First Street became his passenger depot.

In 1917, Locicero entered partnership with Floyd Hanchett of San Francisco, founding a company known as Pacific Auto Stages, Inc. Hanchett, as president, attended to the San Francisco end of the business; Locicero, as manager, did likewise for San José. Together, they bought a fleet of 20 Packards and Pierce Arrows, with each proprietor owning half.

This proved a profitable venture for two other San Joséans besides Locicero—machinist-foreman John Roose and clerk Carl "Cal" K. Sorenson. Though the fare between San José and San Francisco was only \$1.25, Pacific Auto Stages did well enough in just one month—April 1921—to pay \$1,000 in war taxes.¹⁵ Pacific Auto Stages resisted the early wave of consolidation with Pickwick and various "independents," but by 1929 it had lost its identity in Pacific Greyhound.

Meanwhile, several small independently-franchised outfits thought they could operate more efficiently—and profitably—by merging into a single company to which they gave the name Peerless. They informed the public of their intention in April, 1917, but did not approve their articles of incorporation until July 3, 1918. Granting of their permit followed on October 7.

Operating as Peerless Stages, Inc., this new company soon monopolized passenger traffic between

¹⁵A small excise tax levied by the Federal Government as a means to defray the cost of World War I.

San José and Oakland, and between San José and Santa Cruz. Its Santa Cruz Mountains network included Saratoga and Big Basin.

Peerless established its depots and ticket offices wherever it could find space. The San José depot, at 48 North First Street, shared with other lines the facilities of what had once been the city's finest livery stable. Passing pedestrians soon learned to keep a wary eye on the big front door that spewed elongated, flap-curtained Packards, Pierce Arrows, and Locomobiles across the First Street sidewalk until the tenants moved to a new union station at 25 South Market Street in 1924. And from there, they moved to a still more spacious station at 70 South Almaden Avenue.

The independent Peerless fleet of big yellow buses, built more or less on Greyhound lines, was still carrying thousands of passengers annually into and out of San José more than half a century after the company's founding. But if its founders had not asked too high a price for their property, it might have become "another unit" of the Greyhound system many years ago.

In the meantime, similar changes involved a number of small lines connecting San José with Gilroy and more distant points to the south. The most important occurred when Heple's Highway Auto Stages and Henry Campbell's White Star Line entered the newly organized Pickwick Stages system. Campbell's company connected San José with Salinas via Hollister; Heple's ended at Gilroy, where it "tied into" the Moyers line operating between Fresno and Santa Cruz.

Heple's was owned by Mrs. Margaret Heple and her son Ralph of San José. It used Winton cars, painted blood red with an easily discerned white strip "all around." Two small purple lights on the front of each enabled passengers to distinguish it on the highway at night.

The Heples lost nothing by taking their firm into the Pickwick system. Among other benefits, they got the Pickwick repair and maintenance contract for the San José area. Their shops, just behind Mrs. Heple's home at 494 Delmas Avenue, kept the

company's long gray Pierce Arrows and Locomobiles in running order. Their employees could identify every Pickwick vehicle on the San Diego-Portland run, for each had the name of a flower or gem painted on its side—Rose, Violet, Tourmaline, and about everything else listed in a floral or mineralogical dictionary.

Organization of Pickwick made it possible to travel from one end of the state to the other on the same line. It came about when several independents consolidated their properties under the corporate title of Pacific Transport Securities, the holding company of what soon became Pickwick Stages. Their merged resources enabled them to operate more efficiently with greater profit for all.

The Pickwick's San José depot was a small porte-cochered affair capable of sheltering only one bus at a time. It stood at 319 South First Street—in the middle of a large lot later occupied by the Sainte Claire Building. Its facilities were limited, but if a through bus needed a hurried repair job while stopped here, a mechanic could be fetched from Heple's shops in only two or three minutes.

Eventually, San José stage operators concluded that depots scattered all over the town's business district were hardly a convenience to the traveling public. They accordingly solved the problem with a brand new union station, opened at 25 South Market Street on April 25, 1924.

This station, extending through the block from Market to San Pedro Street, had abundant bus stalls easily reached from the latter thoroughfare. Other structural features included a large waiting room that not only accommodated a continuous flow of passengers, but also kept many a sidewalk bum comfortably warm at night.

California's greatest consolidation of bus systems came in 1929, when Pickwick, California Transit,¹⁶ S. P. Motor Transport, and several smaller outfits consolidated as Pacific Greyhound Lines, with the

¹⁶*Beyond the boundaries of California, the California Transit system was known as Yelloway.*

TRANSPORTATION

Southern Pacific Railroad as a principal stockholder. Thenceforth the sign across the front of San José's depot informed the public of the line's new ownership. The representation of a loping Greyhound named *Bus* was soon recognized over a large area of the nation and became the company's symbol.

Only two changes of noteworthy interest to San Joséans occurred between then and the end of 1969. Doubling and redoubling of San José's population after 1950 overtaxed the capacity of the Market Street station. The Greyhound therefor dedicated a much larger "kennel" at 70 Almaden Avenue on August 16, 1957. That same year, it dropped the word "Pacific" from its name.

Two important but little remembered bus lines operating on the San Jose - San Francisco route were the Davis Transit and the Peninsula Rapid Transit, which came into existence during World War I. Davis, under the presidency of Arthur E. Davis, limited its service to San Jose, Redwood City and all points between them. Floyd Pearson's Peninsula Rapid Transit duplicated Davis' service between San Jose and Redwood City, plus all points between the latter and San Francisco.

Davis had a hole in the wall office in the Knox Block, at 23 West Santa Clara Street, San Jose. The Rapid Transit occupied larger quarters at 119 South Market Street. Davis first appeared in the *San Jose City Directory* in 1919; by 1921, it was gone. The Rapid Transit carried on until absorbed by the Greyhound in 1929, as before indicated.

Passengers at wayside stations had no difficulty in distinguishing the rolling stock of one from that of the other. Davis used solid-tired Moreland vehicles, painted dark brown with a gold stripe about six inches wide extending all the way around the bus just below the window level. And painted in black letters along the stripe were the names of all the points served.

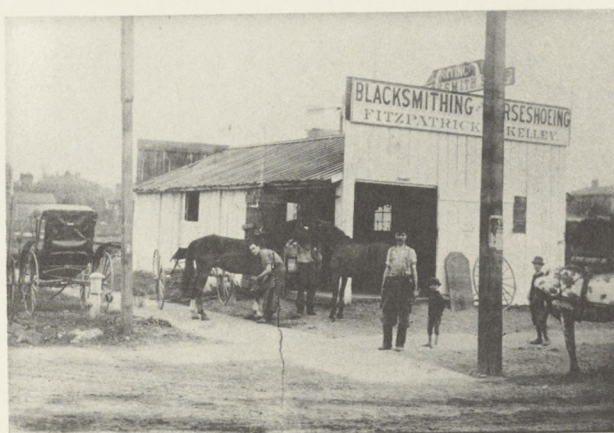
The Rapid Transit vehicles, built by White, were painted a dull green and and beige. Their pneumatic tires enabled them to travel faster than Davis' solid-tired, spine-jostling Morelands. The White's round-shouldered radiator tank also became a symbol of the Rapid Transit.

Both Davis and Rapid Transit performed excellent service for the thousands of soldiers stationed at Menlo Park's Camp Frémont during the war.



This photo shows a Mt. Hamilton-bound stagecoach on Alum Rock Avenue near King Road in the 1890's. This vehicle left F. H. Ross & Sons' stables at the Vendome Hotel every morning at 7:00 a.m. and arrived at Lick Observatory atop Mt. Hamilton at 1:00 p.m. Almost every foot of the route from 2nd Street in San José to the observatory at 4,209 feet above sea level was uphill. And though the distance from the Hotel to the observatory was only 13 miles on an air line, the stage passenger had to endure 28 miles of slow going, with a change of horses at Smith Creek. On the other hand, the down trip was much faster. The stage left the observatory at 2:15 p.m. and arrived at the Vendome at 6:00 p.m.—in time for supper.

Fitzpatrick and Kelley's blacksmith shop on the southeast corner of Capitol Avenue and McKee Road about 1890. Such shops were common throughout the valley in those days although many ranchers and farmers had enough equipment to do much of their own blacksmithing.



The Vendome Stables on the San Pedro Street side of the hotel Vendome were the headquarters of the Mt. Hamilton Stage Co., operated by Frank Ross. It was from here that the Mt. Hamilton stage departed every morning and returned when the day was well spent.

In a day when the finest roast cost ten cents a pound, this wagon from John Holland's East San José Market typified the service rendered to the public by local meat dealers. Practically every butcher shop of consequence in the Santa Clara Valley had one or more of these two-horse vehicles. Every one of these wagons was a rambling butcher shop, carrying everything from short ribs to sausages. Its driver might flavor the cutlets with a little horse sweat from the reins, but the housewife seldom minded that. To anyone who complained of flies, she snorted, "The meat's going to get cooked anyway!"





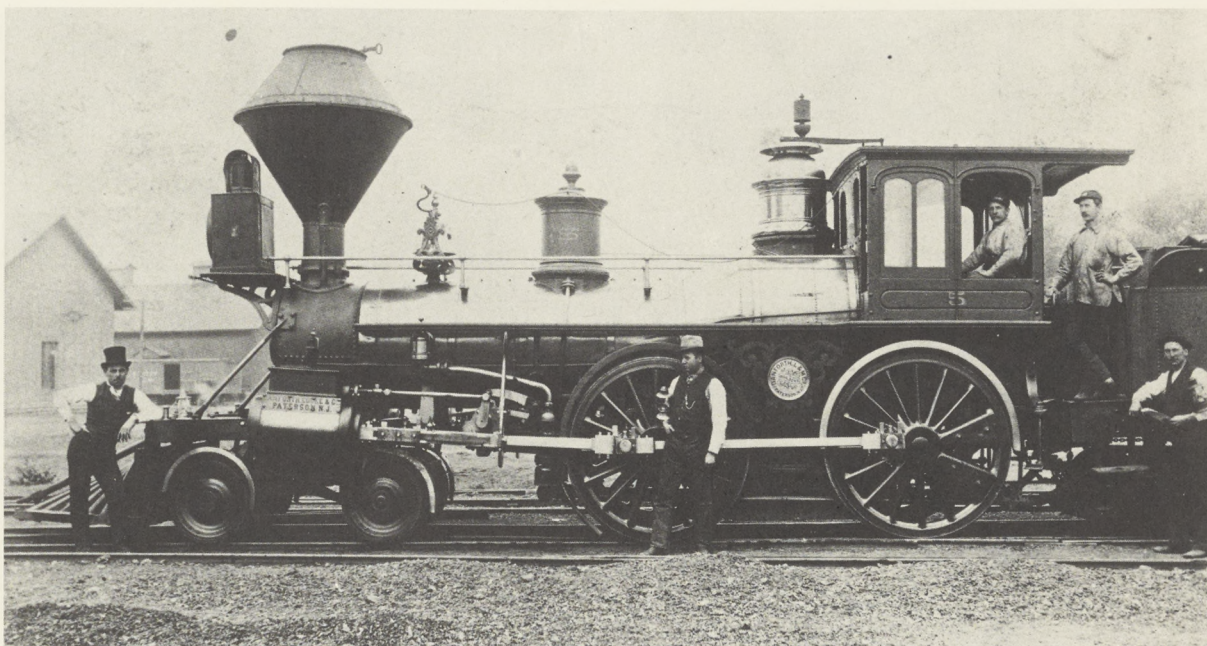
San José reached the peak of civic decoration when welcoming President William McKinley in May, 1901. Florists vied with flags and bunting purveyors to create the most colorful spectacle the city had ever seen. Even the Southern Pacific Railroad got the decorative fever, as indicated by locomotive No. 1447 of the presidential train. While taking on water at the west end of San José's Market Street Station, this highly polished piece of machinery attracted almost as much attention as the distinguished passenger who rode behind it.



The first station of the San Francisco and San José Railroad, as shown here, was in San Francisco. The railroad was built by Peter Donahue whose Laurelwood Farm was in Santa Clara County.

Most of San José's American Railway Express staff took time out to line up in front of the company's depot office in the early 1920's. About half of these employees were carry-overs from Wells, Fargo & Co., which became a unit of the American Railway Express as a wartime measure in 1918. They represented the downtown office, depot office, depot platform crew, and delivery service. Old-time shippers said they had no trouble finding the A.R.E.'s depot office, which occupied the west end of the Southern Pacific's block-long Bassett Street station in the background. The odor of a mountain of sun-baked, fish-shipping boxes in an adjoining storage yard wafted on the prevailing wind to sensitive noses south of Julian Street.

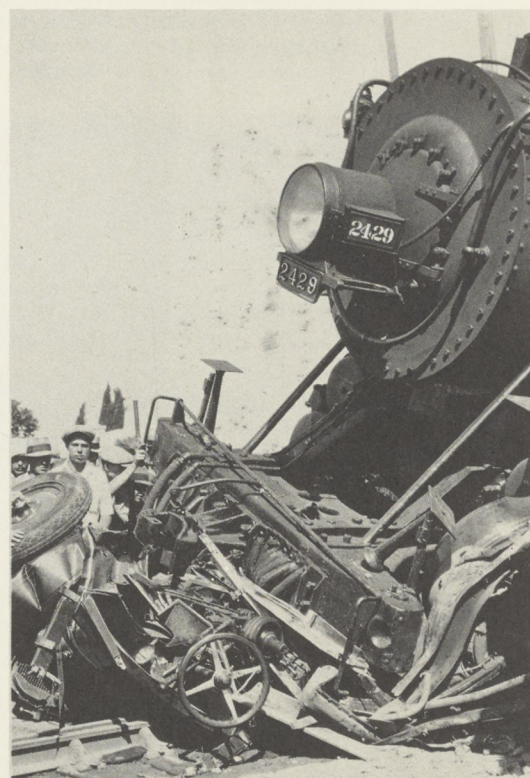




The steam engine San Mateo was the first regular switch engine in the San José freight yards. Pictured here in 1887 are engineer Thomas Manhire, firemen H. Haggerty and J. Grismer, switchmen J. McManingal and B. Whitman, Agent A. Johnson, and Superintendent W. H. Hancock. No. 5 was the first engine to cross the Sierra Nevada. To do so, it was disassembled and put on sleds, and reassembled near Truckee to assist in the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad. It was a 4-4-0 American Class Diamond Stock Wood Burner.

For the first thirty years of the automobile age, the Southern Pacific Railroad's Coast Division line was no safety device so far as San José was concerned. Its rails ran along the middle of Fourth Street at grade from just north of Julian Street to well beyond the southern limits of the city. All cross streets were also at grade, and a number of them had no gates, bells, or flagmen to warn the public of approaching trains.

This photo shows the horrible end that a motorist and his passenger came to at one of these crossings while on their way to work early one morning in June, 1926.



The driver of one of the units of Sam Bishop's San José and Santa Clara Horse Railroad has stopped in front of an unidentified Santa Clara oasis. The bartender (or waiter) is holding a tray with three drinks on it—probably two for the dudes in the buggy and one for the horsecar driver. Horsecar drivers had no fear of Rule G, which severely restricted the conviviality of later-day steam and electric railroad employees.

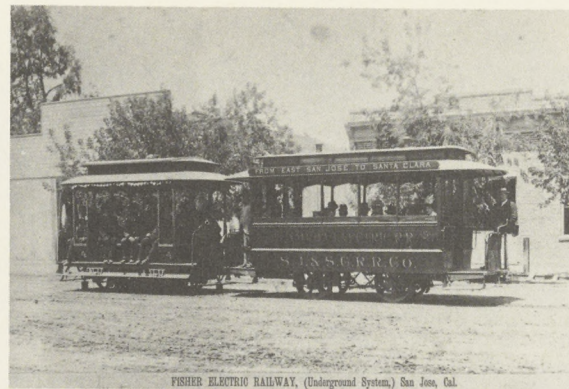
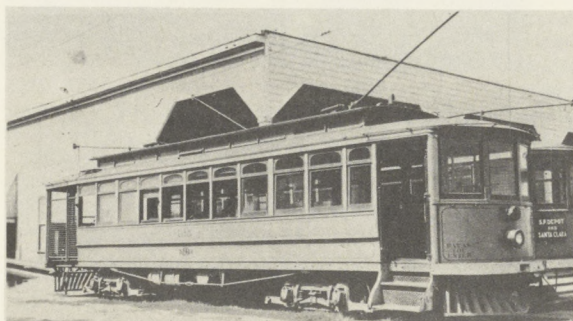


In 1892 a passenger could board this car on Jacob Rich's First Street Railroad at Hobson Street in San José and ride straight through to Oak Hill Cemetery for five cents. Also in 1892, he or she could ride the line's westward extension from First Street to The Alameda via Hobson, Walnut and Hedding Streets without transferring. Jacob Rich, the line's owner, was born in Poland. He learned tailoring and hat making in Germany during his youth, but in 1875—22 years after migrating to San José—he became interested in street cars. By 1892 he controlled 90 percent of this city's transit.



A Birney streetcar is shown heading northward across the intersection of Second and Santa Clara Streets enroute to the northern end of its run at Second and St. John Streets. This car, belonging to the San José Railroads, made its last run on April 10, 1938, shortly after this photo was taken.

In 1888, Supt. William Fitts of the San José & Santa Clara Horse Railroad Co. didn't view this beautiful specimen of electric rolling stock with much enthusiasm. He frankly doubted the equipment's practicality. The underground electrical system shorted out time and again, bringing every car between East San José and Santa Clara to a stop. Conversion to an overhead trolley system in 1890, however, prevented further problems for both railroad and passengers.



San José Railroad's Car No. 125 stands on a Peninsular Railway car barn spur on the southside of West San Carlos Street between Suñol Street and Lincoln Avenue. Cars of this type served on the San José-Santa Clara line for many years.



The earliest electric cars on The Alameda were powered by underground electric rail. This photo was taken on July 12, 1888.

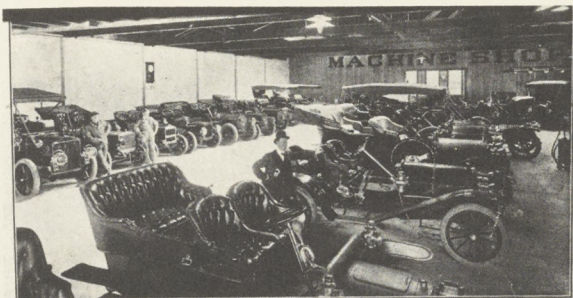
When Charles Down turned his horses out to pasture, he carried on his transfer business with his beautiful solid-tired Fageol.



This fleet of Willys-Knight Taxi Cabs was purchased in 1924 by the Yellow Cab Co. of San José. M.J. Willoughby, manager, and F.E. Granger of Granger Motor Sales (local representative of the Willys-Knight Company) register mutual satisfaction with the delivery.



The Lester family in a Mitchell Touring Car are parked under the Automobile Tree near Wawona Big Trees in 1914.
(photo courtesy of Lester Family)



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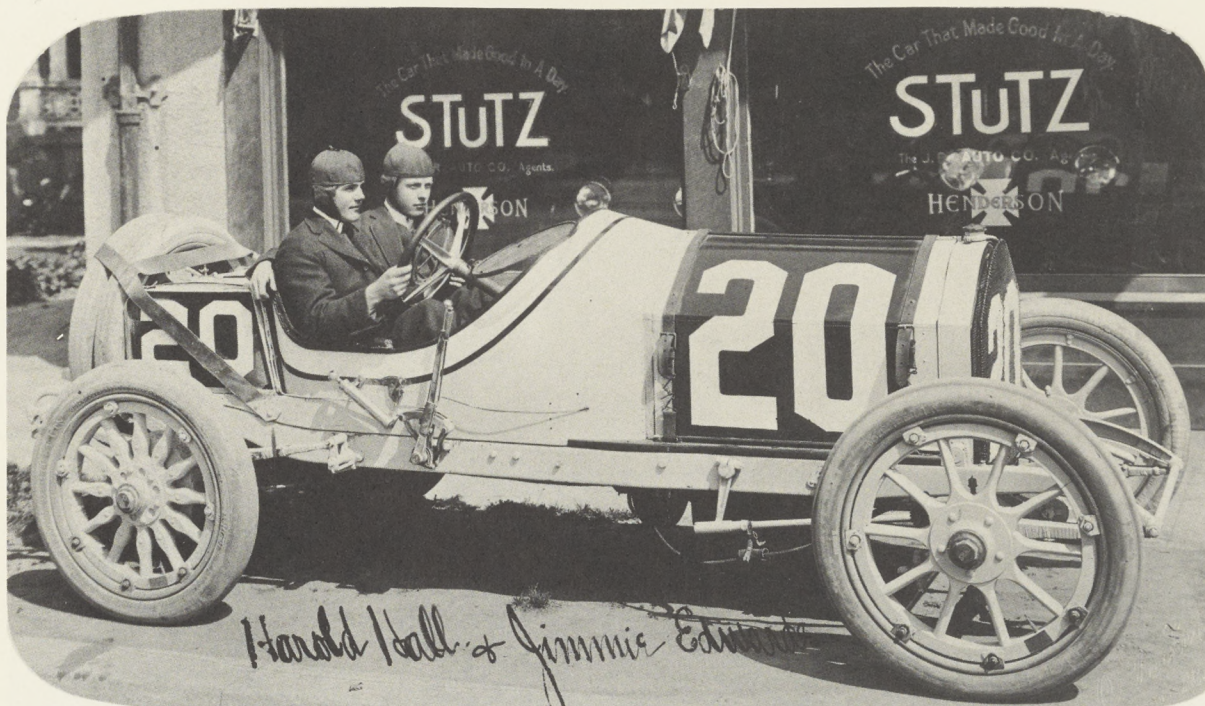
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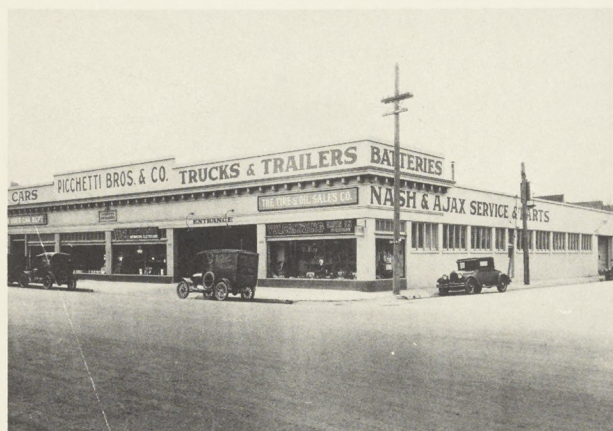


This shows the program for San José's first automobile show which took place in the Auditorium Rink on South Market Street in 1909. When it ended, San Joséans were hopeless motoring addicts.



This undated photo shows Harold Hall and Jimmie Edwards in a Stutz cutdown, a favorite car of racers and "road burners" about the time the United States found its way into World War I. Old-time racing driver Gene Wilson pronounced Hall, largely self-educated, a genius in automotive engineering. He quit school, according to Wilson, on graduating from the old Franklin School on Monterey Road, and went to work in a downtown machine shop to learn everything he could about the business. His interest in internal combustion engines did not stop at the automotive level, for Wilson credited him with being the real brain behind the famous Hall-Scott aviation engine of World War I days.

On the left, a San José City bus stops in front of the Y.M.C.A. on Third and Santa Clara Streets (looking west). The Bank of America dominates this 1940's scene. (photo courtesy of San José Adult Center)



Picchetti Bros. & Co. was one of San José's many automobile sales establishments in days when a customer could choose a favorite from twenty or more different makes of American cars. Attilio and Hector Picchetti operated a garage at 222 South Market Street shortly after World War I. By 1923, they had entered the auto sales field at 400 South First Street. By 1932 they had moved to this spacious building at 455 South Market Street. In the course of doing business at First Street and Market Street, they sold several makes of cars whose names have all but faded from memory—Nash, Durant, Ajax, and Graham among them.



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6

WHEAT & CATTLE





Wheat

Until their secularization in 1833, California's missions produced immense quantities of wheat. The dispersal of the vast numbers of mission Indian help after secularization reduced this production to a small fraction of its former state. "Small grains" almost disappeared, and by 1846 when the American took over, the Californio was basically a corn products man. His bread and tortillas were of corn meal; his empanadas, tamales and enchiladas had large amounts of corn in them, as did many other items of his diet.

The American, on the other hand, was a thorough-going wheat man. He might accept corn bread as a brief variant or temporary necessity, but when he prayed for his daily bread, he was thinking of big, yeasty loaves made with white flour.

American and European travelers in pre-American California invariably noted the absence of wheat and its products. Bryant commented only on the wheat grown on Sutter's land in 1846, saying it was ground into flour by "a very ordinary horse mill." Belden could recollect no wheat flour to speak of before 1849, and most of it came from Chile.

Yet long before San José passed to American ownership, American immigrants sized up the local wheat situation and resolved to do something about it. In 1842 Charles M. Weber and William Gulnac erected a grist mill on Canoas Creek just north of the pond, about where Colfax (now West Reed) Street later reached that stream. Two years later, Antonio Suñol's French son-in-law, Pierre Sainsevain, got a permit to erect a mill of 75 Fanegas (112½ bushels) daily capacity on the Guadalupe River near the present San Fernando Street crossing. Both of these mills appeared on Bestor's Map of the Pueblo in 1849—the first as Gulnac's, the second as Suñol's.

About five miles down the Guadalupe, near the present Agnew, a French-Canadian named Olivier Magnent envisioned the wheat growing possibilities of this area. On January 18, 1847, he acquired a parcel of land from Ygnacio Alviso and immediately set about erecting a water-powered flour mill on it. It was easily the best establishment of its kind in the Santa Clara Valley at the time of construction. Lyman,

who visited it on December 22, just after completion, pronounced it "a fine piece of workmanship, built by a Mormon, a Mr. Fisher . . ."

On April 22, 1848, Magnent entered into partnership with James Lick, a Pennsylvania native who had come up from Callao, Peru, three and a half months earlier. Lick put \$4,000 into the deal; Magnent, \$3,000. They then advertised a "general milling business conducted by Olivier Magnent and James Lick," each taking half the profits. Lick bought Magnent out for \$4,770 on December 20, 1850, and remained sole proprietor of the establishment until he deeded it to the Thomas Paine Memorial Foundation in 1873.

The presence of the foregoing mills in this valley prior to 1850 indicates two things: (1) the foresight of their builders; (2) wheat was taking up an increasing amount of space between the valley's oaks, replacing cattle.

As the American population continued to increase, more and more land became necessary for grain. The axe echoed in many an *encinal* (live oak grove) as brush and tree gave way to the plow and harrow. Albert Chester Lawrence, who sailed from Boston for California in 1849 to mine gold, typified this process of clearing the land.

Lawrence stayed at the mines nearly two years, then came to Santa Clara County and took up 80 acres of rich land at what became Lawrence Station on the Southern Pacific Railroad. His eldest son, Albert, came out in 1852 to help him clear his land preparatory to cultivating, planting, and establishing a home upon it. Together they felled huge oaks and cut them up one by one. They chopped and burned brush, soon learning to use extreme caution with poison oak so thick that it almost hid the ground. When Mrs. Lawrence and the rest of the family arrived in 1861, the father and son had not only cleared the land, but had also begun construction of the house in which they were to live.

Although politics overshadowed many of San José's activities in 1850 and '51, the land still offered abundant opportunity to the man willing to put his hand to the plow. Many a local *Cincinnatus* unosten-

WHEAT & CATTLE

tatiously broke soil with the sure knowledge that people had to eat. And as the furrow of black soil lengthened in the field, the miller in town prepared to grind the product. In San José alone, four new mills were grinding by 1854.

On February 25 of that year, the Common Council granted James F. Reed's request for permission to increase the height of the *acequia* dam for milling purposes. On April 7 Reed sought a permit to build a new dam on the *acequia*, below the old one, at his own expense.

Details of this transaction are obscure, but the *California Register*, published in San Francisco, listed Reed's mill early in 1857. It operated with water diverted from Canoas Creek into the *acequia* in the vicinity of the present Grant Street.

While Reed busied himself on the west side of town, Ransom G. Moody erected a \$3,000 mill alongside Coyote Creek, near the foot of Empire Street. Its single stone, powered by artesian water, produced 25 barrels of flour a day.

In 1858 Moody moved to a new site on the east side of Third Street between Santa Clara and St. John. His new establishment, costing \$20,000, used steam for power. It had two stones with a daily capacity of 100 barrels, and its facilities, expanded and improved from time to time, eventually extended all the way through from Third to Fourth Street.

In 1886, Moody's mill lost its identity in a merger that created the Central Milling Company of San José. "The Central," in turn, merged in 1892 with the Sperry Flour Company, the last wheat-oriented occupant of the premises. After Sperry abandoned the site in the late 1920's, the mill's arch-windowed brick warehouse, loading platform, and office structure passed into possession of an automobile sales and repair establishment.

Seafaring Captain Julian Hanks not only demonstrated skill in constructing mills for other people, but also put up a good one for himself. Its listing in the 1857 *California Register* shows it as one-stoned and steam-powered, grinding 30 barrels a day.

For some reason, the *Register* failed to mention the cost and location of this mill, but it is certain that Hanks could not have operated it long after its listing. Family tradition portrays him as a "sea dog" who could not stay away from salt water for any great length of time. His wife worried every time he went to Alviso, and her fears were confirmed when he took command of a ship said to have been running arms for the Emperor Maximilian in the 1860's. His descendants believed that he and his ship went down in the Atlantic under the fire of British guns.

Less colorful, perhaps, were Kentuckian William B. Bassham and his son-in-law William Kincaid who set up a three-stone, water-powered mill on or very near the old Suñol mill site on the Guadalupe, opposite the present San José Water Works. Their mill, generally known as Bassham and Kincaid's Mill, commenced operation on September 14, 1854. Yet, when listed in the *California Register*, it appeared as the San José Mill and only Bassham's name appeared in the occupant column.

Bassham, who came overland in 1845, tried his luck in Los Angeles and San Francisco before settling in San José. In 1849 he represented San José in the first California Legislature, serving as first senator from his district. On July 2, 1863, the *San José Mercury* reported he sold his mill to two Frenchmen, Antoine Delmas and Augustus Poulain, who thereafter advertised it as the Orange Mills.

This new name supposedly derived from an imperfection in the screening process. Instead of being snow white, Delmas and Poulain's flour had a slight orange tint, which, if anything, heightened its popularity. Within a relatively short time, its production increased from 150 to 200 barrels a day.

From September, 1863, to February, 1864, the *San José Patriot* carried the boxed ad of what appears to have been Delmas and Poulain's chief downtown outlet—W. G. Orbon's Flour Store—at what is now 210 South First Street. Orbon featured Orange Mills Flour, recommending it "To Bakeries, Restaurants and Families."

The *California Register* somehow neglected to list another San José flour producer—Gordon Cot-

trell's Vineyard Mills at Seventh and William Streets. This artesian-powered establishment, also founded in 1854, had two stones capable of delivering 60 barrels of flour and feed a day. In 1858 it passed into ownership of Adolph Pfister, prominent San José merchant and investor in milling enterprises who doubled the number of stones and increased production to 110 barrels a day.

The San José mill owners were not the only ones expanding their facilities to cope with ever increasing acreages of wheat. Other millers around the valley were doing the same. Most notable of them were Lt. Colonel Albanus B. Rowley and George Adams who got the jump on "the big San Joséans" by a full year.

In 1853 Rowley and Adams erected a steam-powered mill at Alviso. Operating under the name of Alviso Mills, their plant represented an investment of \$60,000 in 1857, and \$75,000 ten years later. In the same decade, it increased its three stones to five, and its daily production of flour from 150 barrels to 300, most of which was loaded aboard ship at the mill's own wharf and shipped directly to China. All by-products went to the San Francisco market.

Messrs. Rowley and Adams sold out in 1868 to Francis Bray, prosperous Santa Clara farmer under whom the mill reached its maximum development. Statistics compiled by Bray's brother, George in 1920 reveal that the mill's main building stood four stories high. A 150-horsepower Corliss engine turned the wheels, and profits from just one year—1874—paid for a brick warehouse capable of storing 5,500 tons of wheat.

It was not unusual during harvest season to see a line of wagons "over half a mile long" waiting to unload wheat at this warehouse. "From 1865 to 1885 the yield of cereals in Santa Clara County was enormous," George wrote, and he had more than once seen the structure "piled full to the roof."

George also noted the addition of another grinding stone, giving the mill a total "run of six," which ranked it as Santa Clara county's largest flour producer. The flour reserved for domestic consumption, he added, bore the brand name of "Bakers Extra."

Yet Bray's mill was by no means the most expensive in Santa Clara County. That honor went to Lick's water-powered establishment on the Guadalupe. Lick, not to be outdone by his neighbors to the north, had a mill that stood unique among those of the whole nation and, perhaps, the world. It certainly cost more, stone for stone, than any other mill in the history of California. The *Pacific Coast Business Directory* for 1867 which listed it as costing \$380,000, credited it with four stones, producing 250 barrels of flour a day. Its next ranking competitor in value, Delmas and Poulain's Orange Mills of San José, cost only \$100,000—even after conversion to steam.

The incredibly high cost of Lick's Mill lay not in its undeniably excellent machinery but in the appointments of its buildings. A former piano maker and artificer in woods, Lick adorned and finished his main structures with imported hardwoods. His skill with these materials won for his mill the sobriquet "James Lick's Mahogany-Wainscoted Mill."

Even his flour bore the superlative trademark "Superfine," another indication of his tendency toward things and usages better than "just good."

The foregoing mills hardly made a Minneapolis or Kansas City of San José, but they certainly represented one of California's greatest wheat growing areas. They drew their total sustenance from the valley in which they were located. Even as wheat was taking over the plains of the Central Valley in the late 1860's, only six mills in the whole state equalled or exceeded the daily production of the Alviso Mills. One, producing an even 300 barrels a day, was in Oakland and imported wheat from wherever it could be purchased. The five "champions" were in Sacramento, Folsom, and Stockton—in the very heart of what became a wheat empire.

Santa Clara County's flour production skyrocketed during the decade immediately following the Civil War. According to the *San José Mercury*, which frequently reported such things, 1865 must have been a bumper year for wheat. On October 5, Editor Owen noted that six nearby mills were working night and day producing 1,500 barrels of flour every 24 hours. The ten local mills large enough to be

WHEAT & CATTLE

registered in 1867 represented a property improvement value of \$724,000 (a tremendous sum for those days) production average of 1,565 barrels a day. Cronises' *The Natural Wealth of California* reported "about forty steam threshing machines, and a large number run by horse power" at work in local fields in 1868. In 1870 the valley produced 1,188,137 bushels of wheat, a figure that jumped to a peak of 1,701,000 bushels in 1874. Local farmers had been "riding high" ever since 1867, when agriculture surpassed gold as the state's leading wealth producer.

Statistical tables published in early San José directories and newspapers confirmed George Bray's statement that the Santa Clara Valley produced an enormous amount of wheat between 1865 and 1885. He could have better said between 1855 and 1885, for the modern San Joséan can hardly conceive the influence of wheat on the economy of his home town during those thirty years. San José was the shopping center and supply depot for farmers and millers from all over the county. As they prospered, so did San José merchants, bankers, implement dealers, and other business men.

In 1876, Thompson & West published a table indicating that Santa Clara County had 170,848 acres of wheat in 1875. The same source listed 12,681 acres of barley, 738 acres of oats, and 27,686 acres of hay. The County Assessor's records for 1877, however, dropped the wheat acreage to 155,343, but increased that of barley to 25,310, oats to 3,560, and hay to 31,900.

The farms from which these products came were by no means large when compared with the great spreads in the Sacramento and San Joaquín. With a few notable exceptions, most of them ranged from 80 acres to a half section. Yet long before they reached maximum production their owners were largely responsible for the early establishment of the county's road system.

Owing to some quirk of humanity, a farmer seldom took his wheat to the mill closest to home. The Saratoga farmer, for example, seemed to prefer the Alviso or the Lick Mills to the Redwood Mill at his own doorstep. The Santa Clara probably felt that he could get a better deal from Forbes' Santa

Rosa Mill than from his home town establishments. But no matter where he delivered, his transaction involved the use of roads.

By 1852, communications from wheat farmers found their way into the minutes of the Court of Sessions, forerunner of the County Board of Supervisors. As harvest time drew near, these farmers informed the Court that they would soon be hauling their wheat to the mills. They accordingly petitioned the Court to re-gravel the roads and strengthen all bridges and culverts enroute to accommodate heavy-laden wagons and back actions (trailers).

If the farmers of certain areas felt the need of a new and more direct route to a given point, they let the Court know that, too. The present Lawrence Expressway derived from just such a need.

During the February Term of 1852, a group of west side farmers petitioned the Court of Sessions for a "road leading from the Redwoods to Alviso." A second petition, filed on July 16, more specifically described the desired road as leading from "a point on the Campbell's Redwood Road (now Saratoga Avenue) near a line with the Santa Cruz Gap and Alviso..." The purpose of the road was to avoid the long, roundabout haul "via Mission Santa Clara" in getting the petitioners' farm products "to the world." It would also make for "better communications with the mines."

Yet, with all of wheat's starring in the drama of local history, a conspiracy of events determined the length of the act. Hosts of men had been laboring under a Sacramento and San Joaquín sun to convert the interior plains into a wheat field 300 miles long and 50 miles wide. Their product, moving by boat and barge down two great rivers, was already pouring into mills and warehouses at Sacramento, Stockton, Vallejo, and Oakland. At home, the soothing green of inexorably spreading orchards had begun to dispel the shimmering haze over fields of golden grain. By 1871 more than 2,000,000 fruit trees had carpeted a vast acreage of the Santa Clara Valley.

George and Francis Bray foresaw the inevitable as gigantic corporation-owned mills concentrated their facilities along the bay and river waters north of

Oakland. When the Alviso Mills closed down in 1885, the Santa Clara Valley farmer knew he had two choices. If he insisted on growing wheat, he could move to the Sacramento or San Joaquín. If he preferred taking his chances with fruit, he could stay put.

Cattle

Early writers occasionally referred to solar salt as California's oldest industry. They recounted how primitive Indians around San Francisco Bay gathered from the stems and blades of marsh grasses salt deposited by the tides and evaporated by the sun.

Spanish Californians improved this process, gathering their salt in larger quantities from stakes they had driven into the littoral. And the American improved on the Spanish system. He scooped out shallow evaporation ponds enclosed by low dikes, each with a gate to admit the flowing tide. When a pond filled, he closed the gate, entrapping the water until the sun evaporated it. He repeated his entrapping process until a carpet of salt thick enough for profitable harvesting accumulated on the bottom of the pond.

Solar salt, however, did not become an industry in the business sense of the term until well after American occupation of California. John Quigley established the first salt works on the east side of the bay at Alvarado in 1862. C. E. Whitney of San Mateo and the Redwood City Salt Works of Redwood City were the pioneers on the west side in 1901. Santa Clara County histories have been somewhat reticent about who, if anyone, engaged in commercial salt production anywhere along the littoral between Drawbridge and Palo Alto.

This leaves cattle as the oldest industry in this county. Cattle were raised commercially under both Spain and México, with the greater development coming under México. They constituted the first of Santa Clara County's four great economic eras.

The great cattle herds within San José's jurisdiction descended from animals brought from Spain via Santo Domingo to México in 1521. The first of their breed reached what is now the United States via

Arizona with the Coronado Expedition of 1540. The first to Alta California came with Portolá 229 years later.

Strays and castoffs from these and subsequent expeditions soon began to multiply in the wilderness of northern México. Before long, they ranged across the entire Southwest from the Colorado River to East Texas. They adapted themselves to the American scene with phenomenal ease, becoming one of the most self-sufficient animals the world has ever seen. In the congenial environment of California, they proliferated beyond belief, often covering the landscape like a great moving carpet.

American pioneers in California called them Spanish steers; farther east, in another generation, they were publicized as Texas Longhorns. And wherever they grazed—California or Texas—they were one and the same animal. Yet they could never have become an industry without the cooperation of another immigrant—the horse.

The story of the vast *caballadas* (droves) of wild horses that once roamed the Santa Clara Valley parallels that of cattle. Columbus introduced the horse into Santo Domingo in 1493, and from there it moved to México. From México it penetrated the American Southwest and kept going until the Sioux of the Dakotas knew it as well as the Comanche of Texas. Its speed, endurance, toughness and intelligence made it self-sufficient as any Longhorn. As *Mostrenco* or *Mesteño*, it gave the word Mustang to the English language.¹

The horse and the cowhand who rode it were integral to the "holy trinity" of the cattle industry. No one or any two of them could fill the bill; all three had to be present and working together. When a man referred to "cattle," he *ipso facto* thought of all three

¹"Mostrenco" signified a wild, unbranded horse whose ownership, if any, had to be proved. "Mesteno," or its more popular feminine variant "mestena," derived from an ownerless sheep on the Spanish Mesta. Mustang is an English corruption of "mostrence," "mestena," or both.

WHEAT & CATTLE

as a single, insoluble element. They constituted California's only real industry prior to American occupation; they became, and remained, the most noteworthy symbol of the West under American rule. This held as true in the Santa Clara Valley as on the far-flung ranges of Texas and Sonora.

Though their journey to California was essentially the same, smaller stock such as sheep and goats ranked much lower in song and story. Only the big animals—*ganado mayor*—won prominent places in history.

In the beginning, Spanish laws for settling the new land prohibited monopolizing cattle. The *poblador*, as previously indicated, could own only so many head of livestock—any issue in excess of that number went to the government. Even the missions had to account for them meticulously. Under México the number of such animals on any given range indicated the owner's affluence.

Spain's land laws and foreign trade policy precluded full development of the cattle industry. The laws practically restricted granting of the public domain to rewards—or awards—for governmental service, usually military. The trade policy, designed to protect the mother country's home interests, virtually barred foreign ships from California ports. Settlers were prohibited from trading with foreigners, particularly seafarers engaged in "judicious smuggling."

After 1822, however, México's more liberal laws opened the public domain to all reputable Mexican citizens who wished to take up ranching. They also provided a custom house in Monterey and permitted trading with foreign merchant ships to obtain a wide variety of supplies necessary to good living.

Owing to lack of specie or any other form of money in the department, cowhides and tallow became the *Californio's* media of exchange. Prices might reverse according to supply and demand, but a cowhide generally equalled a two-dollar bill, and an *arroba* (25½ pounds) of tallow was worth a dollar and a half. Until American occupation, all business was done on the basis of this "cow currency."

On putting into Monterey, a trading ship dropped anchor as near as possible to the Custom House to

facilitate cargo inspection. While the captain attended to custom and import details, the supercargo rode horseback inland to notify *rancheros* that the ship would arrive at the landing nearest their respective ranchos on a stated date. *El Embarcadero de Santa Clara* was thus assigned as the port for Santa Clara Valley residents.

Every *ranchero* looked forward to the "shopping trips" that followed the supercargo's visit. They invariably turned out to be festive occasions. As the day of the ship's arrival drew near, whole families started for the *embarcadero*. The *rancheros* and their sons sat "high" in the saddle, the girls and young women sometimes rode "piggy back" with their brothers or other youths, and the elderly ladies rode in *carretas*. *Boyeros* (ox drivers), directing cartloads of stiff, dry cowhides, completed the procession.

The captain, in his most dazzling uniform, welcomed everybody aboard. He kissed the hands of the ladies and presented them with mantillas, perfumes and other items calculated to delight the feminine heart. For the men, he broke out fine liquors and cigars. Gullet-tickling viands went down in incredible quantities. Then, as if by accident, someone remembered they all had business to transact, and the trading began.

This "shopping"—so many hides for this, so many for that—continued until the last hide was spent, and the customers started for home. Once the hides were aboard, the ship weighed anchor and headed for another port to repeat the transaction just finished. And it continued to do so at still other ports along the coast until it was empty of merchandise and loaded with hides.

Then it put into San Pedro or San Diego to scrape surplus flesh and fat from the hides, preparatory to reloading for the long voyage "around the Horn" to Eastern leather goods manufacturing centers.

Early in 1848 San José *rancheros* could dispose of their cowhides at the going rate of barter to Josiah Belden, who had just opened up a store on the Plaza. Belden's books, which indicated a lively trade in hides, also traced the end of their use as money. Here and

there after the middle of 1848, a lone entry marked "to gold dust" appeared among the many marked "to cowhides." These lone gold dust entries soon became more than occasional, particularly after the first San Joséans leaving for the mines began to return home. By the time Belden sold out in 1849, the occasional entries had multiplied to whole pages, and "cow currency" was "on the way out."

Incidentally, Belden's first cash register was a low-fenced hide yard behind his store. It held an abundance of hides, but its arrangement required strict supervision, as Belden found out one day when a native Californian brought in a single hide. On completing a sale to the man, Belden motioned him to toss the hide over the fence into the yard as payment for the merchandise. The man obligingly did so, and Belden, dismissing the matter from his mind, went about other business. It was only on discovering that he had bought and paid for the same hide about half a dozen times that he took suitable measures to prevent recurrence.

It is said that a young horseman, headed for an evening on the town, might ride in from a neighboring *rancho* at a fierce gallop. About 60 feet behind him, tied to the end of his *riata*, a dry, boardlike hide flapped in the wind. Every time it touched the ground, it gave off a loud scraping sound that frightened the horse half to death. Much to the delight of the rider, the poor animal ran itself to exhaustion in an effort to escape whatever was making the noise.

Such incidents tended to romanticize an industry that could also be raw and cruel. Though the *Californio* was a great meat eater, he raised cattle almost exclusively for their hides and tallow. Prior to the American conquest, a whole cow never fetched more than its trading value in these two items—usually somewhere between four and five dollars.

Cattle ran wild over both *rancho* and *realengo*. Many newly dropped calves were lost to wolves and coyotes. The cattle were long legged, fast moving, and wily as the predatory beasts that stalked them. As did their Texas counterparts, they could defend themselves against all enemies but man, who annually rounded them up for branding or slaughter. In dry

years, when feed was scarce, they were rounded up and slaughtered regardless of season.

Horses fared no better. To preserve what little feed remained on the range, thousands of mustangs were driven over cliffs, falling, perhaps, hundreds of feet to their deaths. Americans, observing this practice, could never banish the moans of such fatally injured animals from their ears. No merciful bullet ended the suffering of a single creature, and the air reeked with the odor of decaying horseflesh for weeks afterward.

The *Californio* was born to the saddle. Yet he hardly took what moderns would consider a humane attitude toward his animals, and his range methods were incredibly wasteful. He slapped huge, disfiguring *fierros* (brands) upon both horse and cow. Taking only hides and tallow, he literally left tons of meat on the range for coyotes, mountain lions and vultures after the annual *matanza* (slaughter). His ignorance of husbandry precluded any thought of improving his breeds of stock.

Even his household practices inclined to wastefulness. If, for example, a San Joséan brought unannounced company home for supper, his wife did not "roast" him *sotto voce* with news that there was nothing to eat in the house. She just stepped to the door, clapped her hands for a servant, and ordered him to fetch a cow for supper. A few minutes later, the animal was slaughtered and rolled out of its hide almost under the kitchen window.

Only a few choice cuts of the animal went to the meal in question. As soon as the servant had put away the hide and tallow, he could take whatever cuts he wished for himself and family. If no one else needed meat that evening, the rest of the cow became coyote feed.

Much of this household slaughtering took place in the Plaza, where carcasses of animals remained until consumed by natural processes. The *Californio's* strong olfactory nerve detected nothing offensive in it, but the more delicate-nosed American strongly objected. Therefore, one of the City's earliest ordinances after incorporation removed slaughtering

WHEAT & CATTLE

from the Plaza to that section of the countryside later known as the campus of San José State College.

Outside the missions, reliable statistics on the early cattle industry have been hard to obtain. In 1800, three years after its founding, Mission San José had 2,000 head of livestock. In 1834, on the threshold of secularization, it reported 18,000 cattle, 15,000 sheep and 1,110 horses. But no one knows for sure how many head roamed the hills of Antonio Chabolla's Rancho Yerba Buena—or how many of their hides were traded off to seafaring merchants. The same can be said for the number produced on José Joaquín Bernal's Rancho Santa Teresa.

Shortly after the American takeover, Edwin Bryant gathered a few general California livestock figures ranging back to 1831. Commenting on cattle, he wrote, "There are immense herds of these, to which I have previously referred; and their hides and tallow, when slaughtered, have hitherto composed the principal exports from the country. If I were to hazard an estimate of the number of hides annually exported, it would be conjectural, and not worth much. I would suppose, however, at this time (1847) that the number would not fall much short of 150,000, and a corresponding number of *arrobas* of tallow."

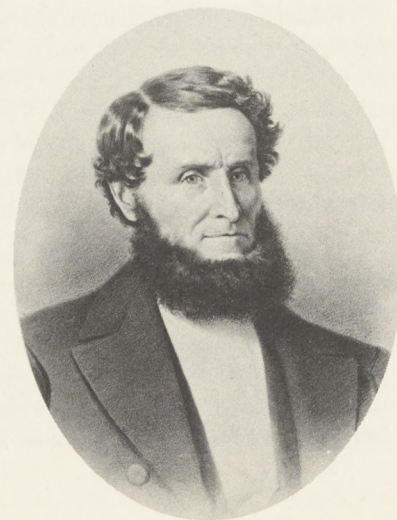
Secularization, which sharply reduced the vast mission herds, left the individual *ranchero* untouched.

Yet the same cow that had long served as his economic mainstay ironically contributed to his undoing. The Gold Rush of 1849 brought a fantastic demand for meat in the mining regions. As the price of a five dollar cow skyrocketed to \$50 or more, thousands of cattle were driven from coastal valleys to the Mother Lode. Many *rancheros* had gold in their pockets for the first time.

Unfortunately, many a native who knew little about handling money took to high living, and soon ran out of both gold and cattle. To continue his newfound easy life, he began to borrow money on his land, which he thought inexhaustible. The result was disastrous for all except those who had good business sense. Interest and mortgages had to be paid.

Even with the good fortune of escaping foreclosure, complete recovery was almost impossible. The old order faded too fast for the *ranchero*. During the overland traveling season, American drovers arrived almost daily with whole herds of new stock, including milk cows. Durham and Hereford soon took over the local range, with Angus following later, for the American preferred an animal that was "beef steak to the hoof." Jersey, Guernsey and Holstein appeared in barnyards and fenced meadows. The wild "critter" of Spanish origin departed for its final range.

James Lick (1796-1876) was a native of Pennsylvania who came to California by sea on the ship *Lady Adams* in 1848. He was too smart to join the gold rush, but made his fortune in real estate, land acquisition, and flour milling. He learned the piano making trade when a young boy, and became a master artificer in wood. As a patron of the sciences, he was an omnivorous reader. So great was his interest in science, that he bequeathed the bulk of his estate to the University of California and the Academy of Science. One of his donations made possible the construction of Lick Observatory atop Mt. Hamilton.





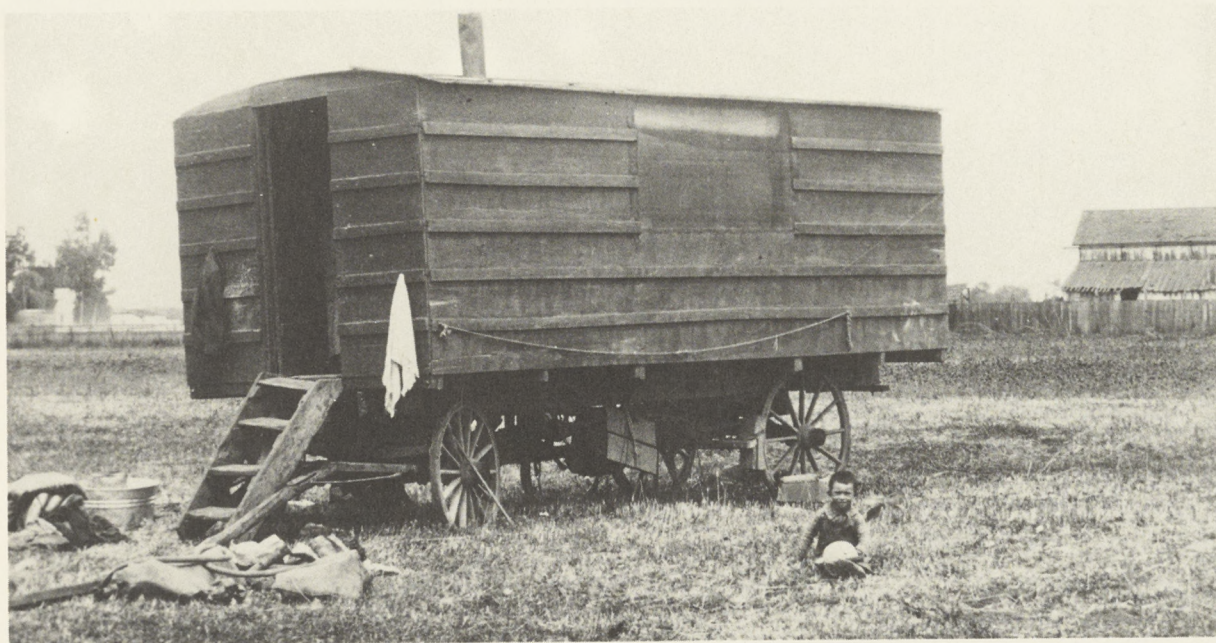
James Lick's mansion on the west bank of Guadalupe River about a quarter of mile north of Montague Road. This structure stood only a few steps from Lick's mill whose run of four stones, powered by water from the Guadalupe, produced 250 barrels of flour a day. Lick placed the house, the mill, the flour warehouse, and the workers' quarters all within earshot of one another. This photo appears to have been made about 1880.



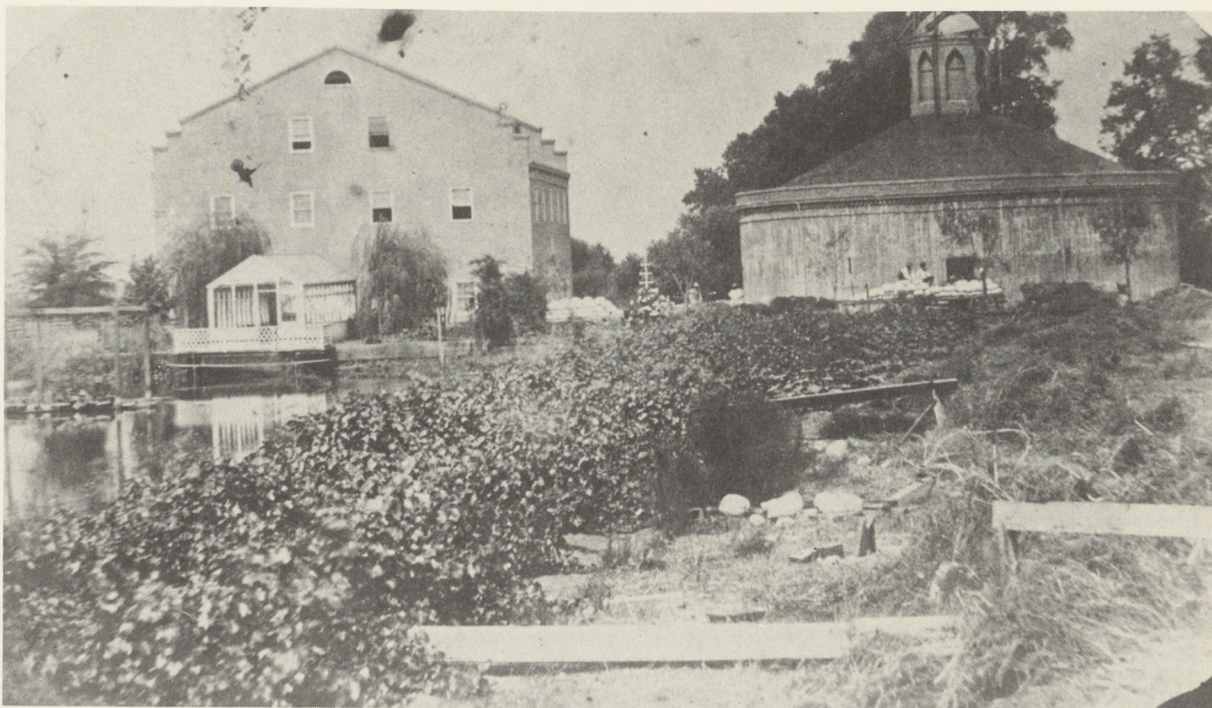
Haypresses were common in the rural areas around San José when this photo was taken in the summer of 1891. Certain models turned out bales weighing upward of 280 lbs. in a day when bales were held together by rope instead of wire. And the crews, fortified by five meals a day, worked from daylight to dark.



A. D. Cooper painted this oil, "Woman with Rake," in 1891. Later, Cooper added an "M" to his initials, and his paintings were signed A. D. M. Cooper. Cooper was a prolific painter who drew allegories, portraits, animals, theatrical backdrops—but today his paintings of Indians have the greatest collector values.



Hay balers ate five times a day. So the cook house, a portable kitchen such as the one in this picture, followed them into the field close to the haystack on which they were working. Breakfast before daylight; mid-morning snack of pie, doughnuts and a few other things washed down by black coffee; heavy lunch at noon (usually called dinner); midafternoon snack (same as morning); supper after dark. Kids, coming onto the field, invariably made a beeline for the cook house. They knew what was good, and the cook knew what they liked.



James Lick's flour mill was located alongside the Guadalupe River just north of the present Montague road in Agnew. Joseph R. Fisher, a Mormon millwright, erected its first unit in 1847 for French-Canadian Olivier Magnent who came to California with the Townsend-Stephens-Murphy Party in 1844. Lick entered partnership with Magnent in 1848, bought him out in 1850, and proceeded to enlarge the plant under the name "Lick's Mill." The circular structure at the right was Lick's "rat-proof warehouse," built of brick with walls of double thickness. Both it and Lick's nearby mansion are still standing.



Colonel Coleman Younger (1809 - 1890), one of the Santa Clara Valley's most prominent agriculturists, whose Forest Home Farm on the northern edge of San José has now been taken over by urban development. He first came to California in 1851, but soon returned to Missouri to get married. On coming back to California in 1853, he made San José his permanent home. Here he brought up his family, distinguished himself as a member of the California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, and left his name on a San José Street.



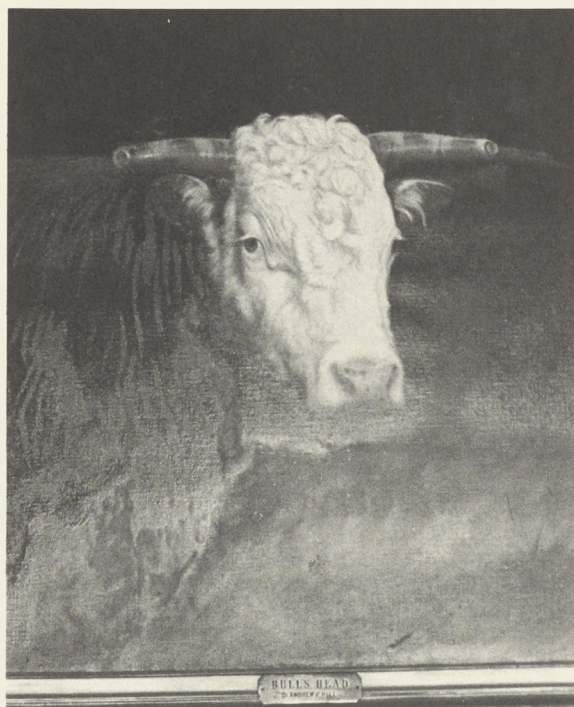
Oak trees still dotted the plain west of San José when an unidentified photographer got this rare view of Santa Clara Street from the roof of the Hensley House in 1867. Santa Clara Street, unpaved and grassy, fades into the Delmas Avenue turn. The big white structure, set off by a tall smokestack and plume of steam on the left, was Bassham and Kincaid's Orange Mill, which produced barrels of Orange brand flour.



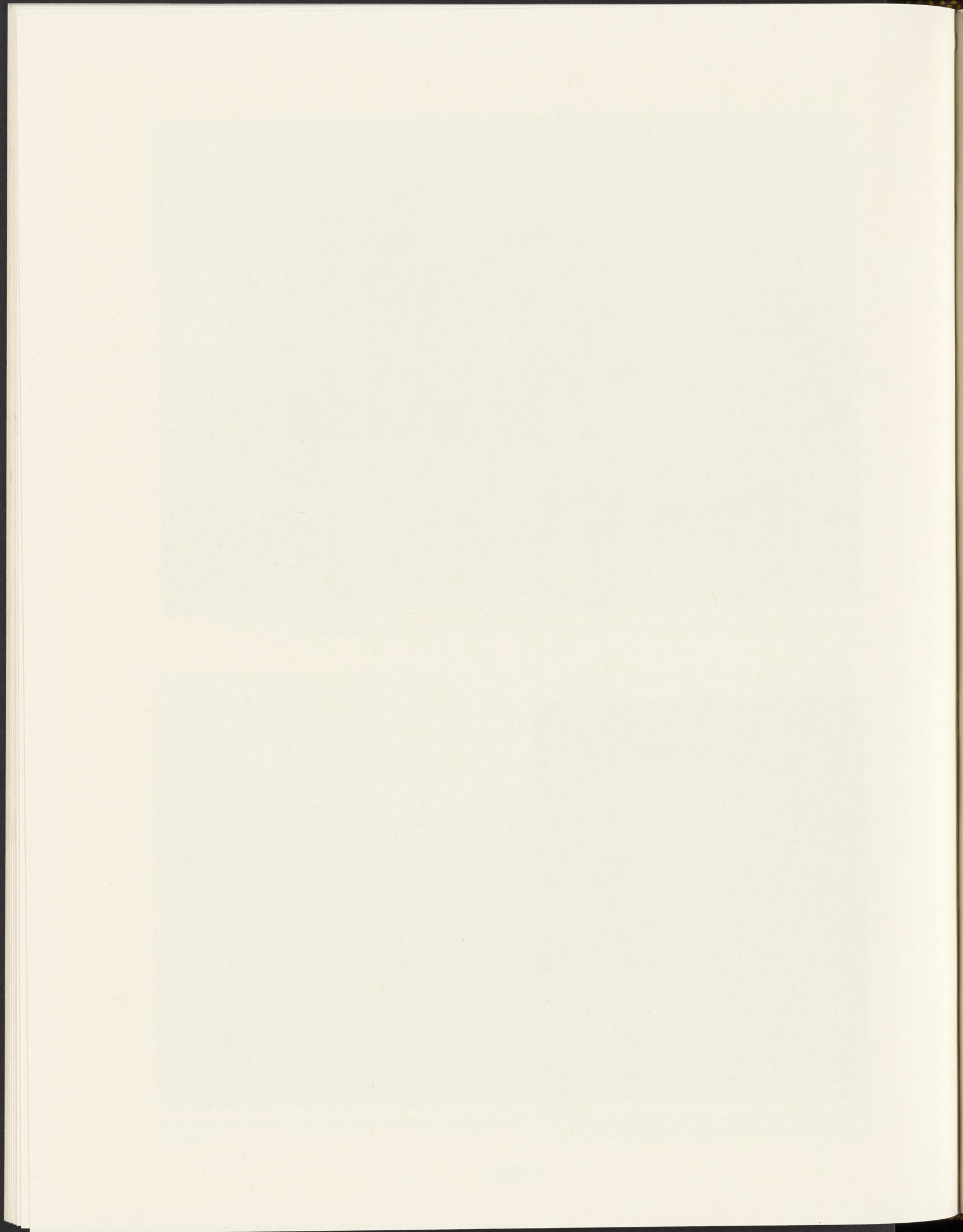
It's round-up time for the cattle on the San Felipe Ranch, as shown in this Andrew P. Hill painting. (photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)



This shows a cattle ranch scene in the Santa Clara Valley around 1890. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*

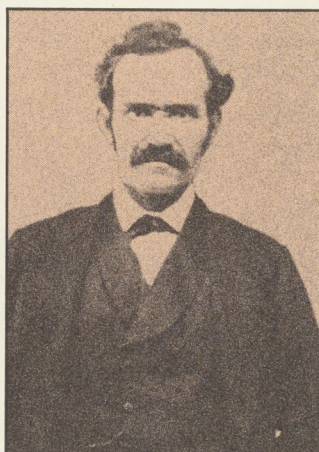


Famed artist Andrew P. Hill painted this "Bull's Head" in 1920 for one of the local cattle barons. *(photo courtesy of Leonard McKay)*



7

FRUIT





The Santa Clara Valley's world famous fruit industry stemmed from American recognition of a long-neglected or overlooked opportunity. Apparently no Spanish-Californian gave much thought to commercial orchards and vineyards. His thinking restricted such things to missions and households for immediate use and pleasure of their owners, plus supplying certain foodstuffs to the military garrisons. Otherwise, the land was for grazing and a relatively small amount of agriculture.

If a native had a family orchard around his adobe, it usually consisted of seedling apples, pears and peaches, augmented, perhaps, by a few apricots, figs, olives and, maybe, an orange or two. Moreover, it is doubtful if it ever produced anything of prize-winning size and uniformity. Bryant rhapsodized in 1846 over the products of Antonio Suñol's home plot, but as Horace Foote later pointed out, "At that time, when this was the only fruit to be had, it was all considered good. The only distinction made was that some varieties were better than others."

The average householder's vineyard, if he had one, seldom amounted to more than a few vines trellised over an arbor. Prior to México's secularization of the missions in 1833, the Church monopolized California's wine production. Every *ciudadano* who wished a little wine for his stomach's sake had to deal with the padres who, having no competition, saw no reason for improving their product. They used only one variety of grape—the Monica Seedling, better known as the Mission Grape—until secularization opened the way for importation of new varieties and competition among growers.

The American, however, was competitive from the start, always trying to get ahead of the other fellow. He brought from his eastern home the seeds of all kinds of fruits and the cuttings of such vines as he thought would stand the journey. He later imported large consignments of nursery stock from the Atlantic Coast and even foreign countries—as exemplified by James Lick and Commodore Stockton.

The earliest local ventures into commercial fruit production began with the pre-existing orchards of Missions Santa Clara and San José, which secularization had supposedly returned to public domain.

Shrewd Americans gained possession of these orchards soon after the conquest and reputedly reaped huge profits in selling apples, peaches and pears to fruit-hungry gold miners. Charles Clayton and Joshua W. Redman did exceedingly well for themselves with the orchard of Mission Santa Clara until a court action compelled them to return that property to its rightful owner.

But by the end of 1850, so many professional orchardists and nurserymen had entered the field that it is hard to determine who was most important. Among them were Captain Joseph Aram, William Daniels, E. W. Case, and two French Forty-niners—Louis Prevost and Louis Pellier. They were all men of vision; to them should go the most credit for ushering the valley into its third economic era.

Aram, an overlander of 1846, felt that the priority honors belonged to him. He owned a tract of land bounded by the Guadalupe River, First Street, the present Hobson Street, and a line about midway between what became Taylor and Mission Streets. By 1852, he had 20 acres of trees on the portion of it later known as the Woolen Mills property, along the northern side of Hobson Street between San Pedro and the Guadalupe.

Pellier established his City Gardens with Gioachino Yocco in October, 1850, on what is now the northwest corner of San Pedro and Chaboya Alley. He carried on at this location, expanding his land as necessary, long after Yocco left the partnership in 1855 to enter other business. At the time of his death in 1872, he owned an interestingly misshapen parcel of land known to later day assessors as the Pellier Survey. It extended from Market Street to a lot's depth beyond Santa Teresa Street, and from Chaboya Alley to a little north of Divine Street.

Pellier's English-born neighbor, William Daniels, combined his horticultural activities with the practice of law. In 1850-51, while carrying on his earliest experiments with fruit, he served concurrently with Davis Divine as one of San José Township's first two justices of the peace. Though his nursery and orchard practically filled the area enclosed by First, St. James, Market and Julian Streets, he also envisioned the day when his already surveyed ground

FRUIT

would become a solidly built-up section of the city. Even the possibility of cutting Divine Street through it occurred to him long before that thoroughfare appeared on the San Francisco & San José Railroad's depot area map in 1862.

Less is known, however, about Case, whose baptismal name, if he had one, never appeared in the print of any history of the community. Yet he became integral to every fundamental study of local horticulture. In 1852, he had 350 trees on a tract of rich land along the northern city limits line between Alviso Road and the Guadalupe River.

Prevost acquired for his nursery a magnificent parcel of oak-dotted land that henceforth bore the variable names of "Prevost's Gardens" and "San José Nursery." It embraced all the area bounded by the Guadalupe and what became Delmas Avenue, West William and West San Carlos Streets, with noticeable overlapping of the latter two. Today, as the Prevost Survey, it is practically bisected by Spencer Avenue.

Here, as California's pioneer silk culturist, Prevost won national fame for San José. He also welcomed countless picnickers to his parklike premises and frequently entertained as many guests as his mansion could hold. His enthusiastic interest in civic affairs identified him as one of San José's leading citizens long before his death in 1869. The foregoing quintet had abundant company, however, before they could harvest anything on a commercial scale.

Christopher A. Shelton arrived from New York in March, 1853, with a large inventory of stock for Commodore Stockton's intended nursery on *Rancho Potrero de Santa Clara*. Besides trees of all kinds, he brought \$300 worth of strawberry plants, 22,700 asparagus plants, and the state's first honeybees, which he picked up from a New York apiarist en-route.

Shelton, who had a quarter interest in Stockton's venture, brought with him an Irish botanist named Bernard Simon Fox, who soon went into the nursery business for himself. Shelton was killed in the explosion of the *Jenny Lind* on April 11, 1853, but Fox carried on to win honors for himself as a developer of new varieties of pears. After his death in 1881, his Santa Clara Valley Nurseries and Botanical gardens

passed into possession of his highly capable adopted son (a nephew), Richard D. Fox.

Jean Baptiste Bontemps, naturalized in New York in 1849, added another Gallic name to the already illustrious roster. His arrival perhaps pointed up the need for organization of some kind in the local nursery business. He, Prevost, Pellier, Fox, Daniels and Case met in Prevost's Gardens on August 13, 1853, to found the Pioneer Horticultural Society. Through it, they hoped to keep the public informed on their activities, stay abreast of the most advanced methods in horticulture, promote sales, stabilize prices, and, perhaps avoid threat of economic anarchy.

Such influential San Joséans as Captain Aram, Judge Divine, Thomas Fallon, Ransom G. Moody and John Quincy Adams Ballou soon added their names to the roll. Levi Ames Gould came in from Santa Clara, and John Llewelling from the brand new Alameda County. They held monthly meetings in the City Hall, where they displayed their nursery, garden and orchard products—much to the delight of attending ladies who received the displays as gifts at the end of each meeting. Whether the Horticultural Society attained all of its objectives is a question, but it certainly inspired the county's agriculturists to do some organizing of their own.

Responding to a call from Editor Francis B. Murdoch of the *San José Telegraph* (a forerunner of the *Mercury*), farmers from all over the county gathered in the San José City hall on May 6, 1854, for the first of a series of organizational meetings. At their second meeting, held in the Courthouse on May 20, they adopted the Constitution and By-laws of the Santa Clara County Agricultural Society.

Dr. Louis Hazleton Bascom, namesake of Bascom Avenue, served as first president of this new society; James Faris Kennedy, who left his name on Kennedy Road at Los Gatos, became the first vice-president. Other officers were: Elliott Reed, recording Secretary; William Stapp Letcher, Corresponding Secretary; and F. G. Appleton, Treasurer.

Eventually, someone concluded that if there is strength in union, there is greater strength in greater union. On December 13, 1856, farmers and fruit

growers again gathered in the City Hall—this time for the purpose of consolidating their respective organizations. The result of their merger, completed on January 1, 1857, was the Santa Clara Valley Agricultural and Horticultural Society.

The next most important change came on March 12, 1859, when, by an Act of Legislature, the society incorporated as the Santa Clara Valley Agricultural Society. The first officers elected after incorporation were: William Daniels, president; Cary Peebles, Joseph Aram and Coleman Younger, vice-presidents; Dr. James Clark Cobb, secretary; Ransom G. Moody, treasurer. Gould and Prevost came in as directors.

Meanwhile, published statistics had begun to indicate what was happening on the landscape. With each passing season, the pruning hook and picking lug became more important. In the four years between 1852 and 1856, the number of fruit trees in the county had climbed from 17,739 to 106,000; the number of grape vines, from 16,800 to 156,000. Yet, in 1857, the *California Register* said of Santa Clara County: "With the exception of a few pear orchards and vineyards, this county is yet in its infancy in the science of fruit growing; sufficient evidence, however, has been adduced to the progress already made, to create such interest in this branch of the resources, and the land adapted for orchards is already commanding high prices."

The valley's fruit record had plainly made no great impression on outsiders. Farmers and cattlemen still had to be convinced that their economics were not necessarily the best. Nothing could change their minds until they were dead sure that a few acres of well-kept fruit trees could offer a greater net profit than a large spread of wheat or grazing land.

Moreover the ever-increasing number of growers were risking two-and three-cropping themselves out of business. Apples constituted the great bulk of their production, with peaches, pears, apricots, plums and cherries following in that order. By 1868 the first three had glutted the market. Countless wagonloads of them were shipped to the mines, often to be sold at a loss, while additional tons rotted under the trees at home. With no transcontinental railroad to transport their highly perishable products swiftly to out-

of-state markets, many growers abandoned or dug out their orchards. Public confidence in fruit weakened to the point of distrust.

Fortunately, however, Louis Pellier and J. Q. A. Ballou offered a solution to the problem. Pellier, aided by his brothers, Jean and Pierre, had imported scions of the little French Prune (*la petite Prune d'Agen*) from France in 1856. He grafted them to wild plum stock and offered them for sale, but found few takers. Local orchardists, accustomed to big fruit, suspected the "wily French" of trying to "slip one over on us." Also, unscrupulous nurserymen, catering to the worship of size, palmed off the goose-egg-sized English plum—Pond's Seedling—as the *gros Prune d'Agen* or Hungarian Prune. The fact that there was no such thing as a gros prune or Hungarian prune was never considered by purchasers.

Pellier did not live to witness the popularizing of *la petite* prune, but Ballou was first of a trio that gave it the final push to success. Ballou bought 50 scions of this prune from Pellier in 1861 and grafted them to the domestic plum. In 1867 he got about 500 pounds of fruit from them, all of which he dried before shipping to A. Lusk & Co's. Pacific Fruit Market of San Francisco. The following year, he dried eleven tons of all kinds of fruit and shipped them around the Horn to New York, where he netted from 18 to 20 cents a pound on the whole consignment.

Other growers, noting Ballou's success, rushed into the dried fruit market. But instead of adopting Ballou's diversity, they concentrated on apples, peaches, and pears, soon creating a glut of the same items that had oversupplied the fresh fruit market. Almost to a man, they ignored the little prune, still believing it was not the real French prune of commerce.

One of the few exceptions was Ballou's neighbor, George Washington Tarleton, who grafted the prune to a Damson plum in his dooryard. The "unbelievers" got their first jolt in 1878, when nurseryman, William B. West of Stockton examined the trees at Agen, in Lot et Garonne. On his return from France, West authoritatively announced that Pellier had introduced the true prune of Agen.

Skepticism persisted, however. The final decision awaited the decision of San José nurseryman

FRUIT

John Rock, whom plant wizard, Luther Burbank considered "the smartest man in the business." Rock, a native of Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, had come to America in 1852 at the age of fifteen. He served a "hitch" in the Northern Army during the Civil War before migrating to California in 1863. A talented, self-taught linguist, he subscribed for foreign horticultural publications and read them in the language in which they were printed. With Richard Fox he became one of the organizers of the California Nursery at Niles. No reliable history of California horticulture or pomology could be written without his name.

Though Rock lived on Milpitas Road only a mile or two north of Ballou, he had paid virtually no attention to the little prune. But once he turned his hand to it, he popularized it beyond anything ever conceived by Pellier. He made the tests that proved its superb drying qualities and peculiar adaptability to Santa Clara Valley soil. A decade later, thanks to his findings, hardly a grower in the county would believe that the world could get along without prunes. The Santa Clara Valley would soon produce more than a third of the world's supply of them, and prune orchards would carpet the terrain from Palo Alto to Gilroy, from Alum Rock Canyon to Saratoga and Los Gatos.

Almost concurrently with Ballou's venture, James Madison Dawson, M.D., a native of Maryland, hit upon a new idea for absorbing the valley's surplus fruit. In 1871 he and his wife set up a crude cannery consisting of an ordinary kitchen stove and a table or two in a 12' x 16' shed behind their house on the northeast corner of The Alameda and Polhemus Street. They drove about the countryside, picking up small lots of fruit for canning by hand in their shed. Their first season's pack, which came to 350 cases of fruit and tomatoes, marked the birth of the Santa Clara Valley's canning industry.

Dr. Dawson more than succeeded in attaining his objective of convincing Eastern consumers of the superiority of California fruits. In 1872 he moved his cannery to the orchard of his brother-in-law, W. S. Stevens, on Julian Street near the present 19th, where he doubled his pack of 1871. Operating under the

name of J. M. Dawson & Co., Dawson's cannery outgrew its new premises in less than a year. In 1873 it took in the grocery firm of Lendrum, Burns & Co., erected a big two-story brick building on the southeast corner of Julian and Main (Fifth) Streets, and turned out a pack of 8,000 cases. It soon afterward incorporated as the San José Fruit Packing Co., with Dawson as president.

Dawson sold out in 1878, intending to retire for health reasons, but after a year's vacation he built a new plant fronting on Myrtle Street, directly behind his homeplace on The Alameda. When he finally retired in 1883 he assigned the management of this plant to his son, E. L. Dawson, who continued to operate it as James M. Dawson & Co. After Dr. Dawson's death in 1885, his cannery passed into the joint ownership of his widow and son, who enlarged its facilities and, by 1887, were producing 140,000 cases of fruit a year.

Thus Messrs. Ballou and Dawson opened two successful outlets for the valley's burgeoning fruit production; and about midway between their experiments, Levi Ames Gould envisioned another. The echo of the mallet that drove the last spike at Promontory, Utah, had hardly died away before Gould sent a carload of fresh fruit east by rail. On October 12, 1869, shortly after completion of San José's rail connection with Sacramento, the *Mercury* reported: "Fruit for the East.—The Western Pacific Railroad¹ dispatched a fruit car from San José yesterday. We understand it was filled mainly from the orchard of Mr. James [sic] Gould, Santa Clara. The (railroad) company intends to send a fruit car weekly hereafter during the fruit season."

¹*Original Western Pacific—no relation to the modern road of the same name. It incorporated in 1865 to connect San Francisco via San José with the Sacramento terminus of the Central Pacific's overland line. It now belongs to the Southern Pacific. The modern Western Pacific, a competing line, incorporated in 1903.*

The *California Farmer* for August 11, 1870, identified Gould as a, if not the, pioneer user of refrigeration in shipping fruit. "Mr. Gould," this journal announced, "will send a car load of pears on Saturday (August 14) to Chicago, principally of Bartletts... done up in papers and laid carefully in boxes made light and properly... and by his own men placed carefully in the Refrigerator Cars and thus go forward. We venture to say in ten days when opened in Chicago, they will be in perfect order... because the business is done so well and faithfully."

Dispatching fresh fruit by rail "caught on" at once. By the end of 1870, it was a sure thing. The *Mercury* noted on November 23, 1871, that Gould and his fellow growers had sent 30 carloads of fresh fruit east that season.

With drying, canning, and rail transportation, Santa Clara Valley growers no longer feared overproducing for a tightly restricted intrastate market. Their marketing horizon for dried and canned products extended first to New York and then to Europe. Their fresh fruits were limited for a while to domestic markets accessible by rail, but with the coming of efficient refrigeration, they too, moved all over the globe. Henceforth, the grower's chief problem would be the general economics of supply and demand, which applied even to the source of his trees.

Early day demands for nursery stock fetched incredibly high prices, fat profits and concomitant overproduction. The local pear count for 1858 alone illustrated the point. Prevost had 15,000 trees; William O'Donnell, 5,000; and B. S. Fox, who advertised 152 varieties, supposedly had more than Prevost and O'Donnell together.

The following year, a statewide count revealed 212,650 nursery-bedded pear trees, and other fruits in proportion to their popularity. Prevost, for example, also had 25,000 peach trees. Fox, who advertised 56 varieties of peaches in 1856, raised that figure to 89 by 1860. James R. Lowe, often mentioned as California's first landscape gardener, had 3,500 plum trees at the very time that Fox advertised 58 varieties of the same fruit.

Yet, important as the foregoing fruits were, the apple overshadowed them all for many years. Louis

Pellier, it is said, got the idea of opening a nursery in San José only after seeing apples selling from \$1.00 to \$1.50 each in San Francisco, during the Gold Rush. Professor H. M. Butterfield of the University of California long ago referred to Santa Clara County as the apple center of the state. This applied especially to San José, whose nurserymen had stocked a superabundance of every available variety.

The firm of China Smith and H. H. Winchell, at Tenth and San Carlos Streets, had 100,000 trees by 1857. William O'Donnell at 11th and William Streets, carried a stock of 16,000 trees, while just a block to the south, Daniel T. Adams' Hope Nursery trees won special recognition from the State Agricultural Society. Fox listed 120 varieties of apples; Prevost, 120; A. Banfreton and J. Duffie French Garden Nursery, 106. Aram, just settling into his new location on Milpitas Road won high praise for his trees from State Society representatives who visited him in 1858.

Prevost issued a catalog for his nursery in 1856-57; Banfreton and Duffie did likewise in 1858-59. Fruit trees, netting from \$500 to \$1,000 per acre, offered more certain profits than gold mining, but by 1855, nurserymen sensed the danger of wasteful competition and runaway prices. For a while, it seemed that every one who could scrape up a little capital was getting into the business and charging all the traffic would bear.

In 1856 Aram and Fox joined other apprehensive nurserymen about the state in seeking a fair price code. This code, established in 1858, won no favor among nurserymen who had been unmercifully gouging their customers. But it accomplished its purpose. A one year old pear tree, costing \$6.00 in 1856, fetched only seventy-five cents or a dollar in 1859. A two year old tree brought from \$1.00 to \$2.00. Such a price structure benefitted orchardists and helped to drive unreliable nurserymen from the field. As Butterfield pointed out, the association's efforts to determine "what is fair and reasonable, exerted an influence which others respected."

Solution of the foregoing problems, however, neither eliminated nor obviated other irritations. The monopolistic railroad's unconscionable freight

rates threatened to hold many a carload of fresh fruit at the point of origin. The *Sacramento Union* reported on December 2, 1871, that Gould had four more carloads of fruit ready for shipment from Santa Clara. His returns had been satisfactory so far, and he intended to stay in business for another year. The only drawback, according to the *Union*, was the "exorbitant freight tariff, which is \$500 per car-load to Chicago and St. Louis and \$700 to the Eastern Seaboard. Gould's freight bills for this season have exceeded \$20,000." Most of these bills, incidentally, were for ordinary slow freight. Fast freight, which might deliver a car to its destination a day or two earlier, cost much more.

By 1876, San José was easily the fruit shipping capital of the state. Railroad statistics for that year listed San José, Sacramento and Marysville as the three main points of origin for fruit traffic. Five years later, the San José agency of Porter Brothers, a purchasing and forwarding firm, reported a yearly average of 100 carloads of fresh and dried fruits to their distributing center in Chicago.

Handling this steadily increasing volume of fruit—fresh, dried or canned—called for constant improvement of methods. By 1871, a few local dryer operators questioned the sun's economy as a drying agent. Fruit had to lie on the dry yard trays too long, risking the possibility of a late summer rain. To eliminate this risk, they resorted to then unperfected fruit drying machines, now called dehydrators. According to the *Pacific Rural Press*, several such machines were operating in San José by September, 1876. The largest, belonging to the Alden Fruit & Vegetable Packing Co., turned out 4,000 pounds of prunes every 24 hours under the management of Campbell Thompson Settle.

The vast majority of the valley's dryer operators, however, made no great rush toward mechanization. Having to stack trays at any hour of the day or night against a coming storm caused them no apprehension. They admitted that apples might do well in a dehydrator, but they were sure that sun drying produced better-colored, more healthful prunes, apricots, and peaches. They accordingly stuck to the sun until September, 1918, when a three-day, six-inch down-

pour caught more than half of that year's prune crop on the drying ground.

Growers and dryers lost millions of dollars in that unforgettable disaster. The air reeked of fermenting fruit for weeks afterward, causing some wag to observe that the valley smelled "like a distillery in distress." Newspaper stories recounted how chickens, ducks, and pigs got drunk on hard prune juice. Fruit gnats swarmed everywhere. The cost of picking zoomed, and busloads of soldiers came from Menlo Park's Camp Frémont to help salvage a few soggy bucketsful of what had been a bumper crop. A noticeable number of dryers stubbornly clung to sun drying in later years, but no one ever again doubted the advantages of mechanical dehydration.

Similar mechanization soon characterized every other field of fruit processing. Invention, improvisation, and manufacture of machinery parts became commonplace as small factories sprang up to fill every requirement between orchard and wholesaler. Every new industry seemed to foster another. Not a few of these early establishments owed their existence to the ingenuity of perceptive machinists and orchardists. Those with realistic management usually did well for themselves; those whose products were more innovative than practicable suffered a high mortality rate. Several merged their resources and facilities as the first major step toward creating the far-flung FMC of later years.

In the meantime growers and processors tackled an inevitable economic problem. Their fast multiplying numbers had brought them up against the same supply and demand puzzle that had confronted the nurserymen almost three decades earlier. They therefore turned to organizational or cooperative methods for a solution.

The fresh-fruit men got into the field early, organizing the California Fruit Union in 1883, with John Z. Anderson of San José as president. Six years later, Lawrence Russell founded a small neighborhood dried fruit cooperative at Mountain View, but it was soon overshadowed by the general cooperative organized by Colonel Philo Hersey of San José.

A champion of sane marketing methods and uniform processing standards, Hersey became found-

ing president of the Santa Clara County Fruit Exchange, incorporated in 1892. This organization welded into a single unit Hersey's own West Side Fruit Growers Association of Willow Glen, the East Side Growers Exchange of Evergreen, and the Campbell Fruit Growers Union. The subsequent taking in of similar organizations at Berryessa, Santa Clara, Los Gatos, Saratoga, and Mountain View practically gave it control of the valley's dried fruits.

"The Exchange," as San Joséans called it, ultimately attained a membership of 436 growers. It built a large, brickwalled packing plant on the west side of Suñol Street, near Auzerias Avenue, a facility that had to be enlarged twice in the first six years. The amount of fruit passing through its doors more than doubled in slightly less than a decade, justifying the membership's optimism.

Just before the turn of the century, Santa Clara County was producing from two thirds to three fourths of California's prunes, which called for a reappraisal of the industry. Growers, faced with increasing production and diminishing returns, thought they could solve the problem by organizing on a statewide basis. On January 25, 1900, they formed the 4,263-member California Cured Fruit Association, headed by Judge Hiram G. Bond of Santa Clara.

Despite having 65 packers and 75 percent of the state's growers on the roster, this association lasted only until 1903. Basically, it was more of a prune association than anything else; producers of dried apricots and peaches had little to do with it. Unsuccessful price fixing, large carryovers, and failure of members to live up to their contracts brought about inevitable liquidation. The Association's big Santa Clara plant, built in 1901, closed its doors.

Meanwhile, other dried fruit processors had encountered similar rough going. The old Santa Clara County Fruit Exchange passed from existence in 1915, and Rosenberg Bros. of San Francisco took over the Suñol Street plant. And when the Rosenbergs were burned out here in 1916, they acquired the spacious inactive Cured Fruit Association plant in Santa Clara. Marketing techniques had not kept up with overproduction, and from 1902 to 1908 prunes faced a gloomy future. As tonnage dropped from

97,500 to 28,500, many a grower felt that he could better his chances of economic security in some other pursuit.

Still, though sometimes skeptical and not always faithful to their associations, growers clung to the idea of organization. Even with the Cured Fruit Association's fate fresh in their minds they came up with another multi-countied organization, the Cured Fruit Exchange, which drew its membership mainly from the Central Valley. It was organized in 1912, reached its peak in 1914, and foundered on the rock of internal dissension in 1916.

The industry was now ready for the greatest cooperative to date—the statewide California Prune and Apricot Growers, Inc.—organized in 1917 with headquarters in San José. Conception of the "C P & A G" took place almost accidentally in 1915, when several Cupertino area growers discovered that speculative independent packers were "pulling a fast one." These packers were buying up the oncoming 1915 crop at 3 cents a pound, taking good care, incidentally, to hide the fact that they had already sold 35 percent of that crop at 3½ cents a pound.

Once apprised of this scheme, the growers held two meetings in quick succession—in Cupertino on May 6 and in San José on May 15. The latter, held in the San José Chamber of Commerce Hall, attracted an audience of 1200 representing every district in the valley. Everyone had ample opportunity to express his opinion, and all agreed that the grower's greatest handicap was his lack of dependable information on crop and market conditions.

J. O. Hayes, publisher of the *San José Mercury*, brought the matter to a head. He proposed forming an information bureau composed of district representatives to supply growers with semi-monthly bulletins on what was happening in the dried fruit world. His proposal was promptly voted into effect, funds were contributed to finance it, and district representatives were appointed.

The movement received further impetus at a similar mass meeting held on January 19, 1916, with State Marketing Director Harris Weinstock as the main speaker. Weinstock, a trusted friend of the growers, recommended that they create a packer-

FRUIT

eliminating trust under a recently enacted state law. Through it they would have the power "to receive all dried fruit from growers, to grade, standardize, and label it, and to sell it at public auction in market centers throughout the country."

Growers present were described as "wildly enthusiastic about Weinstock's ideas," but on reconsideration, they inclined toward modification. At a meeting on April 14, they shifted their favor to something comparable to the California Associated Raisin Co. (later Sunmaid) plan, and Weinstock agreed with them. They thereupon decided to form a new association, the California Prune & Apricot Growers, Inc., capitalized at \$2,500,000, of which \$750,000 had to be subscribed by March 1, 1917. To ensure success of the project, membership contracts would cover the crops of 1917-18-19 with the option of extending the agreement to 1921.

Proponents devoted the remainder of 1916 and two months of 1917 to money raising, publicity, signing up growers, electing officers, and appointing district representatives. They cleared the final hurdle of stock purchases at an impassioned oratory filled meeting held in San José on January 15, 1917. The articles of incorporation were filed on February 21. On March 6 the California Prune and Apricot Growers, Inc., became a reality, with 24 trustees representing districts ranging from Chico on the north to Hemet on the south. H. G. Coykendall became first president; T. S. Montgomery, first chairman of the board of directors.

The Association had no easy going at any time during its first 11 years. Independent packers bucked it at every turn, even to circulating libelous rumors calculated to injure its standing with the public. Early lack of Association-owned packing houses was vexing, and coping with year-to-year price structures called for shrewd management—and a lot of faith in that management.

In 1921-22 the Association weathered the worst session of internal strife in its entire history, the so-called "Welch-Coykendall," largely occasioned by personality differences between Manager Coykendall and member James R. Welch, a superior judge. Chairman Montgomery became another source of

apprehension when the Southern Pacific Railroad allegedly tried "to get" him because he was also a director of the newly-arrived Western Pacific Railroad. Yet with each passing year, the Association grew stronger, acquiring its own packing houses in strategic fruit districts and bolstering its financial structure.

Two managers, one interim manager, and one acting manager succeeded Coykendall in such quick succession that it seemed no one wished the job. But when Orren A. Harlan took over in 1928, the Association experienced a tremendous surge of confidence. A shrewd, successful fruit packer himself, Harlan knew the business inside and out. He caught the big independent packers off base and gave them the jolt of their lives. They had sold—or pre-sold—heavily on the basis of obtaining their fruit at a 2½ cent price, but they lost millions of dollars when Harlan announced that the Association was paying 4 cents. They had to meet Harlan's price if they wished to stay in business. No grower in the state—Association or unaffiliated—would sell for 2½ cents to an independent when he could get 4 cents from the Association.

Since then, the Association has come a long way, solving problems as they arose and adapting to changing conditions. It later changed its corporate name to Sunsweet Growers, Inc., using its old-time trademark for the new title. In 1967 it celebrated its golden anniversary, still a flourishing statewide organization.

The modern San Joséan little realizes that his home town boasted a long list of independent packers whose names were once household terms. Among them were George and C. F. Fleming, J. K. Armsby Company, J. H. Flickinger (also a canner), E. E. Thomas, Phoenix Packing Co., Guggenhime & Co., A. and C. Ham, Castle Brothers, Chilton & Co., J. B. Inderrieden Co., Griffin & Skelly, Cozzens Fruit Company, George Frank & Company, Haven & Company, George N. Herbert, Warren Dried Fruit Co., Santa Clara Valley Fruit Company, and Balfour, Guthrie & Company.

The remainder of the Valley's fruit story belongs to the canner, who had his own associations but evinced little of the dried fruit man's zeal for cooper-

atives. The canner seldom owned an orchard from which he obtained fruit, and he rarely, if ever, bound himself to a grower by anything more than a sales contract. Moreover, he bought only fresh fruit whose perishable nature precluded any grower's holding out too long for a higher price. The canner unquestionably looked out for himself; it was up to the grower to do likewise. Yet it was not unusual for the same grower to welcome the same cannery's buyers year after year.

Dr. Dawson had hardly succeeded with his venture before others followed his example. W. S. Stevens, who left the Dawson firm in 1875, joined W. H. Muntz and several others in 1875, to found the Golden Gate Packing Co., at what is now 361 North Fourth Street. According to Earl Chapin May's *The Canning Clan*, published in 1937, the Dawson and Golden Gate establishments made San José "the mother of California canned peaches." They also gave to the world several of the greatest names in the history of canning.

Thomas Benton Dawson, son of the doctor, reached the zenith of the canning firmament with amazing speed. He left his father's employ in 1877 to superintend the Cutting Packing Company of San Francisco, and many other canning organizations.

Robert Irving Bentley, son of a Methodist minister, also started with Dawson's San José Fruit Packing Company. Born in Chicago in 1864, he came to California by sea in 1868, attended the schools of Oakland, and graduated from the University of the Pacific in San José three years after taking his job with the Dawsons. "Bentley became such an important factor in the general life of California, as well as in the development of food canning in the Far West, that rarely was any improvement suggested in his adopted state or industry without bringing him into the discussion and subsequent activity."

In 1886, when Bentley registered to vote for the first time, he listed his occupation as "Shipping Clerk." In 1890, as "R. I.," he became general manager of the Sacramento Packing and Drying Company—and never again held a position of lower rank than general manager. "R. I.'s" brother Charles H., who likewise started with the Dawsons, paced him to the top. He

knew peach canning from the bottom up and, with "R. I.," constituted the second half of the greatest brother team in the industry. Wherever "R. I." went, there also went Charles.

The Dawsons and Bentleys had two powerful contemporaries in Edmund Nutting Richmond and Elmer E. Chase who incorporated the Richmond-Chase Company in 1919. Both of these men knew every detail of the canned and dried fruit business from blossom to consumer. Their industry and ingenuity provided employment for thousands of hands not only in the Santa Clara Valley, but also in the San Joaquín.

Richmond, born in San José on July 14, 1878, attended the local public schools long enough to drop out of high school. He went to work for the J. K. Armsby Company in 1896 and soon demonstrated the ability that skyrocketed him to success. In 1916, when the Armsby Company became a founder of the California Packing Corporation, he went into business for himself, operating as E. N. Richmond.

Fruit processing made heavy demands on Richmond's energy, yet in 1912 and 1913 he found time to serve two terms as president of the San José Chamber of Commerce. In 1922 he was listed as vice-president of the Bean Spray Pump Company, a director of the San José Building and Loan Association, and past president of the San José Board of Education. He was indeed a personification of the old saying, "If you wish to get something done, ask a busy man to do it."

Chase came West from his birthplace near Rochester, Minnesota, at the age of 13 in 1874. He, too, attended the San José public schools, and dropped out of high school to become "an ordinary farm laborer." When he registered to vote on April 1, 1882—his 21st birthday anniversary—he gave his occupation as "can maker."

Chase got his start with the Golden Gate Packing Co., of which he became manager in 1907. In 1917, on the Golden Gate Company's acquisition by Hunt Brothers, he left to join the E. N. Richmond Company. He became founding vice-president of Richmond-Chase Company and, ultimately, president. He also served as president of the Cannery League of California, president of the National Association of

FRUIT

Canners, and president of the San José Chamber of Commerce. His capabilities may be determined by the fact that as early as 1922 the firm that he and Richmond founded was listed as the fourth largest in the state, with huge plants both in San José and Stockton.

Messrs. Dawson, Bentley, Richmond and Chase were easily giants in their field, but they were not without competition. Other men—just as ambitious if not so capable—had been moving into the same business for some time. In 1886, former Forty-niner and stock raiser, J. H. Flickinger, founded his cannery and dryer in his own orchard on the north side of Berryessa Road just east of Lundy. Within three years he enlarged to more than 250 acres, and later acquired 100 acres at San Martin, and another 100 at Lawrence Station. In 1887, he employed a crew of 400 to turn out a \$100,000 pack, all from his own trees and in cans of his own making. Not long after that, he shipped a whole trainload of canned and dried fruits east, every car thereof bearing a large sign announcing that it carried Flickinger products.

Flickinger's posterity carried on the business after his death in 1897. Unfortunately, however, they could not cope with changing marketing practices and in 1916, the *City Directory* listed their firm for the last time.

Meanwhile, canneries had sprung up in other outlying areas. J. C. Ainsley Packing Co. got under way at Campbell in 1890 with about the same kind of kitchen stove equipment that Dr. Dawson had used 19 years earlier. Bisceglia Brothers cannery, (later Sun Garden), founded in Morgan Hill in 1903, moved to more commodious San José quarters ten years later.

Two more canneries came into existence in 1913—the Greco Canning Co. on North Autumn Street, and the D. DiFiore Canning Co. on the north side of Stevens Creek Road, opposite Porter Avenue. Victor Greco founded the first; Dominic and Salvatore DiFiore, the second.

To these may be added the Tri-Valley Canning Co., J. F. Pyle & Son, United States Products Corporation, F. G. Wool Packing Co., San José Conserving Co., Herschel California Fruit Products Co. (later

Contadina Foods), The Shaw Family, Inc., and C.P.C. Plants 3, 34, and 39. The Pyle Company was strictly a family-owned corporation, remaining such until it was sold to Barron-Gray in 1923. Later, it passed from Barron-Gray to the Dole Company.

Selling out, discontinuance, and corporate merger long ago cost many of these firms their initial identities. Today, only the canner or canning historian bothers to trace their origins. This holds particularly true of San José's Roze & Hartman's "preserved fruit manufactory" of 1857 and the California Fruit Packing Company of 1876. Messrs. Roze and Hartman's career—if they ever had one—never rated more than one short sentence in any history of the city or county. If their venture had been anything more than a project or experiment, they could have claimed the priority honors accorded to Dr. Dawson.

The San Francisco-owned California Fruit Packing Company located its San José plant on Third Street between Julian and Hensley. It appears to have been the only local concern to combine canning and dried fruit packing with wine making. The dried fruit and wine departments dated back to 1876; the cannery to 1880. Together, the three furnished seasonal employment for more than 100 persons.

But whether fresh, dried or canned, every fruit establishment mentioned owed its existence to orchards that soon spread for miles in every direction over the valley floor and surrounding foothills. By 1890 the number of fruit trees in the Santa Clara Valley reached a total of 4,454,945, almost double that of half a decade earlier. Of these, almost 3,000,000 were prunes, about half of which were non-bearing. Other fruits had increased according to public demand. Bearing peaches numbered 311,825, and non-bearing to 193,906; apricots to 393,654 and 141,445; pears to 102,064, and 42,813; cherries to 86,194 and 69,994. The apple, with only 34,995 bearing and 9,845 non-bearing trees, had long since lost its lead.

The 1900 count revealed 4,788,615 trees, with 2,718,600 bearing and 605,240 non-bearing prune trees leading the field by far. The number of bearing peaches had increased to 477,200; apricots to 525,030;

pears to 116,265; cherries to 127,165. The number of non-bearing trees had increased by similar percentage.

The valley's agriculture appears to have reached its peak in 1925 with 6,959 farms, which tapered off to 6,237 in the next five years. Horticulture, however, more than held its own. Between 1927 and 1932, prune acreage increased to 65,077; apricot to 17,891; pear to 7,308; cherry to 1,906; plum to 1,560.

Meanwhile, the peach had joined the apple in the long decline from former popularity. In 1932, the apple could muster only 838 acres; the peach, 1,117. A county crop report of ten years later listed just 300 acres of apples and 625 of peaches. The prune, still leading, had dropped to 56,810; pears to 6,332; plums to 130.

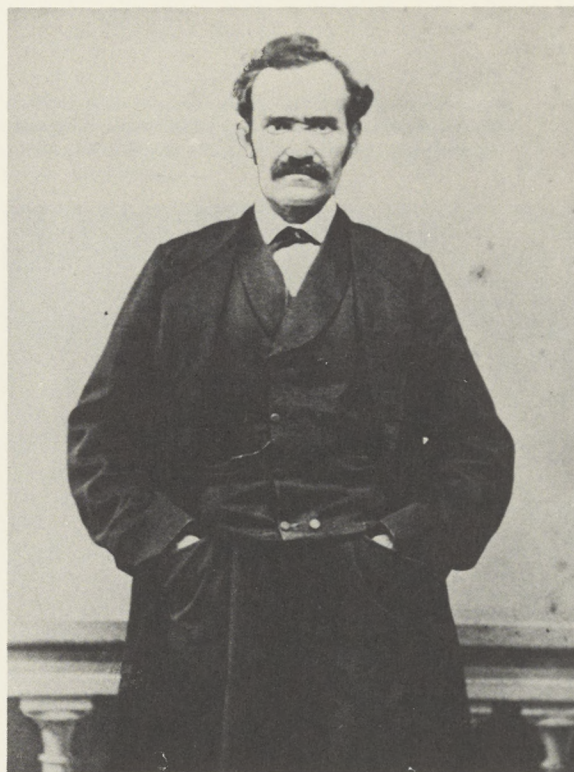
The following table, published by the Santa Clara County Agricultural Commissioner, indicates what happened to the valley's bearing fruit acreages in just 26 years:

	1940	1966	1970
Apricots	18,584	7,246	5,215
Cherries	2,628	1,965	1,702
Grapes	7,177	3,145	2,603
Pears	7,511	5,120	3,115
Prunes	59,494	23,356	18,900
Walnuts	6,372	6,849	5,432

Fruit and grapes were obviously "on the way out," and the walnut, the only tree product holding its own, would soon take the same path.

Except for a few fruit acreages that converted to row crops, the trend away from the soil was unmistakable. Cannery and dried fruit packers adjusted to changing conditions by importing fruit to local plants, moving the plants elsewhere, or going out of business altogether. As the real estate dealer and industrial developer moved into the valley, former State Senator Herbert C. Jones, an attorney for the Santa Clara Valley Water Conservation District, predicted the result. In 1962, he said that if development continued at its current pace, there would not be a commercial orchard on the west side of the valley in another ten years.

When the county's population rose to more than half a million in the 1950's, a new economy took control. Two hundred thousand acres of California's finest land were well on their way toward disappearing into industrial and residential development.



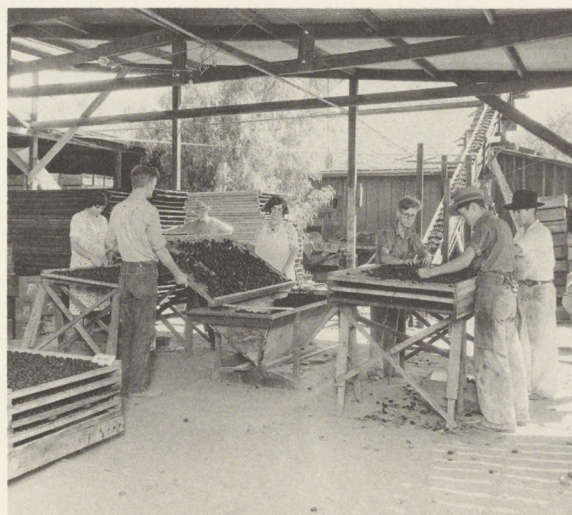
Louis Pellier (1817 - 1872), French horticulturist and viticulturist, came to California in the Gold Rush of 1849. After making a competence in the "diggings," he came to San José in 1850. Here, he and a former mining "pard" named Gioachino Yocco acquired real estate and established a nursery named City Gardens the same year. He soon bought Yocco's interest, expanded the business, and, from time to time, acquired more land. In 1853, when his brother Pierre arrived to help him, Louis seized what he considered the main opportunity. He sent Pierre back to France the following year to obtain a large variety of nursery stock easily obtainable in France but not yet obtainable in California. When Pierre returned to California in 1856, he brought with him the nursery stock, a bride, and two other members of the Pellier family. When Louis unpacked his desired nursery stock, he introduced the French Prune—*la petite prune d'Agen*—a \$43,000,000-a-year industry into California.

Heavy clusters of the French prune weighted the branches of the slender trees in the late summer of 1942, in this Gabriel Moulin photo. (photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)



During the prune drying season, the prunes were first dipped into a hot solution and then placed in shallow trays such as the one shown in this photo. The trays are then taken out to drying grounds, which may range anywhere from an acre or two to 20 or more acres. To facilitate proper drying, every prune on every tray must be turned over as necessary, but, instead of doing it one prune at a time, the orchardist makes a fast job of it with a prune rake as Mr. Hunt is doing.

A sorting crew is at work in a dry shed. The prunes shown here are dry and on their way via the packing house to commercial destinations far beyond the Santa Clara Valley.

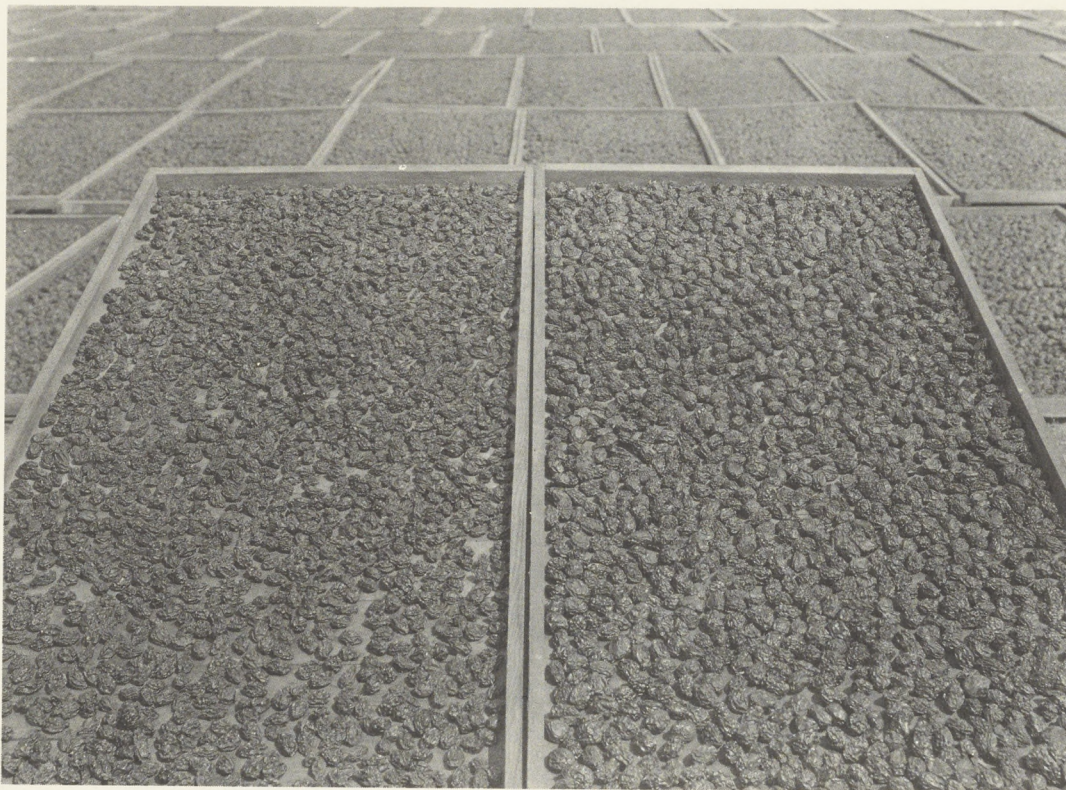




Here is a typical view of a young prune orchard in the Santa Clara Valley in the 1920s. By 1915, this valley produced more than one-third of the world's prunes.



From spring to autumn in the Santa Clara Valley's heyday of fruit growing, almost every community staged some kind of ceremony in honor of the area's greatest source of income. Here, just as an apricot orchard is bursting into bloom, a bevy of sprites are propitiating the gods to ensure bumper crops. The Blossom Festival in spring and Prune Week in late fall were two of the greatest observances.



Drying yard trays loaded with prunes are ready to be gathered up and taken to warehouses or packing houses. When waiting to deliver their fruit to packing houses in the old days, growers' wagons sometimes formed a line almost a mile long.



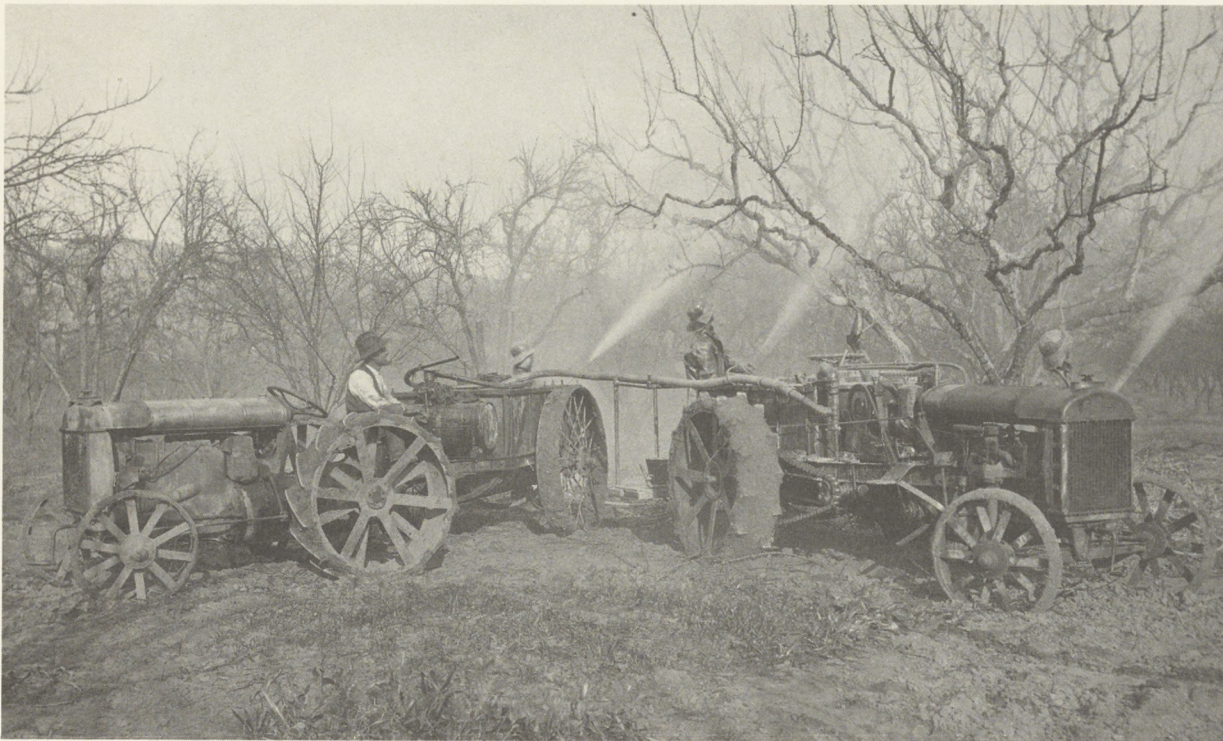
In 1908, Fred Lester and Ray Holmes hauled prunes from their home ranch, Lincoln and Curtner, to Rosenberg Packing House in Santa Clara. The towing vehicle is a Yuba tractor hauling wagons loaded with prunes. Note the arrow above the single front wheel to direct the driver as to the direction of the front wheel. (*photo courtesy of Lee Lester*)



Captain Thomas Fallon considered this pear tree one of the best in his orchard at 175 San Austine Street (now West St. John Street). For that reason, he paid photographer James A. Clayton to take this picture of it in 1858. Windfalls from this orchard, incidentally, furnished the seeds for the first pear trees sold at his nursery, next door to the north.



Mr. Kishimoto drove this new Yuba tractor while plowing in 1920. In the background are Arthur and Harold Butcher. *(photo courtesy of Bob Butcher)*



Keeping an orchard healthy called for a lot of work. It meant spraying, dusting, pruning, irrigating, or some other form of attention almost the year around. Deer sometimes proved pests to orchardists in the foothill areas, but brown rot, shot hole borer, leaf curl, San José scale, and oak root fungus evoked a lot more profanity. This photo shows a spray crew at work in an orchard, a common sight in the valley every year just before the trees came into bloom and foliage.



San José Mercury farm editor Horace G. Keesling (left) and Santa Rosa's "Plant Wizard" Luther Burbank look over a San José petunia garden in the early 1920s. Both of these men knew their plants and trees—Burbank as a hybridizer and developer of new varieties; Keesling as a Willow Glen area orchardist, plant experimenter, and journalist. Though not so well known abroad as Burbank, Keesling was highly important locally. To him goes credit for planting the black walnut trees that line Monterey Road from San José to Gilroy.



Picking prunes, as this family is doing in a Santa Clara Valley orchard in 1936, was credited with preventing a lot of juvenile delinquency. It taught thousands of youngsters how to get money honestly, and the labor involved in earning it made them reluctant to part with it frivolously. In fact, many a youngster picked prunes to earn money for school clothes—or to help the family exchequer. Long before school let out in June, youngsters bragged to one another about the kind of fruit work they had lined up for summer vacation.



Laurence Bulmore photographed the valley from Blossom Hill Road in the 1920s. San José appears in the distance on the right. (Laurence Bulmore photo, courtesy of Leonard McKay)



San José Fruit Packing Company was located on the southeast corner of Fifth and Julian Streets in the 1880s. This plant, which shipped canned fruit all over the nation, started as the first cannery in Santa Clara County behind Dr. James Madison Dawson's on the northeast corner of The Alameda and Polhemus Street (now West Taylor Street). Its original building was a tiny shed; its cooking department, a kitchen stove "operated" by Dr. and Mrs. Dawson.



D. DiFiore Canning Co. on the north side of Stevens Creek Road (now West San Carlos Street) near Porter (now Leigh) Avenue. This was one of the many canneries that added to the Santa Clara Valley's fame as the fruit canning capital of the world. Note the Peninsular Railway's spur track by which electric locomotives switched freight cars to and from the can loading platform.



In 1940, the canning industry was at its peak, and the U.S. Products Corporation plant was in full production canning apricots. The plant was located at Race and Moorpark; the photograph was taken by Loris Gardener. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*



Boxing extra large dried prunes was the chief activity at several Sunsweet plants in San José. These prunes were shipped all over the world, and Sunsweet was renowned for the quality (circa 1940). *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*



8

WINE





California viniculture originated with the missions, but, as indicated elsewhere, did not become a competitive secular business until a fairly late date. Governor Pedro Fages became the province's first known lay grower when he mingled a few vines with his orchard at Monterey in 1783. José Mariá Ortega, son of the famous explorer José Francisco Ortega, allegedly engaged in "vinous labors" at his Rancho Refugio near Santa Barbara as early as 1810. When Señora Marcelina Dominguez planted a grapevine at nearby Montecito sometime between 1795 and 1815, she won for herself the title of California's first woman vintner. (Señora Dominguez's vine, incidentally, attained huge proportions. When it died in 1876, a section of its trunk measuring 56 inches in circumference was sent to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition.)

During the 1820's, Californians produced and imported enough wine and brandy to tempt the taxing power of the government. The record might occasionally fail to indicate whether these products were of domestic or foreign origin, but no one doubted their importance as a source of revenue. San Francisco, for example, collected a tax of \$174 on them for the period of 1821-1824, San Diego's drinkers came up with \$449. Those at Los Angeles paid \$339 in 1829, and Monterey, departmental seat of government, indicated its thirst the same year with a whopping \$1,379.

San José's tax records for this decade are almost non-existent, and those of the 1830's and 1840's are sketchy to the point of irritation. Yet they indicate that revenue from wine and brandy constituted the bulk of the town's income for the last eight years prior to American occupation. The liquor tax for the period beginning in 1838 and ending in 1846 amounted to \$1194 of the total tax of \$2067 received for all items taxed including that on liquor.

The area's earliest vintners and distillers under both Spain and México were basically amateurs. Most of them clung to a single variety of grape whose result was invariably found wanting by competent judges. While visiting Los Angeles in 1827, the distinguished French traveler, Auguste Duhaut-Cilly lavished no compliments on what he tasted there. "The vine," he wrote, "succeeds very well, but wine and

brandy extracted from it are very inferior to the exquisite quality of the grape used for it, and I think this inferiority is to be attributed to the making rather than the growth."

California could boast no professional wine grower until Jean Louis Vignes arrived at Los Angeles from Bordeaux in 1833. Vignes, uncle of Pierre Sainsevain of San José, had learned the wine and brandy business in France. He midwived the California version of it when he planted the first vines of his Alviso vineyard the very year of his arrival. Such growers as German Charles Kohler and Hungarian Agoston Haraszthy, who came well after American occupation, built upon the foundation that he had laid.

Meanwhile, San José and Santa Clara grape growing efforts followed the general California pattern. Mission Santa Clara had the first domestic grapes in the Santa Clara Valley, planted soon after the Mission's founding in 1777. Botanist Archibald Menzies, who saw them in 1792, noted that they "succeeded better there than at any other... Northern Settlements in this Country..." The date of first vintage from these vines is uncertain, but they produced enough wine in 1802 to attract official notice throughout the province. By 1827, they accounted for 20 barrels, or 800 gallons—a year. In the early 1830's, William Heath Davis, Jr., pronounced their product a "fine red California wine..."

The first authentic indication of lay wine dispensing in San José appeared in Pio Pico's complaint against local conditions in 1821. Pico, who became the last Mexican governor of California, set up a hide-covered cantina here, but soon closed it because the townsfolk made so much wine of their own. He said nothing, incidentally, about his own short weighing of customers with false-bottomed cowhorn tumblers, which may have prompted him to move to southern California, where drinkers were less discerning.

Pico's wine came from José Antonio Carrillo's Santa Rosa Island vineyard off the coast of Santa Barbara. On the other hand, Antonio Suñol, next San José vintner of note, sold a genuine home product early as 1823. Otto von Kotzebue, commander of the Russian ship *Rurik*, probably had Suñol's grapes in

mind in 1824 when he wrote that San José's houses "stand in the midst of orchards, and hedges of vines bearing luxuriant clusters of the richest grapes." Twenty-two years later, Edwin Bryant specifically wrote of Suñol's property, "The grapevines were bowed to the ground with the luxuriance and weight of the yield, and more delicious fruit I never tasted."

By Bryant's time, secularization had been in effect 13 years, and many new varieties had replaced the Mission grape that seemed so luscious to earlier travelers. The *diseño* of Rancho Santa Teresa filed in 1834 showed the *vina* of José Joaquín Bernal. Shortly before his death in 1846, José Higuera of Rancho Pala bequeathed to each of his eleven children "133 cattle, 88 vines, and 10 fruit trees." William Fisher, seafaring Bostonian soon had 1,000 vines on his Rancho Laguna Seca, acquired in 1845 from Juan Alvarez.

As Americans poured into California during and immediately after the conquest, the grape, too, began to spread over a previously undreamed of amount of landscape. Kentuckian Isaac Branham set out a 50-acre vineyard on land that he acquired soon after his arrival in 1846. Elisha Stephens of the Townsend-Stephens-Murphy Party of 1844 did likewise on land that he acquired in 1848 near the present Monte Vista. By 1850, six vineyards close to San José boasted 16,800 vines of Mission grapes, to say nothing of other varieties.

Antoine Delmas of San José, who already had 14,000 Mission grapevines in his French Gardens, imported 10,000 shoots of eighty choice varieties from his native France in 1852 or '53. Louis Pellier of prune fame bought almost 300 acres of Evergreen foothill land in the mid 1850's and, in 1861, put his brother Pierre upon it to develop a vineyard that ultimately passed into possession of the Mirassou family.

By the end of the 1880's, Santa Clara County had 15,000 acres of vines and 478 viniculturists producing 2,500,000 gallons of wine a year. From Germany came Frank Stock, John Cilker, William Wehner, and John Utschig. Stefan Splivalo, Vincenzo Pichetti, Anselmo and Peter Conrotto, and Baptiste Bordi added Italian color to a panorama later embellished

by Benjamin Cribari and sons. Besides those already mentioned, France sent an "army" of grape experts, outnumbering by far all other foreign contingents. It included Charles LeFranc, Etienne Thée, Pierre C. Pourroy, Prosper Estrade, Jean Baptiste Portal, and Paul Masson, to say nothing of Pierre Sainsevain who produced the county's first champagne. A. Zicovich added a Slavic note, while Ernest Meyer represented Denmark.

The names of native American growers just prior to 1900 could have filled a sizeable directory—too long to include here. Only a few are necessary to indicate identity and distribution. John Snyder and Edward Dale, for example, represented Mountain View; J. J. Bergin, S. R. Williams, and C. A. Baldwin, West Side (now Cupertino); J. C. Hollenbeck, Encinal (now Sunnyvale); Henry M. Naglee, San José; David M. Harwood, Union District; E. O. Cochrane, Santa Clara; Stevenson P. Stockton, Robertsville; Richard Heney, Los Altos; Novitiate of the Sacred Heart, Los Gatos.

This list could well include two feminine vineyardists—Mesdames J. B. Portal and Harvey Wilcox—each of who succeeded a husband in the business. Mrs. Portal had 150 acres of vines at West Side; Mrs. Wilcox, 80 at Santa Clara. Each also had her own winery. A third woman—Mrs. E. P. (Annie) Munier of West Side—had 80 acres that her husband bought for \$1,000 in 1882, but only 35 of them were in grapes as late as 1895.

Accurate acreages of these early vineyards are hard to determine. Rapid growth stemming from economic opportunity kept them in a constant state of change. A grower reporting 68 acres for one survey might expand to 75 immediately afterward. The average, however, ranged somewhere between 40 and 90. Those of 100 or more acres belonged to such producers as LeFranc, Pellier, Masson, Harwood, Stockton, Wehner, Mirassou, Portal, Heney, and the Novitiate.

Vineyardists' names, as well as their holdings, also presented problems. By 1969, very few San Joséans could identify half a dozen of the area's early viniculturists besides Masson and Mirassou whose names had retained their prominence. Despite his

important contributions to the wine industry, even LeFranc's name seems limited to wine historians and persons associated with the Almadén Vineyards. General Naglee's vineyard, winery and distillery were all within the city limits of San José, but people remembered him as an army officer instead of a maker of fine wines and brandy.

Up to the time of this writing, Almadén and Masson claimed the valley's oldest wine trademarks. For years, both institutions were the "length and shadow" of their owners, and both proved the wisdom of choosing a landed father-in-law.

Historical accounts of Almadén's origin vary a little in their chronology. What appears to be the oldest and most reliable one was published in 1888. According to this account, LeFranc was born in Passy, a suburb of Paris, in 1825. He came to California in 1850 and soon joined a fellow countryman, Etienne Théé, at New Almadén. Théé owned half interest in a tract of land along Arroyo de los Capitancillos, on Rancho San Juan Bautista. He had planted vines of Mission grapes on it, but accomplished little else of note before LeFranc's arrival.

LeFranc's importation of a large variety of cuttings from France in 1857 marked the real beginning of the Almadén Vineyards. Within a few years, he not only married Théé's daughter, Adele, and acquired Théé's property, but he also bought the other half of the tract that once embraced his father-in-law's land. By 1875, he held 350 acres in fee. The following year, he was credited with owning more vines than any other vineyardist in Santa Clara County.

One of LeFranc's transactions involved a well-developed vineyard containing from 15,000 to 18,000 vines adjacent, or very close to Théé's holdings. He bought half of it for \$250 at a public sale conducted by Sheriff Philip T. McCabe on October 31, 1857, to satisfy a judgment of \$1,737 against Charles Blanchard and Leopold Perrot. The other half went to J. Mora Moss, San Francisco land speculator, for the same price, making a total of \$500 for the whole. In 1879, LeFranc became one of the eleven directors of the California State Vinicultural Society. His incredibly active life came to an abrupt close in a horse and buggy accident on October 9, 1887.

By 1878 another energetic Frenchman, Paul Masson, had arrived in San José. He enrolled in the University of the Pacific, then located on its College Park campus about midway between San José and Santa Clara. From there, he went to work for LeFranc at New Almadén. Masson continued at New Almadén in the finest LeFranc tradition. Besides producing superb wines, he married LeFranc's daughter Louise, managed much of his father-in-law's business, and gradually gathered sizeable landholdings of his own.

The Almadén label carried the names of both LeFranc and Masson until LeFranc's death and only that of Masson thereafter. By this time, Masson's interests had broadened to include champagne and sparkling wines, which he asserted could be successfully produced here. Newspaper accounts mentioned his going to France to obtain vineyard stock, equipment, and skilled champagne makers. He also cleared 40 acres of brushcovered hills above Saratoga for a champagne grape vineyard that ultimately spread to 600 acres.

Masson is said to have produced his first champagne in 1888, and his Saratoga venture, which got into full swing in the 1890's caught worldwide attention. In 1914, at St. Louis, he won the first Grand Prix ever awarded for an American champagne. The sign over the door of his San José cellar and wine store, in the LeFranc Building at 165 West Santa Clara Street, advertised the Paul Masson Champagne Co. to all passersby.

The weight of time, however, gradually compelled Masson to constrict his frontiers. His town house, designed by Bernard Maybeck, stood at 64 South Thirteenth Street, San José, but after his wife's death in 1931, he moved to the 455 South Market Street residence of his sister-in-law Marie LeFranc. Except for 14 acres reserved for a country home, he sold his Saratoga holdings on his retirement in 1936 to Martin Ray, first of a succession of new owners. Three years later, the Almadén Vineyard and winery passed to Louis Benoist and Brayton Wilbur, who retained vintner Frank Schoonmaker to superintend the rebuilding and improvement of all facilities.

Masson continued to eat lunch at his Saratoga estate as long as his health and strength permitted,

which caused uninformed persons to believe he lived there. When he died on October 22, 1940, at the age of 81 years, 8 months, and 8 days, he left behind him one of the most venerable—and durable—names in the history of Santa Clara County viniculture.

Long after the decease of the men who made them famous, the products and trademarks of Almadén and Paul Masson continued on the market under an interesting succession of ownerships. Santa Clara County's wine producers continued to do pretty well for themselves after LeFranc's day. They encountered problems peculiar to their industry, and had their economic ups and downs the same as men in other industries. But only twice in more than a century were they in real danger.

Phylloxera, a root louse with a voracious appetite for grape roots, appeared in California vineyards some time before 1870. It had come from an unidentified point back East, where it was apparently harmless. But on the West Coast in 1876, Professor Eugene W. Hilgard of the University of California pronounced it a villain that could wipe out every vineyard in the state. It came very close to doing so—in France as well as here. The disease was finally checked, however, by importation of Phylloxera resistant root stock from Eastern United States.

With that threat to their solvency removed, Santa Clara County's viniculturists were reasonably sure of a good living until 1919, when Congress declared the 18th Amendment to the United States Constitution ratified. This amendment, put into effect in 1920, was also known as the Prohibition Act, which barred the "manufacture, sale, and distribution of alcoholic liquors." Except for Paul Masson and several others who held licenses for producing wine for sacramental and medicinal use, it proved disastrous for most of California's wine producers. Its only mitigating feature was a provision permitting the making of a small amount of wine for family use.

Repeal of the 18th Amendment by the 21st Amendment on December 5, 1933, brought great joy to California's vineyardists and ended the "the 13-year drouth" that had afflicted the nation.

Recovery from the effects of Prohibition came

faster than anyone had anticipated. Within a few years, the man on the street could be forgiven for suspecting that everybody in creation was getting into—or considering getting into—some phase of the wine business. While preparing for the first grape crop after repeal, long established firms sold the well-aged wine that had kept in their cellars during the dry years. Newcomers soon balanced buying old vineyards and planting new ones with building new wineries and rescuing old ones from historical obscurity. Confidence in wine production as an investment skyrocketed when Eastern distillers began to buy California vineyards and wineries at fanciful prices. Advertising agencies had a field day in demonstrating their talents in every kind of publication from weekly newspapers to the slickest of the "slicks" in the magazine field.

Then came World War II and a radical change. The post-war population influx and attendant real estate development presented themselves. Industrial plants and residential subdivision inexorably forced farmer, orchardist, and vineyardist off the land. Farmers and orchardists who wished to remain such moved to the Sacramento and San Joaquín country. Owners of small vineyards on the floor of the Santa Clara Valley and its adjacent foothills could move to the higher slopes of the Santa Cruz Mountains, or to the Pacheco Pass area of Santa Clara County, or elsewhere. Or sell out at an inflated price and get out of business altogether. All others could hang on as long as possible.

By the mid-1950's, Almadén, Masson, and Mirassou were assessing the possibilities of the future. Well before the decade ended, the still expanding Almadén advertised itself as owner of 4,500 acres of vineyards at Paicines, San Benito County—"the largest fine wine vineyard in the world." Masson stopped briefly with several hundred acres near Gilroy, and then moved on to Soledad, in the Salinas Valley, to lift the firm's acreage into the thousands bracket. Mirassou soon followed with acquisition of 2,000 acres, also near Soledad. This was the only way all three could assure themselves of enough grapes to remain in business. All three have also kept their administrative offices in Santa Clara County despite continuing urbanization.



John R. Key's painting of grape pickers in General Henry M. Naglee's vineyard in 1877. A critical examination of this painting established the immediate scene as close to the southeast corner of Naglee's land—overlooking the Coyote Creek flood plain a little north of William Street. The eroded area in the lower right corner of the painting is still there in reality. It extends almost to the very edge of the east side of what is now the "400" block of South Sixteenth Street.

In the mid-1800's Henry Morris Naglee and Pierre Sainsevain acquired the entire area bounded by Coyote Creek and 11th, St. John, and William streets. Naglee owned all of this tract south of Santa Clara street, planting much of it to orchard and vineyard. Around 1865, he established his home in the area north of San Fernando street and, about the same time, built a winery and distillery nearby.

Naglee's winery had a capacity of 100,000 gallons; his distillery produced the finest brandy. Shown here is the winery tank house as it appeared when the area was opened as a residential subdivision in 1902—16 years after Naglee's death.



Pierre Pellier married the former Henriette Renaud in France. Of Louis Pellier's two brothers, Pierre was the younger, and owed much of his good fortune in California to Louis.



The Santa Clara Wine Depot's original delivery "fleet" is driven by proprietor Joseph Cappa. This undated photo was taken in front of Cappa's beautiful residence at 279 East St. John Street.



This photo shows the Joseph Cappa residence at 279 East St. John Street, with Mrs. Cappa and two of her children standing in the gateway.

Joseph Cappa's Santa Clara Wine Depot, a flourishing establishment occupied this structure on the southwest corner of Third and San Fernando Streets. Cappa was a fine example of how many a foreign-born lad made good in America. He bought the Santa Clara Wine Depot from his employer, J.C. Merithew, in 1899, and operated it until, foreseeing the coming of Prohibition toward the close of 1919, he went out of business.





When horsepower in another form began to dominate the public mind in the second decade of the 20th Century, the progressive Cappa quickly saw its advantages. Here he sits proudly at the wheel of his Model T, which he converted into a delivery and pickup truck. This photo, taken on South Third Street, has the red brick wall of his Santa Clara Wine Depot building for a backdrop.



Pierre Mirassou and his wife, the former Henriette Pellier, daughter of Pierre Pellier, assume a traditional pose.

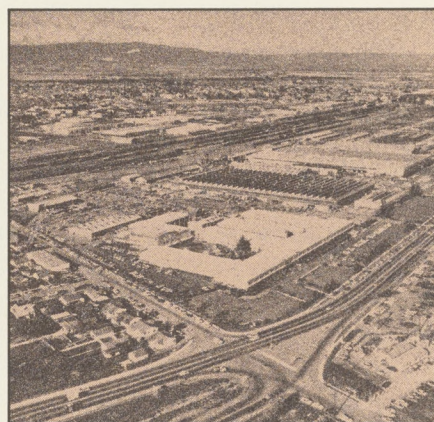
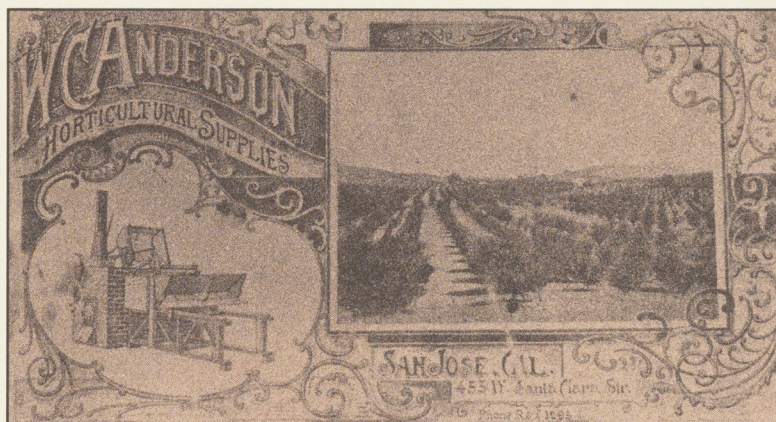
Charles LeFranc (1825 - 1887) came from France to California in 1850 and, within ten years, won for himself the appellation of the "father of the commercial wine industry" in Santa Clara County. The New Almadén Vineyard has perpetuated his work up to the time of this writing. So has a large business building at 163 West Santa Clara Street in San José.





9

HEAVY INDUSTRY



HEAVY INDUSTRIES



Few San Joséans gathered what was happening between 1944 and 1960, when their home town's population jumped from 76,500 to 204,196. The average citizen paid little heed to news stories and official reports announcing arrival of a brand new economic era—the industrial. If he tried to interpret them at all, it was probably after getting lost in a labyrinth of newly-opened streets, or on receiving his tax bill for a fast growing collection of new schools and parks.

This period witnessed the valley's seemingly sudden transition from a fruit growing area to a manufacturing center. It saw San José change with equal speed from a farm town to a metropolis. Yet it cannot take all the credit—or blame—for the community's industrialization. San José's industrial needs may have been slow in germinating, but American pioneers sowed them almost concurrently with the city's incorporation.

Blacksmiths and wagonmakers were San José's first producers of heavy equipment. Danish Peter Lassen engaged in blacksmithing here for a short time during the winter of 1840-41. But unfortunately for posterity, he left no descriptive account of this venture. In the spring of 1841, he moved to Santa Cruz, where he built a sawmill. In 1844, he obtained from the Mexican government the 22,206-acre Rancho Bosquejo in what is now Tehama County. His name has since been perpetuated by Lassen County and Lassen Volcanic National Park.

After Lassen, a German wagonmaker, John Balbach, arrived in December, 1849. Balbach came to America in 1848, and to California in quest of gold. He lost about everything he owned in a disastrous crossing of the Colorado River, but after a recuperative sojourn in Los Angeles, he headed northward. During what he intended to be an overnight stop in San José, someone stole his horse, saddle, and bridle. Stranded, he took a blacksmithing job to earn enough money to continue his journey to the mines, but got no farther. San José offered more gold to a man of his craft than he could ever hope to dig from the Mother Lode.

As founder of the Pioneer Carriage Factory, Balbach soon established himself as the city's leading blacksmith and wagonmaker. He first located at about

what is now 40 West Santa Clara Street, and later at the corner of Second and Fountain. In 1852 he reputedly made the first commercially manufactured plow on the Pacific Coast, and, the following year, he produced 50 of them. After his marriage in 1854 to Miss Minna Berner, native of Germany, he became the father of six sons and three daughters.

Balbach became an American citizen in 1855, thereby qualifying for two terms as a City Alderman, and five years as a member of the Board of Education. By 1877, the *Great Register* listed him as Capitalist, and long before his death in August 3, 1896, he had the satisfaction of seeing three of his sons take over the business that he had founded many years earlier. Today, he is best remembered for a downtown street that has borne his name for more than a century.

Other blacksmiths and vehicle builders, seeing Balbach's success, quickly followed his lead. By 1875, the city boasted 52 blacksmiths and 17 well-established carriage and wagon shops. Most of the blacksmiths derived the bulk of their income from horse-shoeing, but the carriage and wagon men were manufacturers in the full sense of the term. Among the most important of the latter, were Clark S. Crydenwise, David Hatman, Amable Normandin, James and George Fitzgerald, Adolph Greeninger, and Hugh Young.

A New Yorker by birth and carriage maker by trade, Crydenwise came to California at the age of twenty-one in 1850. He apparently worked at his trade wherever possible for a while, but the *Pacific Coast Business Directory* of 1867 and the *Great Register of Santa Clara County* for the same year show him in business for himself at what is now 11-13 South Second Street. Here, next door to John Balbach's establishment, he produced buggies, other light vehicles, and an occasional wagon almost up to moment of his death in 1903. He also found time to acquire valuable San José real estate and to serve two terms on the Common Council.

David Hatman and Amable Normandin located their Pacific Carriage Factory on the south side of Santa Clara Street between Orchard (now Almadén Avenue) and Vine Streets in 1874. This German-French Canadian partnership eventually became Nor-

HEAVY INDUSTRY

wider use. He later moved this factory to San José, where, as the Bean Spray Pump Co., it built up a business that ranged from \$9,000 a year in 1886 to \$1,750,000 in 1926.

Meanwhile, in 1890, William C. Anderson founded his Anderson Prune Dipping Company to manufacture prune dippers. In 1902, he absorbed the similarly oriented firm of Barngrover, Hull and Cunningham, the 1901 outgrowth of a small prune dipper outfit founded by Luther Cunningham in 1889. The result was the Anderson-Barngrover Co., producers of all kinds of fruit processing machinery, whose works occupied a ramshackle frame structure at 326-340 West Santa Clara Street before moving to 333 West Julian Street.

The Bean Spray Pump Co. and the Anderson-Barngrover firm, whose Julian Street premises almost adjoined each other, merged in 1928 to form the Food Machinery Corporation.

Under the presidency of Bean's nephew, John D. Crummev, this corporation became a nationwide concern. As it absorbed food machinery, chemical, and other manufacturing plants from coast to coast, it took on other names—Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation and FMC. It also became famous for manufacturing something besides food processing machinery. Its shops sent tanks to battlefields in every quarter of the globe during World War II and for a long time thereafter.

The humble beginnings of this great corporation and its early contemporaries gave them a common characteristic. Most of them started under conditions reminiscent of home craft. They got under way in crude, frame-structured fire hazards designed for other use—and no bigger than a village carpenter shop. A full length prune grader would leave room for little else in any one them. John Bean's little stirrup pump and Luther Cunningham's prune dipper had come a long way.

The fire hazard description, slightly modified, fitted the Smith Manufacturing Company's early home at 224 The Alameda, near White Street. After producing fruit processing machinery here from 1903 to 1918, this firm moved to a large modern plant at 18 Stockton Avenue.

No less important than the manufacturers of processing equipment were those who supplied containers for carrying the valley's fruit abroad. In 1862, C. X. Hobbs, David Pomeroy, and George and S. D. Gilmore opened a box factory near the intersection of San Pedro and Dame Streets. The *Pacific Coast Business Directory* for 1867 listed it as Hobbs & Gilmore, on Dame Street, but later directories put it at 146 San Pedro Street (old numbering), probably the same location.

For the first five years, this firm, whose ready-cut shook came from San Francisco, was more a nailing shed than factory. It measured only 25 x 40 feet and did not become a factory in full sense of the term until Albert Lake acquired it in the late 1860's.

Lake, a native of Chautauqua County, New York, came to California in 1862 to join his parents who had come West the previous year. He bought out Hobbs & Gilmore in anticipation of quick success, but soon found himself in an almost profitless 20-year struggle full of disappointments and setbacks. Yet he hung on—even after fire wiped out his plant in October, 1887. By December, he had acquired a large lot at 233-237 North San Pedro Street, and commenced construction of a two-story 75 x 80 foot main factory building and a detached 50 x 60 boiler room.

Driven by a 60 horsepower steam engine, this plant proved a turning point in Lake's career. Up-to-date machinery enabled it to work 30,000 board feet of lumber a day and cut the cost thereof by \$3.00 a thousand. Its own shook supplied boxes of all kinds to a market that ranged from the Santa Clara Valley to Southern California.

Though his name was synonymous with boxes in San José, and though he often appeared in the City Directory as the only box manufacturer in town, Lake still did not have the field to himself. The *Pacific Coast Business Directory* for 1867 listed an Edward White who combined a small planing mill and box factory on the east side of Second Street just north of St. James. In 1881, the *City Directory* showed John Britton's box factory on the northwest corner of Julian and San Pedro Streets.

The White and Britton ventures, however, were short-lived. Other box men left more lasting marks on the community—especially in later years. Among them were John C. McPherson's Pacific Shingle & Box Co. at 654 Park Avenue, and the California Pine Box Distributors at 353 North San Pedro Street, each of which later moved to a different location. A third large plant, belonging to Westerlund Co., occupied an old sports arena at 447 San Augustine Street.

These plants produced everything from picking lugs (boxes) and packing boxes to berry chests and vegetable crates. Yet they did not account for all the box making in this area. Any number of individual piecework nailers such as Fred Lowe, Joseph Long, and Juan Blanco made hundreds of thousands of boxes on the premises of the users. They swung axes and stripped nails every summer in orchards and fresh fruit packing houses all over the valley. When the season ended here, they moved on to other parts of the state, lidding, making orange boxes, melon crates, and anything else demanded of their skill and tireless arms.

Frank Kamejiri Shimizu was the only local producer of wooden containers to escape competition over a noteworthy length of time. His Wayne Basket Company, founded at Wayne Station in 1911, supplied countless thousands of veneer baskets to Santa Clara Valley berry growers before moving to 990 North Tenth Street, San José, in 1927. And except for the Japanese relocation period during World War II, it continued to flourish in its new location, bought with an eye toward future expansion.

After his arrival here from Japan at the age of 23 in 1889, Shimizu worked at various jobs around the countryside, the last with Frank Leib, a prominent walnut grower. It was while working for Leib that he resolved to do something about the urgent need of inexpensive containers for retailing strawberries. He accordingly bought a Coe lathe for peeling veneer from spruce and pine logs brought in by rail from northern California and Oregon. Two Saranac basket machines (later increased to four), cut, folded and stitched the steam-softened veneer into 8- and 12-ounce baskets to complete his equipment.

Shimizu employed only six or seven persons at first, but as his volume of business increased, he improved his machinery and expanded his work force. His eldest son, Esau, assumed management of the firm in 1946. Three other sons—Carl, Roy, and Grant—completed their enlistments in the United States Army and joined Esau the following year. In 1954, they incorporated under the name and style of Wayne Basket Company, Inc.

Shimizu died in 1943, but his little veneer basket endured in the public mind. It became a figure of speech. The average California housewife envisioned it every time she thought of a basket of straw-, rasp-, or blackberries. It served a dozen household uses, making, among other things, a good planter for flower seeds and a handy holder for paper clips and other small objects. It even became a unit of measurement; its image lingered long after the manufacturer altered its form and changed the raw material from wood to paper and plastic.

Above all, it made possible a highly mechanized firm that soon boasted 25 employees, its own machine shops, warehouses, and ten huge automatic presses, each capable of turning out 3,000 plastic baskets an hour.

During the interim between World War I and the end of the 1960's, paper practically drove wood off the market as raw material for containers holding up to 70 pounds net. Glued and stapled fiberboard cartons took over in every cannery and packing house in Santa Clara County. Even the tightly-packed pear, apple, and double-compartmented orange boxes yielded to the lighter corrugated "P box." Save for an improvement or two in its seaming, the humble tin can remained the only substantially unchanged container since the first decade of the twentieth century.

Cans poured into local canneries by the millions, but they all came by rail from distant points until the American Can Company opened its San José plant at Fifth and Martha Streets in 1912. This company, amalgamated of more than 100 small factories in 1901, started with a capital of \$78,000,000 and Edwin Norton of the Norton Tin Can & Plate Company as president. By 1908, when it absorbed the powerful Sanitary Can Company, it clearly discerned the advan-

HEAVY INDUSTRY

tage of locating its factories close to the customers. Hence the San José plant, which covered two city blocks, became an "Exhibit A" of chamber of commerce advertising.

Norton resigned the presidency of American Can at the end of his first year, feeling that the management was more interested in financial manipulation than manufacturing. His abhorrence of inactivity, however, soon persuaded him to reenter the tin can business. In 1904, seeing an opportunity for an independent firm, he organized the Continental Can Company, with his son, Arthur, as vice-president. Thomas G. Cranwell was president; Frederick J. Assman, secretary-treasurer.

After Norton's death in 1915, his piano manufacturing son-in-law, Charles C. Conway, came to the fore. Conway, who had served on Continental's board of directors, became vice-president of the firm in 1921, president in 1926, and chairman of the board of directors in 1930. His expansionist tactics gave American Can Company officials the shivers. In 1927 alone, his firm established a huge plant in San José, and began to buy up every independent can factory on the Pacific Coast, (including the Seattle-Astoria Iron Works), and absorbed the Cincinnati-based United States Can Company.

Continental's San José plant at 357 East Taylor Street stretched northward for two blocks along the Southern Pacific Railroad's Western Division tracks. It and the American Can plant at the opposite end of town represented in San José the two companies that manufactured 75 percent of all the tin cans produced in the United States.

In addition to this, San José's tie with the can industry soon took on an international aspect. Continental acquired an interest in Metal Box and Printing Industries, Ltd., and an "engineering and licensing agreement" with J.J. Carnaud & Forges de Basse-Indre. Metal Box produces 75 percent of England's cans; Carnaud accounted for about 60 percent of those manufactured in France.

In contrast to the much merged giants of later years, San José's early industrial establishment embraced a number of small but important specialists.

Several concentrated on their respective specialties; others produced such specialties—usually small items on order—in conjunction with regular products. John Christian was an outstanding example of the former.

Christian, born on the Isle of Man in 1840, crossed the Atlantic alone at the age of 14, enroute to California via Panama. He worked a year for a blacksmith uncle in Stockton, then came to San José to serve an apprenticeship in the San José Foundry. On completion of his apprenticeship, he became a master blacksmith with more than a passing knowledge of the machinist's trade.

The year 1860 found Christian working at his trade in and around San José, including New Almaden, where he stayed about six months. In 1861, after discerning what he considered his main opportunity, he entered business for himself, setting up a shop on the northeast corner of First and William Streets. Here, he devoted the remainder of his life to the manufacture of steel teeth for harvester cylinders.

Christian had long noted and given much thought to the poor quality of early day cylinder teeth, occasioned by a tempering difficulty. He kept his thoughts to himself until sure he had solved the problem. Then he introduced the first steel-laid teeth the harvesting business had ever seen. He also designed the machine that hammered them out—and was still hammering them out a century later.

Prior to Christian's time, the single-casting tooth, if sufficiently tempered, had a shank too hard to be easily threaded for the big square nut that held it to the cylinder. If the shank were soft enough for easy threading, the tooth was not hard enough to withstand the wear that it was sure to receive.

Christian eliminated this defect with two independent pieces of metal. He fashioned the tooth itself of highly tempered steel; the shank of softer steel whose unthreaded end could be wrapped around and hammer-welded to the small end of the tooth.

This tooth, patented, won immediate popularity as the best on the market. Whenever harvesters replaced cylinder teeth, they preferred the product of John Christian's forge to all others. It was not unusual for Christian to ship half a million of them a season.

HEAVY INDUSTRY

In 1864, Christian married Miss Sarah Pierce, a native of Illinois, who had come overland to California with her parents in 1851. They had three sons and six daughters. All of this family took a sharp interest in what they considered their family firm, "incorporating under the name of John Christian Manufacturing Company on January 2, 1906." Fourteen years

later, they moved from the old First Street location to a much larger structure at 1194 Lick Avenue.

John Christian's wife died in 1906; he, in 1909. But sixty years after that, a grandson and great grandson were still manufacturing a volume of harvester teeth that would have delighted the firm's founder.



His manufacturing of this prune dipper early as 1890 started Anderson on his way to unlimited success. Prunes had begun to take over the valley only a short time before.



John Bean, inventor of the Continuous Pressure Spray Pump (1883), was founder of Bean Spray Pump Co., Los Gatos. In 1915, the company moved to San José as John Bean Mfg. Co. The company merged with Anderson-Barngrover Mfg. Co. in 1928, and, in 1929, changed its name to Food Machinery Corp. (photo courtesy of FMC)

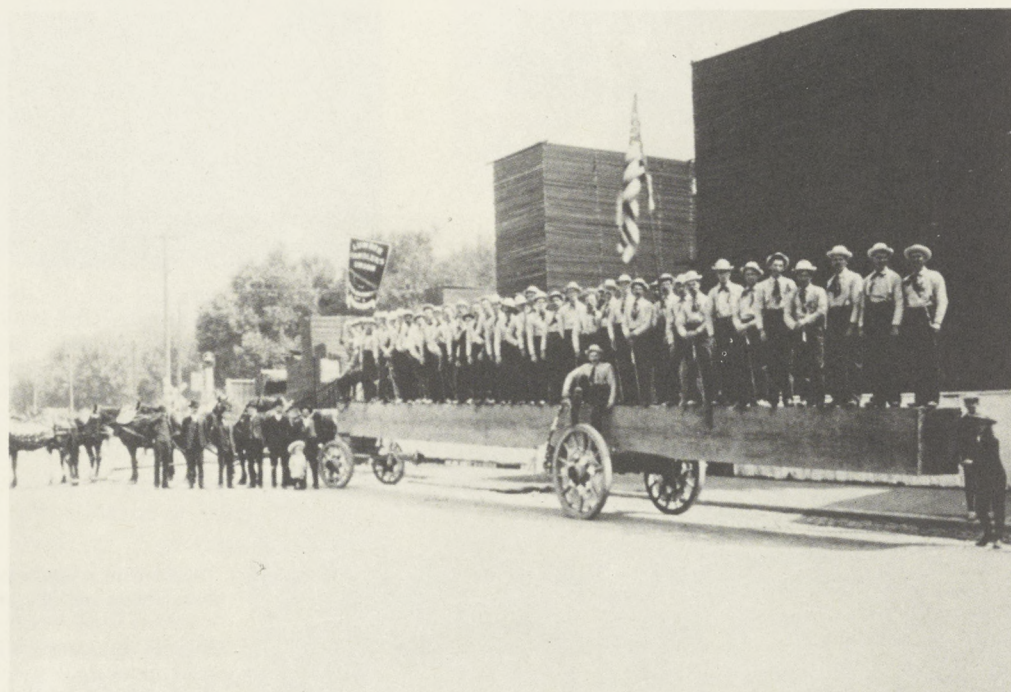


This shows an advertisement of W. C. Anderson, manufacturer and seller of fruit processing machinery at 455 West Santa Clara Street in 1890. He later joined a man named Barngrover in organizing the firm of Anderson-Barngrover, which merged with the Bean Spray Pump Co. to form the Food Machinery Corporation. In the course of its phenomenal growth after that, it became the Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation and, ultimately, FMC.

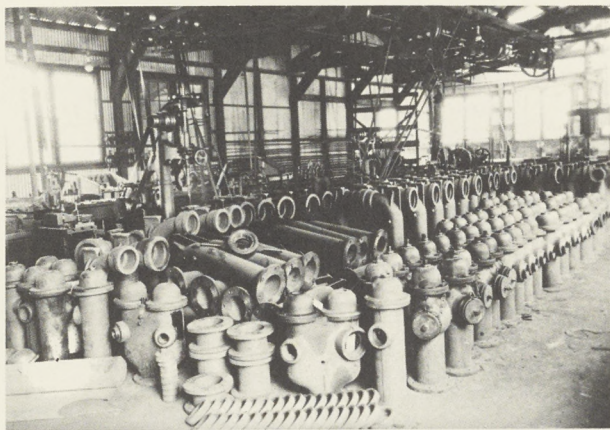
When Gottfried Krahenberg decided to build a brewery at Cinnabar St. and The Alameda in 1869, he inclined toward the architectural styles of his German homeland. He started with a small brick structure on the north side of Cinnabar St., adding to it as business increased. By the 1890's, when this photo was taken, the firm had passed through several ownerships, and the brewery had the external aspects of a huge German castle—"turrets, battlements 'n all." It even had its own railroad spur, coming in originally from the S. P.'s Coast line, half a mile to the east.



Fredericksburg Brewery management and crew gathered for this photo to tell you what fine beer they produced. As one old-timer put it, they produced *Beer*, not hop-flavored, charged water.



The Labor Day parade of 1905 featured this immense single beam of redwood, which measured 28 inches square by 51 feet long, and was transported over the Santa Cruz mountains in a single piece. It was cut at Dougherty's Mill near Boulder Creek and was on its way to the Santa Clara Valley Mill and Lumber Company.



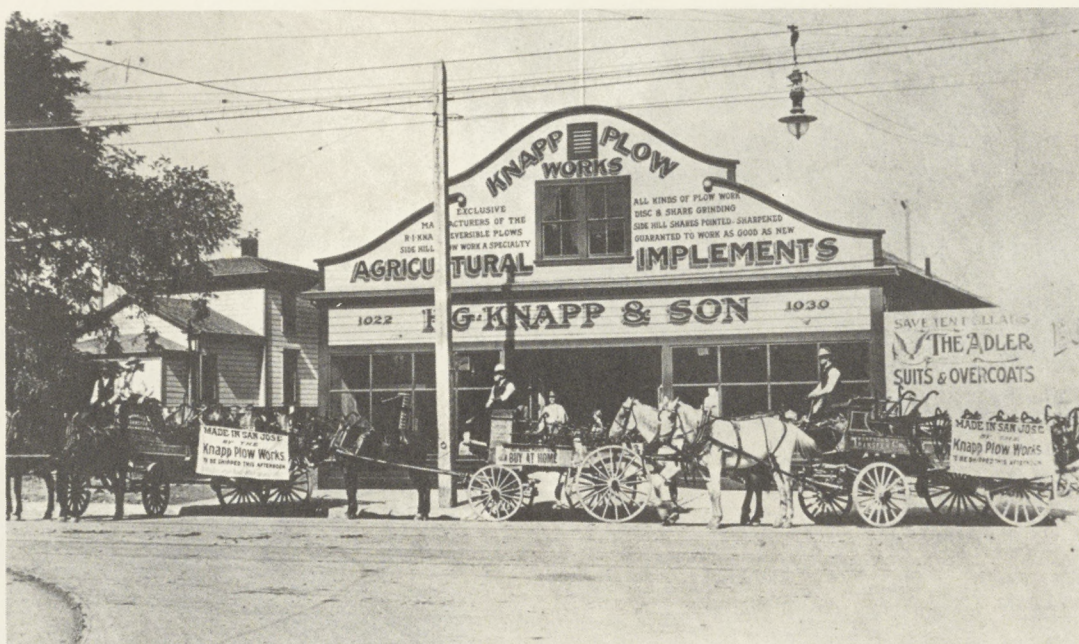
A good supply of hydrants and cast iron pipe fittings occupy the floor of the San José Foundry. At one time, this foundry monopolized the local hydrant and gutter drain business. Unfortunately, the photographer did not indicate where the foundry was located when he took this picture.



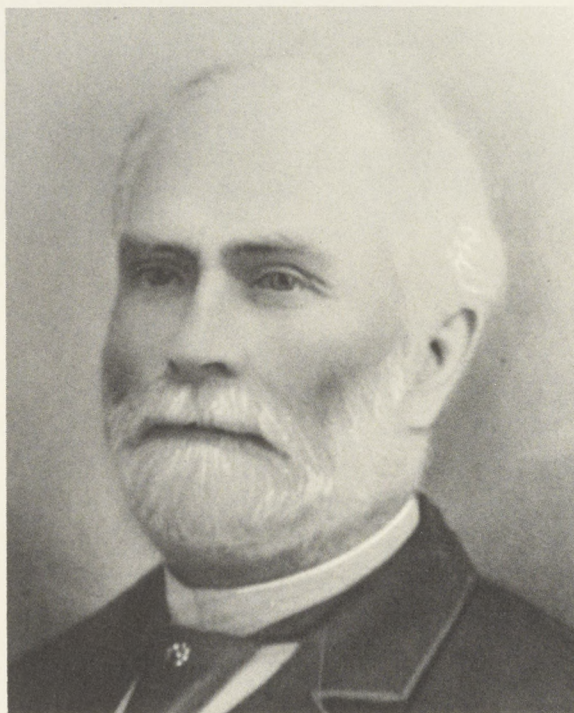
George H. Osen and William F. Hunt built the first of the Osen & Hunt Specials in 1899, and four more in 1900, in their bike shop at 69 So. Second St. Save for engines and tires, manufactured elsewhere, Osen & Hunt made all parts except seats in their own shop. The seats came from Hatman & Normandin's buggy factory, now Normandin Chrysler-Plymouth. Hunt, wearing a jaunty motoring cap and bow tie, stands just behind a nearly finished vehicle while machinist Frank Ringlep, in dark bib overalls, looks on.



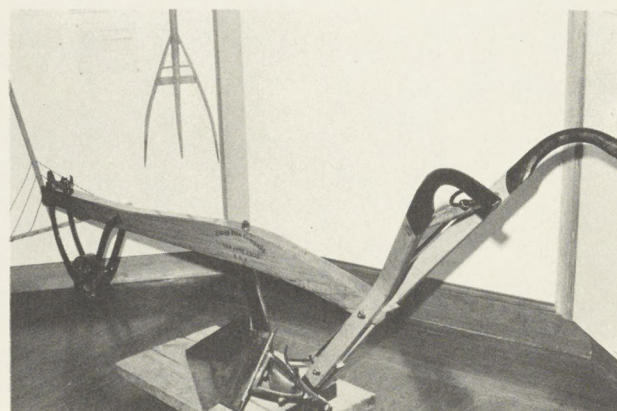
This photo shows a clam shell dredger, boat, and yard at Alviso. These shells came from small clams that were ground up or pulverized to a certain mesh before being shipped to poultry farmers or individual chicken owners all over the state. Chickens using this stuff had clam shells in their craws instead of sand.



The Knapp Plow Works manufactured an excellent reversible plow for side hill planting. This 1910 picture advertises their plows and other agricultural implements.



Robert I. Knapp was inventor of the Knapp Side Hill Plow, which enabled farmers to plow with ease on steep hillsides. Knapp invented this plow while living in Half Moon Bay, San Mateo County, but he soon moved his plant to San José, locating it in a long frame structure at 1022 South First Street. His next move took it only a few blocks to a spacious brick structure at 151 Margaret Street. The second of his first plows found a permanent "home" in the San José Historical Museum.



The Knapp reversible plow, designed to plow hillsides, became a major product of the Knapp Plow Company.
(photo courtesy of Leonard McKay)



Anderson-Barngrover Mfg. Co. produced canning and dried fruit equipment in San José. *(photo courtesy of FMC)*



Roy Butcher was founder of Butcher Electric.
(photo courtesy of Butcher Electric)

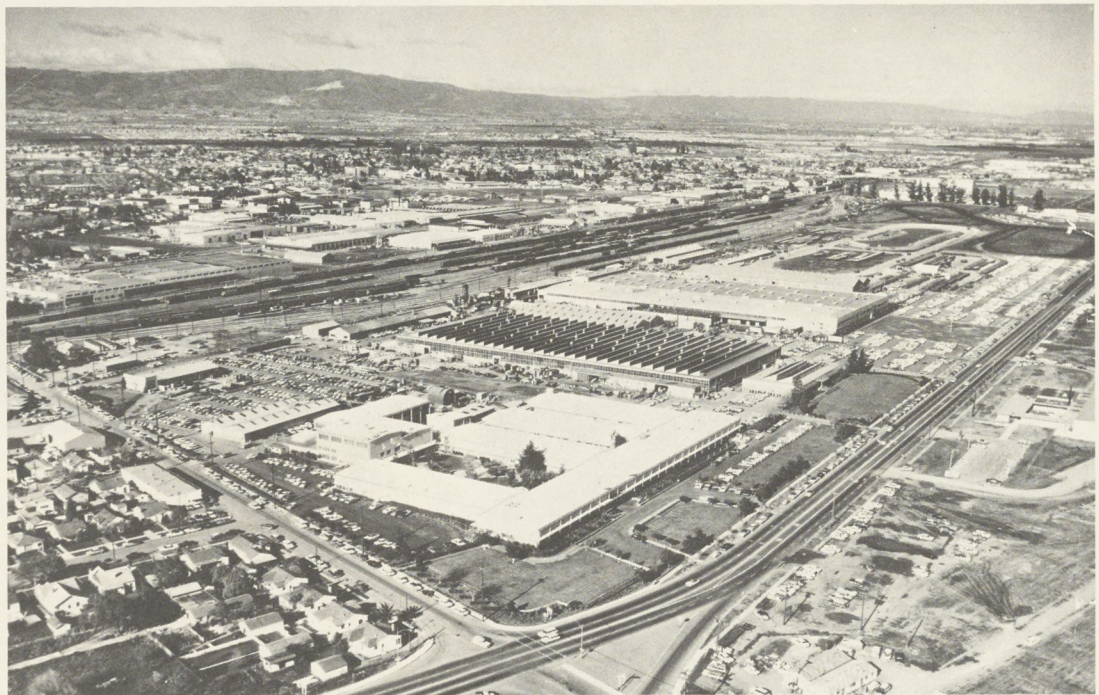


This photo shows Roy Butcher's repair truck. From humble beginnings, this service escalated into one of the largest electric companies in the Valley. *(photo courtesy of Butcher Electric)*

John D. Crummey was first President of Food Machinery Corp.
(1928-1940). *(photo courtesy of FMC)*



Paul L. Davies, second President of Food Machinery Corp. and Chairman of the Board, was a vice president of American Trust Co., Oakland, who came to San José to arrange a merger of John Bean Mfg. Co. and Anderson-Barngrover (1928). John Crummey talked him into joining the new firm (Food Machinery Corp.) as Sec. - Treas. Davies was one of the country's "Fathers of Diversification," and was responsible for Food Machinery's moves into fresh fruit and vegetable equipment, pumps, citrus machinery, packaging machinery, agricultural chemicals, and defense equipment. *(photo courtesy of FMC)*



In 1960, FMC Corporation purchased 120 acres on Coleman Avenue as Corporation headquarters, and for ordnance facilities and proving ground for production of M113 Armored Personnel Carriers for the U.S. Army. *(photo courtesy of FMC)*



International Business Machines Corporation decided that they needed a West Coast production plant to produce punch cards for their Asian market. The company bypassed chambers of commerce and sent their own investigators to the West Coast to find a community that would have the greatest benefits for their employees and their employees' families. The investigators recommended San José as being the best community to meet their needs. In 1946, they purchased an abandoned laundry building at 16th and St. John Streets for their card plant.

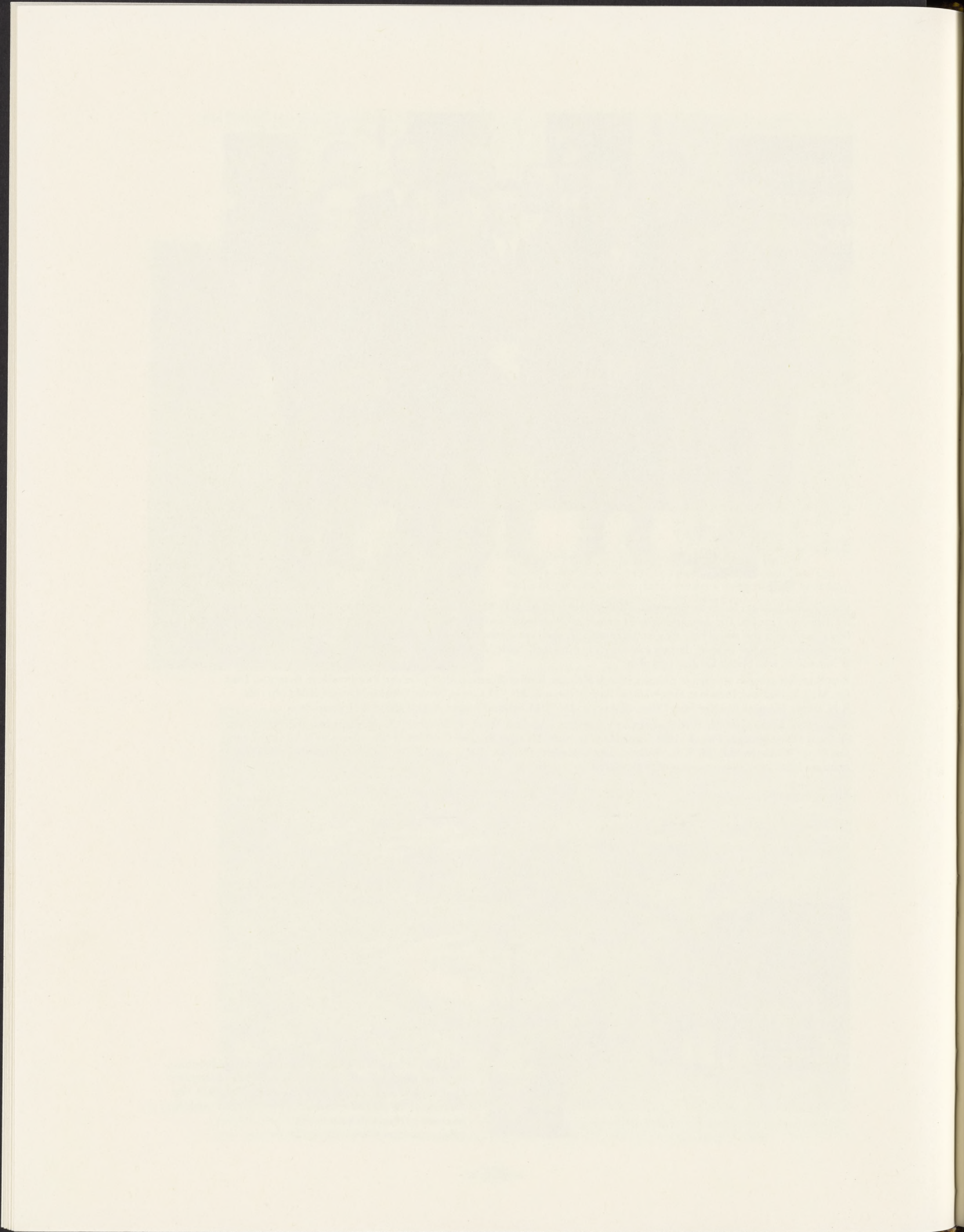
First Row, left to right: Mr. Harold Ahlman, Branch Manager, Bank of America; Mr. E.J. Oehler, Vice-President, American Trust Co.; Mr. L. L. Madland, President, First National Bank of San José; Mr. J. D. Gamel, Pacific Division Manager, IBM Corp.; Mr. B. N. Luther, Manager, San José Sales Office, IBM Corp.; Mr. W. H. Smith, Manager Anglo California National Bank

Second Row, left to right: Mr. E. H. Renzel, City Councilman, San José; Mr. O. W. Campbell, City Manager, San José; Mr. W. B. Strohem, Office Manager, Plant #4 IBM Corp.; Mr. R. E. Pettit, Manager, San José Chamber of Commerce; Mr. E. W. Green, San José Water Works (retired); Mr. R. R. Williams, Superintendent, Plant #4, IBM Corp.; Mr. C. J. Lawson, Assistant General Sales Manager, IBM Corp. (photo courtesy of Ernie Renzel)



IBM moved from their downtown location in four downtown buildings to the Main Plant site at Cottle Road and Monterey Highway and dedicated the new site on May 27th, 1958. Few dreamed of the expansion in store or the effect this would have on what was to become Silicon Valley.

(photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)



10

EDUCATION



10 EDUCATION



Reluctant compliance with an order issued by Governor Diego de Borica on December 17, 1794, made San José the birthplace of California's system of compulsory public education.

Borica, a firm believer in education, had been cogitating this matter since the previous July. To his way of thinking, most of California's social woes stemmed from illiteracy. He therefore decided to impart the rudiments of learning not only to children, but also to soldiers of the guard, commencing with San José.

Alcalde Gabriel Moraga, however, showed no enthusiasm for the project. If anything, he preferred to forget it. Illiterate parents behaved likewise, and children aped the parents.

This brought a sharp letter from Borica to the *Alcalde* in July, 1795. The *Alcalde* was commanded to compel parents to send their children to school and to pay 2½ *reales* a month per child toward support of the teacher in accordance with his original order. Thus, the children could receive instruction "in our Holy Religion, learning at the same time to read and write." Before the month was out, the teacher, Manuel de Vargas was on the job.

Fortunately, de Vargas, a retired San Francisco Presidio sergeant, was accustomed to minor inconveniences. His school, located in the pueblo granary, lacked the appurtenances of an American school of only 75 years later. Paper shortage compelled his pupils to write their lessons upon a coarse-grained wrapping material. The papers were then sent to the governor for inspection and, after correction, the governor, in turn, sent them to the presidios to be used as musket wadding.

As first teacher of the San José school, de Vargas set a staff pattern that continued down the years to American occupation. Teacher after teacher was a military man, routinely retired or *invalido*. The second one, for example, was Alferez (Ensign) José Ramon Lasso de la Vega, who ranked "a cut higher" than his predecessor.

Lasso's qualifications as a school master consisted mainly of an inability to keep his military accounts straight. As *habilitado* (paymaster), he

caused his superiors ten years of concern. At one time, he "managed to leave a deficit of about \$800," which compelled him to live on 25 centavos a day for four years, the rest of his pay going to clear the deficit. In 1781, Governor de Neve was ordered to dismiss him from service if he persisted in his desire to marry. Governor Fages censured Captain Nicolas Soler, inspector of California troops, in 1787 for being too easy on him. The less indulgent Governor Romeu finally suspended him "from rank and pay" as *alferez* in 1791.

Bancroft described Lasso as "a stupid fellow, neither dishonest nor dissipated, always in trouble with his accounts, and always recommended to executive clemency." Yet he was never without friends. Though born in Chihuahua, he came of that lineal Spanish stock which entitled him to be called "Don." In 1794, Lasso successfully applied to the king for retirement. The royal order, forwarded by the viceroy to California, retired him at half his pay as *alferez*.

Lasso's financial bumbling has been better remembered than his teaching skill. Most accounts show him teaching in San José until August, 1797, but they become somewhat sketchy thereafter. No personal bitterness appears in the record of his San José years despite his failing in 1787 to obtain for a second time permission to take a wife. The fact that his petition carried the recommendation of the great *Padre Presidente*, Fermin Lasuén, meant little to authorities who had the final say.

He died at San Rafael November 30, 1821, at the age of 64. After Lasso's departure, large disturbing gaps intermittently appeared in San José's school records. One source observed that the school "resumed" in 1811, with Rafael Villavicencio as master. It failed, however, to mention any educational progress that may have occurred during the interim.

Moreover, little more is known about Villavicencio. Public records show him as a retired corporal and, presumably, a weaver by vocation. The *vecinos del pueblo* entered into a contract with him to teach their children. Governmental authorities at Monterey approved the contract with a few modifications and an addition of two of their own. The governor added a final touch by ordering the *comi-*

EDUCATION

sionado to compel parents to send their children to school, thereby assuring the teacher of a class. His excellency would accept no excuses for anything to the contrary—particularly from women whose opinions he considered frivolous. Then came a record gap that remained unfilled until the town provided a new schoolroom and appointed Antonio Buelna teacher in 1811. Buelna soon lost interest in his position, feeling that a fanega of wheat from each parent with a child in the school was hardly admirable pay for a man of his caliber. He wished to resign, but had to remain until his successor, Rafael del Valle, took over in April, 1820. Del Valle lasted only until December of the same year, and was succeeded by Joaquín Buelna, brother of Antonio, in January, 1821.

Joaquín's flair for verse constituted his chief claim to fame. Besides indicating he could read and write, this talent brought for him the questionable title of California's first poet. He allegedly used it for everything from thanks and eulogy to criticism and self defense.

For example, he did not challenge any of the town's rakes for ogling his beautiful wife. He simply presented to each a bit of stinging verse that sent the culprit away in shame. He also handled Hypolyte Bouchard's pirates in similar manner when they set about looting Monterey in 1818. Instead of resisting the ruffians, he handed them slips of paper, each expressing his contempt for piracy and those who practiced it. The pirates, suspecting him of playing black magic with white paper, hastened to the parish priest to beg forgiveness—at least until they could raid a different port.

After leaving San José in 1822, Joaquín entered a long career in Santa Cruz public affairs, his interests ranging from Pancho Zayante to Pilarcitos.

A one-legged soldier named Labastida followed Joaquín Buelna in July, 1822. He remained only nine months and received such scant notice that even Bancroft's celebrated *Pioneer Register and Index* failed to mention his baptismal name.

Labastida's successor, José Antonio Romero, took over in April, 1823, for 15 pesos a month. His career followed the short term pattern of most of his

predecessors. Monterey records for 1826 show him as a resident of that area, where he displayed considerable interest in politics for the next decade. In 1835, he became grantee of neighboring Rancho de Las Laureles in which he soon lost interest, leaving it to be regranted to José Boronda.

The year 1829 found Antonio Buelna back in San José, this time at a fixed salary of 15 pesos a month instead of a varying number of fanegas of wheat until attracted elsewhere by greater excitement and rewards. During the latter 1830's, his crowded career included command of the San José forces supporting Alvarado's revolt against the national government, participation in the Congress at Santa Barbara, three years service in the *Diputacion*, recipient of Ranches San Gregorio and San Francisquito, and campaigning against Indians and foreigners. He followed this up with a short stint as *juez de paz* at Santa Clara in 1841, and then returned to San José, where he died as *Alcalde* the following year.

Though Antonio's successor, Mariano Duarte, served San José as both *Alcalde* and schoolmaster, nothing in the archives credits him with phenomenal qualifications for either post. As *alcalde*, he got into deep trouble with an easy going woman used as bait in a political trap. He faced at least three charges (described in another chapter), but conflict of trial authority and varying opinions of his guilt or innocence cleared him for the time being. As teacher, his assignment soon ended, and the pueblo school was again without a master.

Then came a break in the long succession of invalids and other retirees from military duty. In February, 1836, San José finally got a professional teacher—José Zenon Fernandez—who had come to California by sea from San Blas with the Hajar-Padres Colony in 1834.

The Hajar-Padres venture failed as a colonizing project, but the great majority of its members fitted nicely into the departmental social structure all the way from San Diego to Sonoma. Among others, besides Fernandez, were such outstanding men as Agustín Olvera, José Abrego, Victor Prudón, Castillo Negrete, José María Covarrubias, and Antonio Coronel. Every one of them held important California

offices under the government of Mexico, and Covarrubias sat in the First Constitutional Convention and First California Legislature under American rule.

These men were the cream of some 250 persons who composed what was probably the highest class of California settlers prior to the American takeover. Fernandez was only one of the several teachers on its roll.

Unfortunately for San José, Fernandez' teaching career ended too soon. He soon entered local politics, serving as secretary of the *Ayuntamiento*, *suplente* (substitute), and *juez de paz*. Then he branched into departmental affairs to distinguish himself as secretary of the *Junta*, "ad interim of the government," and secretary of the Department Assembly, filling the last named office until his death in 1844. He even served as *juez* at Monterey in 1842, at the very time that Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones raised the Stars and Stripes over the Custom House.

In 1841, Fernandez and Manuel Alviso became co-grantees of the 13,309-acre Rancho Quito, whose boundaries enclosed most of the area now occupied by Saratoga and Cupertino. Twenty-five years later, the United States patented it to their heirs.

In Fernandez's successor, San José got a "mystery man." Local histories have shown him simply as "A. A. de Miera y Norena, teaching from April, 1840, to December, 1841." No available pueblo record or the *Pioneer Register and Index* has any more than that to say about him.

José Peña had the honor of being San José's next recorded (or remembered) teacher. His record resembled, in one or two respects, that of Antonio Buelna. He came into prominence as a San Francisco artilleryman in 1822, serving as such until his retirement as lieutenant in 1844. As a politician, he concurrently served as elector in 1830; as an educator, he taught in San Francisco and Santa Clara before coming to San José at the age of 64 in 1841, for a year or two more of the same vocation. He also won notice in 1841 as grantee of the 8,418-acre Rancho Rincon de San Francisquito, which embraced most of the territory between the present Mountain View and Palo Alto.

Even his wife, the former Gertrudis Lorenzana, called attention to his name. According to family tradition, she died in 1865 at the age of 107, but other sources set 80 as closer to correct.

In 1844, Mariano Duarte again took over the San José school, this time at the highly inflated salary of 480 pesos a year. He now had a co-educational institution, which may have led to his downfall. Though 68 years of age, married, and the father of several children, he seems to have fallen for one of his female students. Accused, tried, and convicted of seduction, he ended his days as a convict laborer in San Francisco.

Manuel Gutierrez had the honor of being San José's next teacher. Contemporary annals neglected to identify him sufficiently for posterity, connecting him with other events and positions neither here nor elsewhere. Yet it was he who added the final sentence to the story of the school founded in the pueblo granary 61 years earlier. He served from November, 1845, to July, 1846. When he dismissed his last class, education of the young in this community passed to a new people and culture.

Captain Fallon's raising the American flag over the *Juzgado* heralded a new era in educating the young of San José. American pioneers took much more enthusiastically to mastering the "three R's" than did their Spanish-speaking predecessors. English speaking schools began to appear in what, for time and place, might be termed rapid succession. In December, 1846, Mrs. Olive Mann Isbell opened the first one in all California for the children of her overland immigrant party who had taken shelter in a disused adobe at Mission Santa Clara.

San José opened its first American school in the *Juzgado* early in 1847. Its teacher, William Daniels, was an Englishman who had also come overland in 1846. And its appurtenances were not much better than Mrs. Isbell's. The "classroom" was separated from the jail cell only by a crude adobe wall and barred window, which permitted curious prisoners to see what was "going on next door." The curriculum seems to have been limited to the "three R's" and the *New Testament*. Seventy years later, Mrs. Elizabeth

EDUCATION

McCracken, who had attended this school as a seven-year-old girl, remembered that it did not last long.

A second attempt to establish a school here occurred about a year later. The proponents of this institution intended to locate it on San Pedro Street, between San Augustine and San Fernando, but their ambition exceeded their sense of timing. The 1848 intrastate gold rush was on, and not a teacher was available anywhere in California.

The situation remained about the same in 1849, when the Gold Rush, Constitutional Convention, and First Legislature overshadowed all local plans for development of a school system. Before September 26, when the Constitutional Convention designated San José as the first capital of the proposed state of California, practically everyone who could handle a pick and shovel headed for the gold mines. After that date, all those with major political ambitions streaked to San José. They helped to swell the town's population from a few hundred to 4,000 almost overnight.

Occasionally, however, a determined few had time to discuss the need for schools. On March 12, Lyman attended a meeting apparently devoted to establishing a school. His diary entry for that day noted:

Eve. Meeting held to see about hiring Mr. Douglas; was Chairman of the meeting. Fourteen hundred dollars were subscribed on the spot. Twenty-five hundred were voted to be raised. The Committee appointed were Messrs. Dimmick, Cory, Bassham, Campbell, Hoppe & myself. Three school Trustees were also appointed viz Dimmick, Hoppe & myself.

Mr. "Douglas" was the Reverend John W. Douglas who became founding pastor of San José's First Presbyterian Church the following October. William Warren Ferrier's *Ninety Years of Education in California* says of him, "... Mr. Douglas began private school work in San José on March, 1849; but after carrying it on a few weeks, found a man to whom he consigned that enterprise." Unfortunately, this consignment was of short duration because the consignee was only "temporarily in California."

On November 30, Lyman stayed overnight at the Berreyesa home on Rancho Rincon de los Esteros

(Alviso). His diary entry that evening simply stated, "Rev. Mr. Blakeslee came from the Pueblo & stopped overnight, talked of a college."

The Reverend Samuel V. Blakeslee, a Congregational missionary, had just come across the Plains to California. On getting his bearings at Sacramento, he came on to San José to establish a state university here as soon as the Legislature could provide the legal machinery. Meanwhile, he would do his best to fill the town's elementary education vacuum.

Fortunately for his elementary project, Blakeslee had made the acquaintance of Dr. and Mrs. Louis Hazelton Bascom, bound for San José via San Francisco on the same boat he had taken from Sacramento. Mrs. Bascom, fondly remembered as "Grandma Bascom," was a warm-hearted Kentuckian of the most hospitable type. She not only fed and lodged a lot of freeloading senators and assemblymen in her San José home at Second and San Antonio Streets, but she also provided Blakeslee with a blue denim tent that served the multiple purpose of public school, Sunday school, and church. "I sewed every stitch of it with my own hands," she said.

This quaint structure and its preceptor elicited much favorable comment from the public. In February, 1850, Douglas mentioned it in a letter to the Reverend Samuel H. Willey, a New School Presbyterian at Monterey. "By the way," he wrote, "Mr. Blakeslee is taking among the *Mestizos* as a teacher. He makes them sing the multiplication table and 'Morning Bells,' etc., keeps them long and late, and gets along with their tempers, etc.; and I believe is a good teacher."

Civil and mining engineer Sherman Day, son of Yale University President Jeremiah Day, viewed the Blue Tent school in a more sentimental light tinged with homesickness. In 1884, he recalled his early experiences in San José, noting:

I had left half a dozen children at my home in Brooklyn, New York; and when the scholars of the Blue Tent were turned out to play, I could recognize the voices of each of my children; and when they sang their morning hymn it seemed like the choir of my own family.

Day, incidentally, played an important part in San José's educational drama, but the same as Blakeslee, he was primarily interested in establishing a state university. When not working toward this end with others, he found time for a distinguished professional career. On graduating from Yale in 1826, he designed the famous Plymouth Church of Brooklyn before coming to California as a Forty-niner. In 1855, he explored the Johnson Cutoff (now U. S. 50) and Carson Pass wagon roads across the Sierra Nevada, recommending and surveying the former as the more practicable for winter travel. He also superintended the New Almaden Mine, served two years in the State Senate, surveyed much of the first railroad between San José and Sacramento, and served as United State Surveyor General.

Neither Blakeslee nor Day saw fulfillment of his dream of a state university in San José. Blakeslee soon left to preach and teach in Marysville, and Day concentrated on making a name for himself as in engineering and politics. Both had long since moved to distant places before the Legislature got around to establishing such an institution not in San José but in Berkeley in 1868.

In 1851, however, the state's lawmakers passed an act making possible the establishment of a public elementary school in San José. The following year, this institution, supported by a parental subscription of \$185, boasted a \$75 shanty schoolhouse.

The closest thing to a university in San José at that time was the Reverend Edward Bannister's English and Classical School, founded on the southeast corner of Second and San Fernando Streets in December, 1850. The following announcement regarding this school appeared in the *Weekly Visitor* on September 8, 1851:

The trustees of the San José Academy desire to inform the public that the English and Classical School, which has been in operation in this city during the past nine months, under the care of the Rev. E. Bannister, A.M., is to be enlarged and made permanent under the appellation of the San José Academy. For this purpose the institution has been incorporated according to

law and placed under control of a board of trustees.

Besides a "thorough training in the common English branches," this school offered Latin, Greek, French and Spanish. It also gave "suitable prominence" to "chemistry, physiology, botany, geology, zoology and other branches of natural science."

The San José Academy was a co-educational institution from its beginning. "The young ladies, the *Visitor* announced, "will be under the immediate charge of a preceptress, who will try to improve the manners as well as to inform the mind of the pupils."

Before the year was out, the Academy boasted about 60 students. The *Visitor* of December 5, 1851, reported its first graduation exercise, which was probably the first ceremony of its kind in the State of California. The editor opined that he had "seldom spent a more pleasant hour than (that) passed by him at the commencement exercises." The program consisted mainly of "declamations, compositions and music."

Through the English and Classical School, the San José Academy was a forerunner of the University of the Pacific, founded in Santa Clara in 1851. According to the late University of the Pacific historian Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, the Academy "was not under official patronage of the Methodist Church." But its principal, Edward Bannister, was a Methodist minister, and its academic atmosphere was distinctly Methodist. Moreover, it had the approval of the Reverend Isaac Owen, first superintendent of the Methodist Church in California.

Bannister had come to California under orders to establish a college of Methodist persuasion. As a founder of the University of the Pacific, he soon moved to Santa Clara, leaving Professor James Monroe Kimberlin in charge of the San José Academy.

Kimberlin, a Virginian, was a highly capable administrator and teacher who left to posterity long enduring evidence of his proficiency in Greek. The *Visitor* of May 3, 1852, carried an ad showing him as principal of the Academy and his wife as preceptress. But he stayed with the Academy only "two terms" before being transferred to the University of the

EDUCATION

Pacific, where his efforts were necessary to keep the university from "going under" during the twelve hardest years of its existence.

The San José Academy succumbed not long after Kimberlin's departure, leaving little more than a much later placed historical marker to testify to its erstwhile presence.

Other private schools, however, came and went for some time thereafter. For example, the Civil and Military School under Colonel Charles A. Seefeld, Frederick Mooshake and Hipolito Adler was mentioned in November, 1852. The Bascom Institute, a Methodist school for girls, lasted from 1853 to 1859. Perhaps the most notable exception in the long procession of "ephemerals" was the College of Notre Dame, a Roman Catholic institution founded on August 4, 1851. It occupied its original campus on the north side of West Santa Clara Street, between what is now North Almaden Street and Santa Teresa Street, until it moved to Belmont, California in 1923.

But despite the efforts of numerous public-spirited citizens, the establishment of a genuine *public* school system in San José had not been hurried along. Neither the State nor the County showed any inclination to rush the job—even though the First Constitutional Convention had provided for a common school system by setting aside public lands for its support.

On December 21, 1849, Governor Burnett did not utter one word on public education when delivering his first gubernatorial message to the Legislature. He chose to stress civil and criminal codes instead.

Finally, on April 9, 1850, Senator Elcan Heydenfeldt of San Francisco presented a bill entitled an "Act Concerning Public Schools and Public Instruction." It was read on presentation, re-read on April 11, and postponed until January 1 of the following year.

On April 15—six days after Heydenfeldt presented his bill—Assemblyman W. Grove Deal of Sacramento presented a bill entitled an "Act Relating to Public Schools." It was postponed indefinitely. The committee reporting on it, which included Dr. Benjamin Cory of San José, felt that there were too

many other urgent matters demanding their immediate attention.

The proponents of education did not win a single point until the general election of October 7, 1850, when John G. Marvin was elected California's first superintendent of public instruction. Governor Burnett noted Marvin's election, but still questioned the proponent's zeal for establishment of a common school system as mandated by the Constitution. Moreover, his second annual message, delivered to the Legislature on January 7, 1851, convinced no one that education stood high on his list of the state's necessities.

The Legislature took its first constructive step in the educational field when it passed a bill "concerning common schools" on May 1, 1851—San José's last day as state capital. But it was a bill that had to be revised against much opposition at the 1852 Session. Its good points provided a "state school tax of five cents per \$100 and a county tax not exceeding two cents per \$100" in addition to allotting three school commissioners to each township. They also designated the county assessor "ex-officio County Superintendent of Schools."

But everything was held up by an error that could not be corrected until the 1853 Session. The clerk who engrossed the document meticulously listed all the county superintendent's duties, but overlooked the section creating his office.

When this error was corrected, County Assessor J. H. Morgan, elected in 1852, automatically became Santa Clara County's first superintendent of schools.

Meanwhile, since the engrossing clerk's error seemed to have no effect on the rest of the bill, Santa Clara County went ahead with the business of its township commissioners. As each of its eight townships took the designation of a numbered school district, San José became No. 4, with Jacob D. Hoppe, Henry C. Skinner and C. J. Whiting as its commissioners.

A notice in the *Santa Clara Register* of March 15, 1853, informed the public that a school had been opened here "under the supervision of Horace Richardson, an able and competent teacher." A similar

notice in the *Register* of May 26 reported that Richardson, a Baptist preacher, had left San José with intent of returning to the ministry, and had been succeeded by Orrin F. Hinds. A lengthy letter in the same paper on June 30 ascribed this turn of events to a shortage of money.

State funds had not proved so abundant as County Superintendent Morgan and San José's school commissioners had anticipated. To pay Richardson's salary, the Common Council suggested that he bill his pupils' parents on a pro rata basis, but he preferred to wait until state funds were available.

In any event, the city had a one-room schoolhouse that must have mirrored the condition of the municipal treasury. McMurry, who called it a "\$75 shack," said it was built "on the Plaza" near what became the site of the 1887 City Hall. Earlier writers agree that it was "on the Plaza," but they place it anywhere from "near" or "at" San Fernando Street to San Carlos Street. And all of them could have been right, depending on the period they were covering.

There would be no repetition of the "Richardson crisis," however. The 1853 Legislature amended the school law to empower the Common Council to levy taxes upon real and personal property for support of the city's schools. Editor Francis B. Murdoch of the *Register* approvingly noted this, saying, "This useful act confers upon the City (sic) Council many important powers, which we hope to see that body act upon promptly and intelligently..."

There is no question that the Council acted promptly. The minutes of its meetings began to note everything conceivable for the maintenance and regulation of an efficient school system—even to an ordinance for outhouses on the school grounds.

October 8, 1855, brought the biggest boost of all. The State finally got its educational affairs into order, and San José and six other Santa Clara County school districts began to draw State funds for the first time.

This assured income enabled San José to add a couple of finishing touches to its own program. On April 7, 1856, the Common Council passed an ordinance entitled "An Ordinance to establish and regu-

late a system of Common Schools for the City of San José." The Council soon amended this ordinance to include a "City Board of Education" and a "City Superintendent of Common Schools." Thus the Reverend Eli Corwin, a Presbyterian minister who had been serving as acting superintendent, became San José's first official superintendent of schools.

Neither the board nor the superintendent was an independent entity. Both were answerable to the Common Council until the city adopted a city manager form of government in 1916. But after 1856, San José's chief educational problem was supplying enough school facilities for the children of a fast growing community.

The 1853 school "on the Plaza" had hardly been assured of its continuance when another came into existence near the northwest corner of Third and Santa Clara Streets in the fall of 1854. It was taught by Freeman Gates, and, as Hall exulted, made "two public schools... in the city."

As the City's school funds increased, District 2's school moved to a two-room schoolhouse of its own in the northeast corner of St. James Square. It stayed there until 1868, when it moved to the Santa Clara Street School, and St. James Square became St. James Park the following year.

Another two-room school came into existence in the southwest corner of Washington Square (northeast corner of Fourth and San Carlos Streets) in January, 1857. Theodore Brohaska, who attended it in the 1860's, called it a "dame school," indicating that a woman was its teacher if it was a one-teacher school, or its principal if it had two more classes. He also referred to it as "Miss Price's School" because Miss Fanny M. Price was its principal—just as the Market Square school was called "Mrs. Bassett's School" because Mrs. E. J. Bassett was its principal.

According to Brohaska, the appurtenances of the Washington Square School were fairly primitive. The building's exterior siding was of rough unsurfaced lumber, which, as a child, he likened unto a log cabin. A man named McCort delivered a daily bucket of drinking water from a barrel mounted on a cart. Everybody drank from the same bucket, with the same dipper, and caught the same cold.

EDUCATION

The most exciting—or stressful—event in the history of this school came in 1868 when the Santa Clara & Pajaro Valley Railroad (now Southern Pacific) was building southward along Fourth Street. Miss Price had all she could do in controlling her class when the iron horse passed by during school hours. And it was just as hard to keep the youngsters off the tracks at other times, a nuisance that ended forever when the school burned down in 1871.

In March, 1858, the Common Council divided the city into two school districts, each with three trustees. All of the area south of Santa Clara Street became District No. 1; all north of that street, District No. 2.

In the meantime, the newspapers had diligently noted other Council activities appertaining to schools. The City was not only buying suitable lots for erection of schoolhouses, but was also temporarily renting space in business buildings for school use. Schools had become urgent business by 1860, when Hall wrote, "The School fund this year for San José was two thousand four hundred and ninety dollars and eighty-five cents." And this was while the City was deeply in debt as described in another chapter.

Most of these lots and rented premises were fairly close to the center of town. But in January, 1866, construction of a two-room \$1,470 schoolhouse commenced on the west side of Thirteenth (now North Fifteenth) Street between Julian and Washington. Known as the Thirteenth Street School, it was San José's only school north of St. John and east of Third Street for eleven years.

Because the Thirteenth Street School was a primary school, pupils of the upper elementary grades were "farmed out" to the St. James Square and Washington Square Schools, but beginning in 1868, they all entered the newly opened Santa Clara Street School.

Construction of the two-story, eight room Second Ward School at Tenth and Empire Streets in 1877 ended the Thirteenth Street School's existence. The Thirteenth Street teachers and pupils moved to the new ward school, and their former schoolhouse was moved to the Santa Clara Street School's yard for

89 years of additional service. After successively serving as Santa Clara Street, Horace Mann, and Adult Education classrooms, it was razed in 1966, its centennial year.

In January, 1867, the City bought a block of six 50-vara lots on the north side of Santa Clara Street between Sixth and Seventh for \$3,350, and construction of the first of San José's *big* school buildings began soon as the papers were signed.

Known as the Santa Clara Street School until its name was changed to Horace Mann in 1892, this building remained a San José showplace until its destruction by the 1906 earthquake. Three stories high, it measured 64 x 75 feet in width and length, and boasted a mansard roof. It had enough well lighted and ventilated classrooms to accommodate the San José High School in addition to all the upper grade elementary pupils who had been attending the St. James and Washington Square schools. Its library, assembly hall, recitation room, and special room for teachers were the envy of every other school in the valley.

Except for kindergartens and "special schools," the year 1869 signaled the closing of San José's era of small schoolhouses. On December 16 of that year, the City bought a large lot on the west side of Pleasant Street "south of Julian," and soon began construction of the first public school in the First Ward.

This school, officially named the Pleasant Street School, was of short duration. By 1874, when Miss Sarah Beach was principal, its district was ready for something larger. Also, the City had begun to "think big" in school affairs, as indicated by construction of the big ward schools that characterized that decade and absorbed their small predecessors.

Commencing in 1870, four ward schools were built and dedicated by 1877—one for each of the city's four wards, which came into existence in the following order:

Ward	Year Built	Cost
Third	1870-71	\$16,000
Fourth	1874	\$18,000
First	1875	\$20,000
Second	1877	\$19,000

All of these buildings were two stories high except that of the First Ward, which boasted three stories. Each was surmounted by an imposing bell tower, and each had eight classrooms, a large assembly hall, and most other appurtenances and conveniences of the day. All were of frame construction and built of the finest lumber.

Though all of these schools took their official names from the wards they served, the public often referred to them by street names. The Second Ward School, for example, had the appellation of Empire Street School—or even Empire School—because it was on the north side of Empire Street between Tenth and Eleventh. And because the Third Ward School stood on the south side of Reed Street between Sixth and Seventh, old-timers of that neighborhood often called it the Reed Street School and, occasionally, Reed Street Grammar School.

The Fourth Ward's old-timers used the appellation "Bloody Fourth Ward," which sometimes left a listener wondering whether they meant the school or the ward. It supposedly derived from the area's "tough kids" who were noticeably adept at bloodying one another's noses.

But so far as can be ascertained, the First Ward School, on the west side of Terraine Street between Julian and Divine, got along fine without appellations or nicknames of any kind. And it did not need either. Tyler Beach's 1892 renaming program changed the First Ward School's names to Longfellow; The Second Ward's to Grant; the Third Ward's to Lowell; the Fourth Ward's to Lincoln; and the Santa Clara Street's to Horace Mann. The 1889 Oak Street School, on the south side of Oak Street between Sherman and Prospect, had its name changed to Washington—a fitting honor for the city's last *big* elementary school of the 19th Century.

As authors James and McMurphy noted, the San José schools were crowded in the 1880's, but there was more advancement in curriculum than in construction. Manual training (industrial education) was introduced here in the form of printing instruction in 1881. Adult Education, which had been "hanging on" in one form or another since 1860, had evening classes in 1883 for daytime working persons and

foreigners. A two year experiment with a three-division primary, grammar, and high school arrangement in 1883 resulted in a good eight-grade elementary system in 1885.

Even kindergartens came in for increasing attention. The 1886 Second Street Kindergarten between St. James and Julian Street, and the 1890 Guadalupe Street Kindergarten, on the west side of what is now South Market Street between San Fernando and San Carlos, to form "The second kindergarten system on the coast . . . Of the nine kindergartens listed in the 1896 *City Directory*, seven were within the corporate limits of the city. Among the best remembered of those that survived well into the 20th Century were the Sara B. Cooper, Emma Marwedel, and Peabody.

San José got through the 1890's with no new elementary schools, but the San José High School, which had no "home of its own" for more than thirty years, became the pride of the Board of Education in 1898.

This institution might have been twenty or twenty-five years later in coming if civil engineer John Joseph Bowen had not been teacher and principal of District 2's school in 1863-65. Soon after assuming his duties, Bowen discovered he had a sizeable number of pupils who were more than ready for high school work and, on his own authority, began instructing them in high school subjects. Word of his remarkable progress with them soon reached the *San José Patriot* and the Board of Education. On January 6, 1864, the *Patriot* reported:

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—The San José Board of Education have resolved to trade the schools and place the most advanced scholars of both schools in a distinct school under the immediate charge of Mr. J. J. Bowen, a gentleman who has shown himself eminently qualified for the important duties of the position. This school will be a high school—the High School of our San José common school system.

High School of Our San José Common School System

After praising the Board of its "wise and proper"

EDUCATION

action in satisfying the city's educational needs, the *Patriot* further noted:

The Board has secured a large hall upstairs, over the store of Mr. Orbon, opposite the foundry, for the school room, and it is now being fitted up for the high school.

The "store of Mr. Orbon," a grocery belonging to J. G. Orbon, was located on the southeast corner of First and San Antonio Streets. It was sometimes referred to as "Orbon's Flour Store" because Orbon was the downtown agent for Orange Flour, a product of the Orange Mills on the Guadalupe River at River and San Fernando Streets.

There was no intention, however, that the Orbon building should be a permanent location. The *Patriot* stressed that it was a "temporary arrangement" and that the citizenry must soon provide a "large and well arranged building for educational purposes."

Getting such a building at that time was no easy task. It would cost \$25,000. The Civil War was in full swing, and money and materials were scarce. Yet, on March 7, 1864 San José staged what may still rank as its bitterest bond election—a contest well laced with religious intolerance and national sectionalism. After a lengthy description of the hard work and frustrating difficulties encountered by the campaigners for the bonds, the *Patriot* of March 9 summed up the result:

It was necessary to success that this effort should be made, for the most formidable opposition was raised against it. Almost the entire Catholic and secession vote of the city went against the issuing of the bonds, and not a few Union loving citizens. But the triumph of the schools was complete. The vote cast was 510 as follows:

For issuing the bonds 295

Against issuing the bonds 215

But the high school had to put up with improvised quarters until its hoped-for home, the Santa Clara Street School building, was ready for occupancy on January 1, 1868; And even after that, J. J. Bowen's successors were sorely inconvenienced twice. When the State Normal School arrived in San José a few weeks before its own building on Washington Square

was completed in 1871, it "borrowed" a portion of the Santa Clara Street school facilities for "a few weeks." Then, when fire reduced the Normal School to a heap of ashes on February 10, 1880, the Board of Education generously invited it back to the Santa Clara Street School for a much longer period during which the High School squeezed itself into the already overcrowded Third Ward School.

The Pioneer of May 29, 1880, commended the Board's generosity, but censured it for being so generous at the expense of the local school system.

But after 1880, the High School stayed uninterruptedly in the Santa Clara Street building until it moved into its own \$100,000 three-story brick and stone structure on the southwest corner of Seventh and San Fernando Streets in 1898. There, it became San José's finest showplace, something for all visitors and tourists, including Mayor M. P. Snyder of Los Angeles, to admire. Thousands of post card photos of it were mailed to points all over the nation until the 1906 earthquake suddenly turned it into piles of brick and hopelessly shattered walls. And additional thousands showing it in ruins were mailed after the shake.

Dust from the wreckage had hardly cleared when plans for four new school buildings were coming off the drawing board. The High School's principal, Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt asked for a big building and got it—right on the site of the destroyed one. On June 1, 1907, the *Mercury* reported that the construction contract had been awarded, and a "follow through" on September 9 showed the work well under way. Stories appearing on the 8th, 9th, and 11th described the laying of the cornerstone.

On June 18, 1908, San José dedicated its two-story \$175,000 High School, a spacious, spread out structure of mission revival architectural style with two bell towers and long arcades. The arcades extended along the insides of the building's many roomed wings and across the front of the great centrally located auditorium that dominated the whole.

This structure served as San José's only high school from 1908 to 1952 and at one time housed more than 2800 students. Everyone who ever studied

within its walls remembered it whether outstanding faculty member or student. To them it was the school of R. B. "Maj" Leland, Professor Gleason, "Prof" P. M. Weddell, Coach Lou Vogt, Neil Petree, Cornelia Farley, Mary Stuart Center, Roy Chittick, Bill Martin, Hal Rhyne, Ernie Still, "Eph" Engelman, and a host of others constituting a non plus ultra collection of teachers and students.

The *Mercury* of May 24, 1916, reported that San José High was adding a new wing to the west side of its building to accommodate its fast growing student body. It was drawing students from every foot of corporate San José and from miles of outlying territory on all four sides. But no relief reached its bulging walls until the introduction of junior high schools in the 1920's. The situation was further alleviated when the Abraham Lincoln High School opened on Dana Avenue with 590 students in 1942, and still more alleviated when Willow Glen High School opened on Cottle Avenue with 552 students in 1950.

But any relief after that was short-lived. By then, the influx of population that began with the opening of World War II was in full swing, and San José's school system had all it could do to keep up in all departments for decades to come.

Meanwhile, on November 2, 1952, San José High dedicated a new, larger and more adequate building on a far roomier campus at a total cost of \$2,775,000. There, it confidently faced a future filled with problems that unceasingly threatened to overwhelm it.

But as San José's corporate boundaries began to spread in all directions across the valley floor with the post war population influx, so did those of the San José Unified School District, organized in 1946 under an ordinance passed two years earlier. New schools had sprung up almost everywhere in the Unified District's jurisdiction—and in outlying districts susceptible to annexation.

Annexation of outside areas, which began in 1911, had already brought several schools into San José, all from uninhabited areas. Now the city was ready to spread into uninhabited areas, which presented legal problems.

An uninhabited area was defined as an area with fewer than five voters. With "tacit approval of the property owners," it could be annexed on motion of the City Council. On the other hand, annexation of an inhabited area required an affirmative election by its voters.

Yet, as George Starbird, President of the City Council from 1954 to 1956, indicated in his *The New Metropolis*, both could be vexing. School authorities in the uninhabited areas resorted to "almost any means" to forestall annexation—"strong-arming developers, financing counteraction, anything." Annexation of inhabited areas was "hampered substantially by the opposition of abutting school districts." Annexation "took away their assessed valuation and forced people from their old district into the San José Unified," a practice that usually resulted in stalemate.

This problem was finally solved by the State Legislature with passage of Assembly Bill No. 1 (AB1) in 1954, which made it "possible for a city to have other than a Unified District in it . . ." Thereafter, the Unified District's officials had only to keep up with problems that seemed to demand more buildings, more health facilities, more teachers, and more funds with each passing year.

A report published by the Santa Clara County Office of Education in September, 1968, showed 49 schools of elementary, junior high, and high school classification within the San José Unified's jurisdiction. The hammer and saw of the builder were still heard throughout the entire area. And before construction eased enough to permit the system to consolidate its gains, City School Superintendent Earle P. Crandall ran low on names for schools still in the planning or envisioning stage. He therefore requested the San José Historic Landmarks Commission to supply two long lists of pioneer and other early citizens for namesake use.

But two other threads were necessary to complete San José's public educational fabric up to that time: (1) Adult Education for mature working persons who wished to obtain an elementary or secondary schooling; (2) college education for those who wished to enter teaching or other professions.

EDUCATION

Adult Education got its start in San José on July 28, 1860, when the Board of Education passed the following resolution:

Resolved that J. C. Black, Esq., be allowed to occupy District School No. 1 for ten nights for the purpose of a writing school.

John Calvin Black, a prominent San José lawyer, was an expert penman who felt that penmanship was something that everyone should master. But instead of emulating J. J. Bowen who surreptitiously slipped high school work to his pupils, Black went straight to the Board of Education for permission to promote his idea.

Black's writing class early gained public notice and resulted in what was popularly called "the Night School." But it apparently did not figure prominently enough to win a permanent place in the *City Directory* until 1874, when it was in the Santa Clara Street schoolhouse with William Walker Kennedy as its teacher. Its next noteworthy location was 230 (later 242) north Second Street, where it was variously known as "Night School," "Evening School," and McKinley School (Evening). The year 1916, however, found it comfortably settled into the San José High School building at Seventh and San Fernando Streets, its home for the next thirty-six years. There, under the principalship of Mrs. Daisy Fox Desmond, it became the San José Evening School, which offered both elementary and secondary courses, plus naturalization classes for foreign-born students. "Practical Education," as Sawyer called machine shop and woodworking classes, remained in the main High School building only until the Polytechnic (later called Technical) High School, just across Seventh Street, was built in 1921.

By then, as Sawyer wrote in 1922, the San José Evening High School had an enrollment of 3,396, with an average nightly attendance of 700. The activities were directed by Mrs. Nellie Chope who had succeeded Mrs. Desmond as principal. Mrs. Chope was especially interested in her "Americanization Classes," but she continued to develop other courses until David Loring Mackaye took over for her in 1929.

Under Mackaye's direction, the little "Night School's" posterity became a large division of the San

José Department of Education. He was a fervent believer in Adult Education, a phenomenon that entered the Anerucab educational vocabulary after organization of the American Association for Adult Education in Chicago in 1926. As a first class innovator and no mincer or waster of words, he changed the name of the San José Evening High to San José Adult Center, which public usage boiled down to unadorned Adult Center. He also built up the school's library from one book—Pearl Buck's *Good Earth*—to a repository of several thousand volumes. And to those, he added many thousands of 35mm Kodachrome slides to facilitate the teaching of history, geography and science.

Mackaye's innovation of history and geography field trips, organized under the title of Environmental Studies, became one of the Adult Center's most popular offerings. From their humble beginnings as "jalopy caravans" exploring Santa Clara County in the early 1930's, they survived the Great Depression and World War II to range the entire nation by chartered Greyhound Bus. Moreover, not one cent of their traveling expense was charged to the general public; the students, fully protected by insurance, paid their own way.

The first of these groups took the name of Adult Center Vagabonds. They were led by Mackaye at first, but later went out with other members of the faculty. Another group, known as Adult Center Argonauts, came into existence in 1963 under direction of Mary Little Mueller. Its trips were fairly restricted to straight history of the American West, narrated by a qualified instructor who inserted enough Nature Study to afford a more comprehensive of the areas studied.

After Mackaye's retirement in 1954, his policies and programs were carried on by his successor, H. Price Webb. And after Webb's death from a heart attack in 1962, Dr. Raymond McCall served as interim director until the appointment of Mr. Leland Clark in 1963.

By the late 1960's, the Adult Center had grown into a fast spreading institution whose administrators were talking of an enrollment of 10,000 or more. It had established "branch" centers in almost every

schoolhouse in San José and had for many years been drawing students from Campbell, Santa Clara, Milpitas and more distant areas. Solution of the administrative and jurisdictional problems created by such growth resulted in a change of name in 1967—from San José Adult Center to Metropolitan Adult Education Program. It had indeed become something far beyond the dream that Mr. Black had for his writing school in 1860.

Anyone who linked the founding of San José State College with the California Gold Rush of 1849-55 would not be wrong. The thousands of Argonauts coming West during those years included a noteworthy number of school teachers bent on trying their luck in the diggings. But George Washington Minns, a Harvard graduate who arrived in California on February 8, 1855, got no farther than San Francisco. There he opened a law practice that quickly succumbed to the nationwide depression of that year.

Fortunately, however, he obtained a position as teacher of natural sciences in the newly opened Union Grammar School. Minns was ready and well qualified for this break, and for what came later. San Francisco could build schools, but it was in sore need of teachers. Families arriving from the East brought many children with them and more soon arrived. Former teachers who abandoned mining for employment in "the settlements" were "rusty"; they had been too long out of touch with the latest methods and advancements in the educational field.

To correct this situation, Minns, supported by the San Francisco Board of Education, opened California's first normal school in 1857 under the name of Minns' Evening Normal School. The Board's records reveal the important part it played in fashioning the city's schools into an efficient system. It not only brought old teachers up to date, but also trained new ones.

Minns' school was publicly supported from its beginning, and when it became the California State Normal school on May 2, 1862, it received full state support.

As a state normal school, this institution remained in San Francisco nine years, during which

time it occupied and abandoned half a dozen buildings. Finally, State Superintendent of Schools O. P. Fitzgerald concluded that San Francisco was no place for a normal school. He also recommended in 1870 that it be moved to San José in preference to several other communities that hoped to get it. He, Governor Henry H. Haight and the school's principal, William Thomas Lucky, visited San José early in April of that year to select a site from the a list of several the Common Council had offered. Their choice of Washington Square, bounded by San Fernando, San Carlos, Fourth and Seventh Streets, proved satisfactory to the school's trustees who met at Sacramento on the 25th of that month to discuss construction of buildings.

All discussions regarding the San José site ended on August 20, when the trustees passed the following resolution:

"Resolved," That the board of trustees of the State Normal School do hereby accept the donation by the Common Council of the City of San Jose of the property known as "Washington Square" in the City of San Jose for the location of the California State Normal School; and that C. T. Ryland, Esq., record the deed to said property.

The cornerstone laying for the first building on the San José campus took place on October 20, 1870. It was an impressive ceremony conducted by the Grand Lodge, F. & A. M., of California, assisted by the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. The program began with a grand parade, led by the San José Cornet Band, from the Auzerais House along Santa Clara, First, and San Antonio Streets to Washington Square. There, Principal Lucky, a Methodist minister, gave the invocational prayer, and State Superintendent Fitzgerald, who always had a warm spot in his heart for San José, delivered the main speech of the day. Almost everyone else who had a responsible part spoke, declaimed or offered a few words before the program ended.

A slight hitch in the relocation project occurred in 1871, as noted elsewhere. The Normal School arrived in San José a year before its building was completed, which compelled it to occupy temporary

EDUCATION

quarters for a while in two of the city's elementary schoolhouses.

This did not prevent the Normal School holding its first graduation exercise in San José on March 28, 1872, when a class of 17 seniors received their diplomas. And among those recipients was Charles Edwin Markham who became an internationally famous poet.

The Normal School moved into its new building on July 7, 1872, ready for the long distinguished career that has since characterized its existence. Under the successive principalships and presidencies of Lucky, Charles H. Allen, Charles W. Childs, Ambrose H. Randall and James McNaughton, the school got through its first 30 years in San Jose with only one threat to its permanence. For a short time after the fire of February 10, 1880, destroying its building, many San Joseans feared that some other ambitious California community might "steal" their school. The State, however, felt differently. On April 12, the Legislature voted \$100,000 in restoration funds to which it added \$50,000 received from the burned structure's insurance company.

Levi Goodrich was architect for the new building whose construction got under way three months after the fire. He produced a well-planned structure, designed along Ionic lines and built of brick. It was larger outside and better arranged inside than the original building. When the students moved into it on May 2, 1881, the State had received its money's worth, and the trustees returned \$1,063.05 of unexpended construction funds. This building served well until the great earthquake of 1906 ended its usefulness along with many other seemingly indestructible buildings in the city.

Meanwhile, other new buildings began to appear on the campus. The most notable of them was the Normal Training School, a massive two story gray structure between the main building and Seventh Street, erected at a cost of \$37,000. In it, student teachers received training in real classrooms with real children, for the school was an integral part of the San Jose School system. In later years, this building was connected by a glass-enclosed bridge with an annex fronting on Seventh Street.

The "death sentence" of this double structure came in May, 1933. Dr. Benjamin F. Gilbert of the college's History Department succinctly described its last six months with a quotation from the *San José Mercury* of October 20 of that year:

Phantom-like and austere with its gaping windows innocent of glass, the stately relic of 18th [sic] Century architecture, has stood unused for the last six months awaiting demolition.

But long before this—in 1887—the California State Normal School in San José became the San José State Normal School. It survived the 1906 earthquake, more or less intact, except for the main building. According to the *Daily Herald* of April 20, it lost "a few bunches of bricks at different places and number of fissures appeared in the walls." It therefore remained fenced off and unoccupied until an official commission inspected it the following September and pronounced it unfit for further use.

In the meantime, classes continued in the "safe" slightly affected Normal Training School building and in a number of hastily constructed shacks forming a quadrangle elsewhere on the grounds.

On January 7, 1907, Governor George C. Pardee recommended that the Legislature appropriate \$250,000 (later raised to \$310,000) for a new building. While plans for this replacement were still under way, the college trustees let a contract for razing and removing the old structure.

The cornerstone ceremonies for the new building took place on June 23, 1909, and work proceeded apace under supervision of George B. MacDougal and Nathaniel Ellery of the State Department of Engineering. The main speech of the several delivered on the occasion was given by Columbia University's psychology professor Edward L. Thorndike. His subject, "The Contribution of Charles Darwin to Psychology," differed somewhat from the traditional theme for cornerstone ceremonies.

More than any other person in the audience, President Morris Elmer Dailey appreciated the significance of the Normal School cornerstone ceremony of that day. "We have been waiting for three years to lay the cornerstone of our Normal School," he said.

"Our waiting has been done," he continued, "in temporary buildings which were far from adequate for our needs. We now have in sight a magnificent new Normal School Building..."

Following an inspection tour with State Engineer Ellery on August 31, 1910, the school's trustees accepted the building and its power plant, built at a total cost of \$325,994.

Reporting the story of the new building's completion must have taxed a *Mercury* writer's knowledge of architectural nomenclature. Among other things, he noted, "The building's style is the *Art Nouveau*, and combines examples of the Moorish, Gothic, Spanish, Renaissance and Mission schools." Everyone there admired the Tower, library, auditorium, classrooms and arcade around the neatly landscaped "Quad." They would also delight thousands of students availing themselves of the courses offered by a fast growing institution.

In 1921, the Normal School became the San José State Teachers College. Also, the San José Junior College was established as an integral part of the San José State Teachers College the same year. A legislative act passed in 1935 dropped the word Teachers from the college's name, making it San José State College, a four-year college whose growth forthwith took on greater impetus.

During World War I, the college was still a fairly feminine establishment. Enlistment of male students in the nation's armed forces accounted for a sizeable percentage of its decline in enrollment throughout the war years. The faculty in general participated in patriotic parades, sold Liberty Bonds, and cooperated in food conservation programs. These activities were not the most spectacular in the world, but they were highly important in their time and place.

San José State had been a four-year college for six years with an enrollment of 4,000 when the United States entered World War II in 1941. By the spring of 1942, that enrollment had dropped to 2,960, with 300 more women than men on the campus. By the 1943-1944 academic year, as Dr. Gilbert pointed out, the figure was still lower—1,583, with the women outnumbering the men six to one.

The war actually came to San José State's campus with the arrival of the 57th Field Artillery Battalion from Fort Ord as an antiaircraft unit immediately after the beginning of hostilities. And of the 4,200 San José State students and alumni who served in the armed forces, 182 died in action.

Much credit for guiding the college through the war years and for a long time thereafter goes to the colorful Dr. Thomas MacQuarrie who succeeded acting president Herman F. Minsin in 1927. Sometimes referred to as the college's most innovative president, he foresaw Santa Clara County's great industrial growth in 1943. And as a firm believer in practical as well as cultural education, he did something about it.

Up to this time, such engineering as San José State students had been exposed to had come largely through mathematics. The build-up in mathematics, which began in Minns' Evening Normal School, had steadily expanded with each passing year. It prepared the students for fields of endeavor requiring a knowledge of advanced mathematics. By 1945, MacQuarrie was convinced that San José State should have a separate department of engineering, and Professor Ralph J. Smith thereupon became a one-man engineering department.

To engineering, MacQuarrie added a department of aeronautics, enabling students to obtain an A.B. or B.S. degree in aeronautical maintenance and operations. The combining of these three departments under a single title brought the college's Division of Engineering into existence. Since then, the Aeronautics Department has won for itself the reputation of being one of the finest in the nation.

During MacQuarrie's 25 years as president, there was "always something going on at the college." He always had an idea or plan for growth or improvement ready for materialization despite the distractions inflicted by the great depression, World War II and higher entrance requirements.

MacQuarrie took charge of 2,124 students and a faculty of 97 the day he became president, and the graduating class for that year numbered "about 400." In June, 1952, less than three months before his retirement, he presided over 5,936 students, 390

EDUCATION

faculty members and a graduating class of 1,149. New undergraduate and graduate courses leading to bachelors and masters degrees had been added with seeming regularity.

Land acquisitions had likewise received much attention during this period. The college had acquired the City-owned Carnegie Library building at the corner of Fourth and San Fernando Streets for Student Union use. Seven large buildings had been built on the campus, and a football stadium and track meet field had come into existence on college-owned land in the southeastern part of the city. San José High School was preparing to move from Washington Square to a new site at 24th and Julian Streets, leaving that much more land available for college use on the original campus. Land east of Seventh Street, including the Technical High School premises, was already on the college's acquisition list; the eastward and southward block-by-block annexation and building program had begun.

All this was only part of the legacy that Dr. MacQuarrie left to Dr. John T. Wahlquist on the last day of August, 1952. Though Dr. Wahlquist inclined toward the cultural school of education, he did not slight the practical. Almost at the outset of his San José career, a couple of more complex items demanded his attention—separation of the junior college from the college and State restriction on the college's enrollment.

In approving the event as "a step forward," he easily adjusted to the separation and departure of the junior college from Washington Square to a campus of its own on far distant Moorpark Avenue.

The enrollment problem proved more critical. A State ceiling which had restricted the college enrollment to 6,000, was later raised to 6,400. But during the 1954-55 academic year, San José State's enrollment reached 8,159, and it would have to turn many students away to conform to the State mandated figure. In the row that ensued, Attorney General Edmund G. Brown ruled that state colleges could not refuse admission to qualified students; the legislature's legal adviser said they could. And the newspapers had a field day. The ceiling was broken on May 27, 1955, when Governor Goodwin Knight

signed San José State College's Legislature-approved budget of \$4,232,613 covering an enrollment of 8,510 students.

With that, San José State was on its way to unlimited growth and glory. It would soon boast an enrollment of far more than 10,000. Its prescient administrators were already predicting its becoming a great university.

Somewhere, George Washington Minns' spirit must have been smiling.

Parochial Schools

San José's public school system long overshadowed all of the city's other elementary and secondary educational institutions. Yet this community has never lacked good private and parochial schools since the founding of Edward Bannister's English and Classical School in December, 1850.

Bannister's school, as previously indicated, was a private school, though it served a quasi public function throughout its short career. To a certain extent, it was a forerunner to the San José Institute and the Washburn School of later years, both of which were given to improving the minds of young ladies and young gentlemen. But none of the foregoing survived so long as the religious or parochial schools.

Parochial education in this community began with the Roman Catholic Sisters of Notre Dame on West Santa Clara Street in 1851. The Sisters taught the small children—and a few not so small—until 1871. And after that, two lay teachers—a man and a woman—took charge of the larger boys. This arrangement lasted until 1878, when the boys were transferred to the parish hall, where the Priest from St. Joseph's Church took charge.

St. Joseph's handled all of San José's parochial education until the coming of St. Mary's school in 1901. A grammar school established at St. Joseph's was later transferred to the Brothers of Mary (Marianist) under whom the school moved to a fine new building erected in 1907 on the north side of Park Avenue between Locust and River Street.

St. Mary's School, just across South Third Street from St. Mary's Church, was an elementary school taught by the Sisters of Notre Dame.

Next in line, was St. Francis Xavier School on the northeast corner of West Virginia and Palm Streets, dedicated on September 17, 1905. One account says it was intended to teach the large number of Italian children in that area. It had three lay teachers—all women—at first, but the Sisters of Notre Dame took it over in 1906. In 1949, it was replaced by the Sacred Heart School, several blocks to the south.

Not long after establishment of St. Leo's Church as a mission of St. Joseph's at 1051 West San Fernando Street in 1915, the many Roman Catholics of that area hoped that they also could have an elementary school. They got it in 1920, the same year that St. Leo's Church became a canonical parish. The Sisters of Notre Dame took charge of this school for a while, but encountered difficulty in getting to it from the distant College of Notre Dame, whose removal to Belmont in 1923 would have made the situation infinitely more difficult. After a brief closing, the school was taken over by the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary who came out from Dubuque, Iowa, expressly for the purpose.

St. Patrick's, the first parochial school established in San José's Second Ward, opened in 1925. It started with a small building on the west side of North Ninth Street adjacent the St. Patrick Church premises. It later spread its facilities over a sizeable portion of the block.

The founding of St. Christopher's Church "way out in the country," at Curtner and Booksin Avenues, in 1951 brought into existence still another parochial

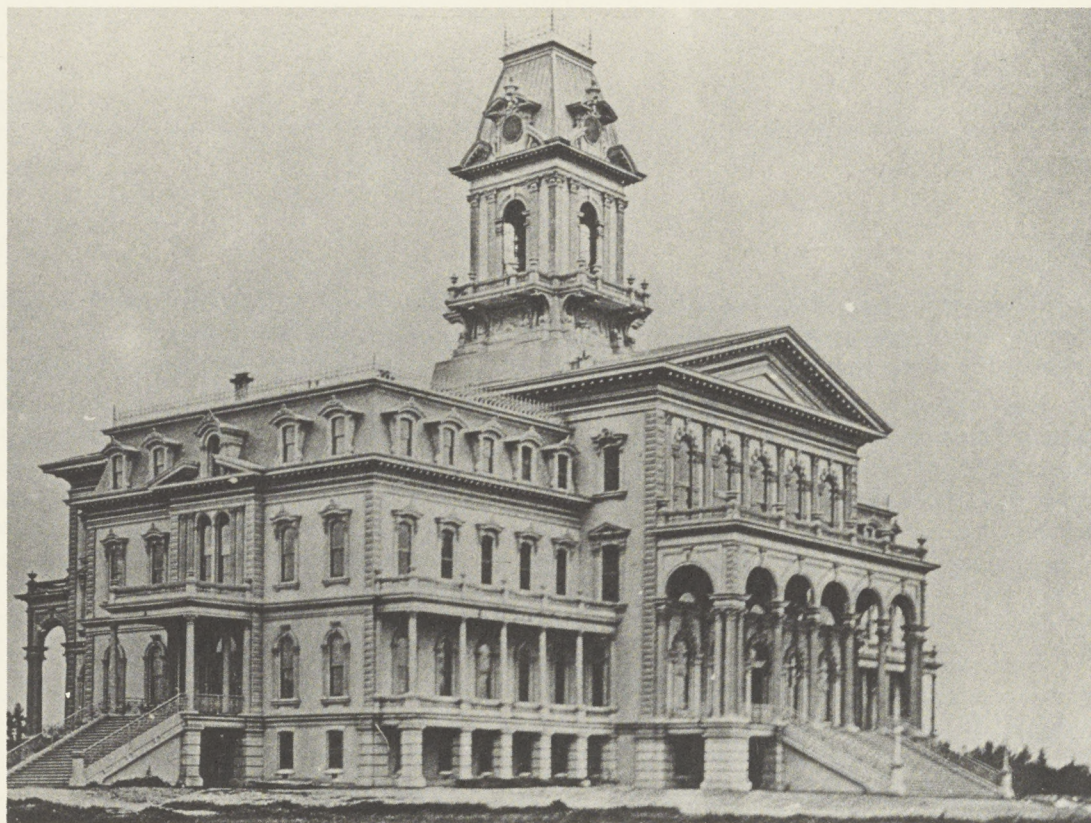
school to serve a fast filling neighborhood that had once been devoted to orchards.

In 1926, only a year after St. Patrick's School opened, a 75-year-old high school moved from Santa Clara to San José—the Bellarmine College Preparatory, formerly known as the University of Santa Clara "Prep" School. It located in the area bounded by the Southern Pacific Railroad, Emory, Elm and Hedding Streets, the erstwhile campus of the University of the Pacific.

When Bellarmine, a Jesuit institution, purchased this property, it got not only University of Pacific land, but also several Pacific buildings that were immediately put to school use. And to them it added many improvements and structures of its own design to cope with amazing growth.

Since then, other denominations have established schools and colleges harmonious with their particular religious persuasions. Many years ago, San José was referred to as "a city of schools and churches," and a glance at its school and church directories of today will indicate that it has not changed much. But regardless of whether this city's schools are public, private or parochial, they are heeding the words that Robert Baylor Semple spoke in the First Constitutional Convention in Monterey in 1849:

Education, sir, is the foundation of republican institutions; the school system suits the genius and spirit of our form of government. If the people are to govern themselves they should be qualified to do it; they must be educated; they must educate their children; they must provide means for the diffusion of knowledge and the progress of enlightened principles.

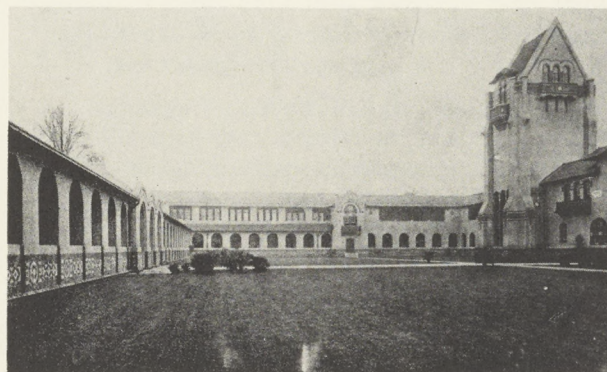


Standing in the middle of the yet unlandscaped Washington Square, bounded by San Fernando, San Carlos, South Fourth and South Seventh streets in San José, this \$285,000 bit of architectural gingerbread was the California State Normal School's first structure. Its cornerstone ceremony took place on October 20, 1870; its opening, July 7, 1872, with the main entrance facing westward. Unfortunately, fire, attributed to a defective ash chute, broke out on the second floor at 2 a.m., February 10, 1880. By daylight the structure had passed into history.



Hester School, established in 1861, was named after Judge Craven P. Hester whose house once stood on that site. The Hester School was really two schools, both on The Alameda but at different addresses. The one shown in this photo was The Alameda Hester; the other, near Bush was the Suñol Hester. When the Suñol Hester became a district in its own right in 1901, it became plain Suñol, and this school The Alameda Hester, became plain Hester.

This photo looks northward across the San José State Normal School Quad soon after this building replaced the big brick structure damaged by the 1906 earthquake. All of these units, except the Tower, have since been replaced by even more modern structures.



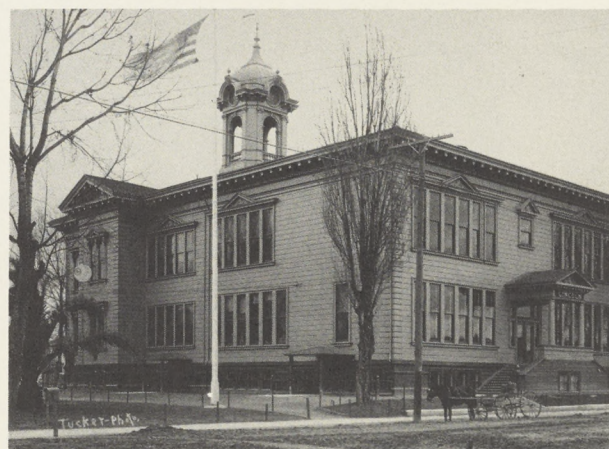


An East San José Grammar School class is shown in 1891.



Pala School, established in 1865, stood on the northwest corner of Capitol Avenue and McKee Road. This photo shows how it looked with a new schoolhouse in 1890, when Miss Mildred Overfelt was teaching there.

Lincoln School, fronting on Orchard Street at Auzerais Avenue shortly after it took on its final appearance resulting from enlargement with a frontal addition. Notice the 1874 bell tower over the older section of the building.



As noted elsewhere, the original California State Normal School Building in San José was destroyed by fire on February 10, 1880. The State quickly replaced it with the great brick structure shown in this photo, which opened its doors on May 2, 1881. And this structure, irreparably damaged by the great earthquake of 1906, was in turn replaced by the quadrangular complex whose cornerstone was laid on June 23, 1909.



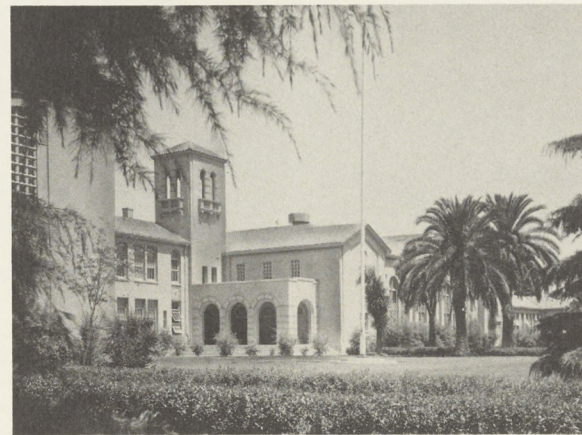
An early print of the College of Notre Dame, founded by the Sisters of Notre Dame d'Namur in 1851, shows its building and grounds occupied all the land bounded by Santa Clara, Santa Teresa, San Augustine Streets and what is now North Almadén Avenue.



Multimillionaire Andrew Carnegie's donation of \$50,000 to the City of San José made possible the erection of this beautiful building whose cornerstone was laid on February 16, 1902. Located on the southeast corner of San Fernando and Fourth Streets, the Carnegie Library served as San José's main public library until it moved to what had been the city's first federally-owned post office building, on the southeast corner of Market and San Fernando Streets.



Horace Mann School, on the north side of Santa Clara Street, between Sixth and Seventh, as it looked in 1944. This structure, erected in 1908, replaced the old Santa Clara Street School building whose name was changed to Horace Mann in 1892.



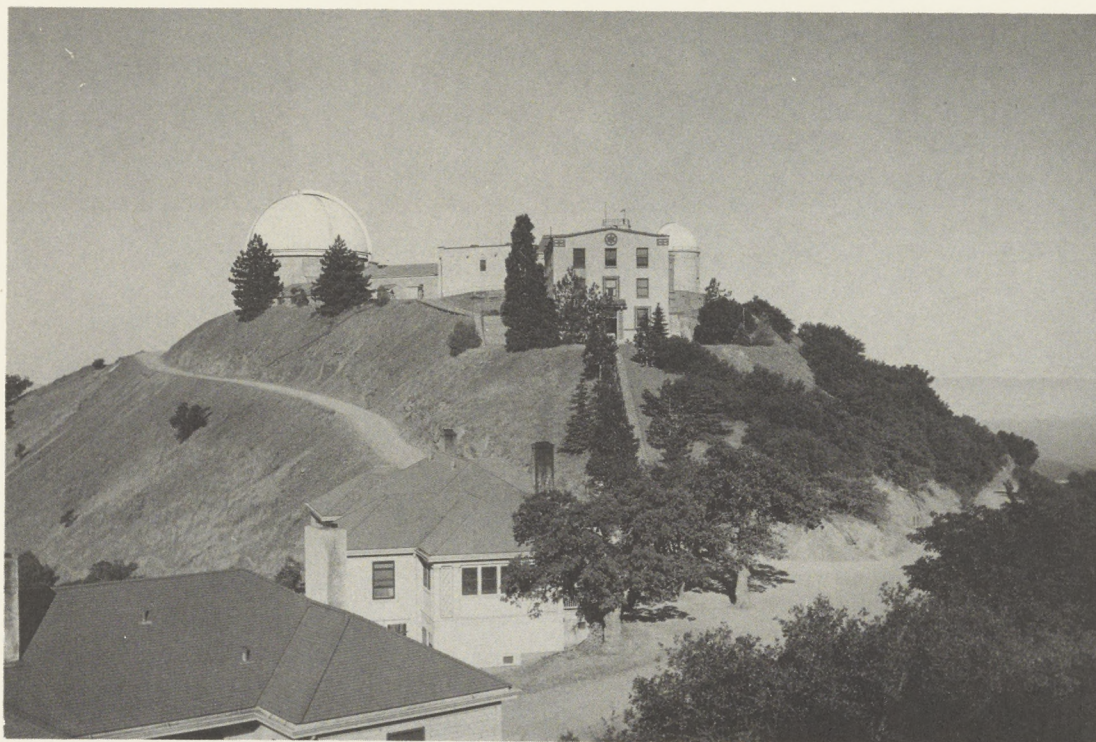
Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School was built in 1925 on the old Garden City Sanitarium grounds on the north side of East Santa Clara Street just east of Coyote Creek.



Herbert Hoover Junior High School was built on the southwest corner of Park and Naglee Avenues in 1931.

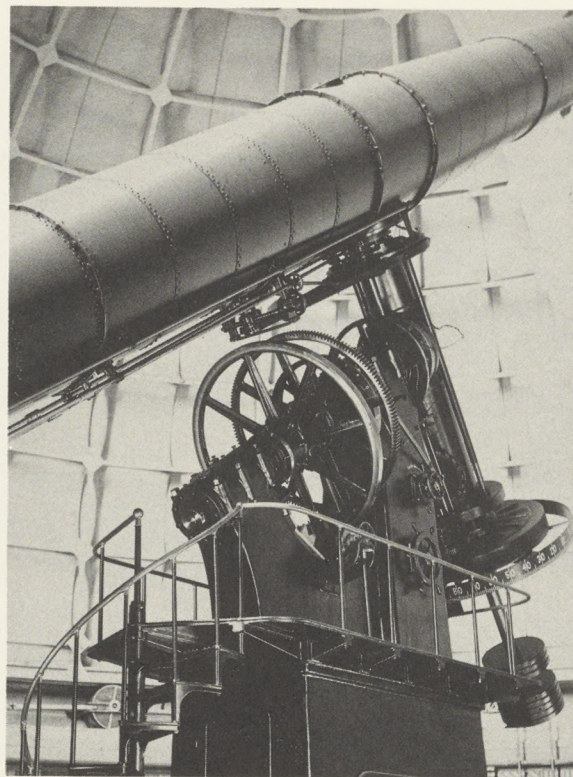
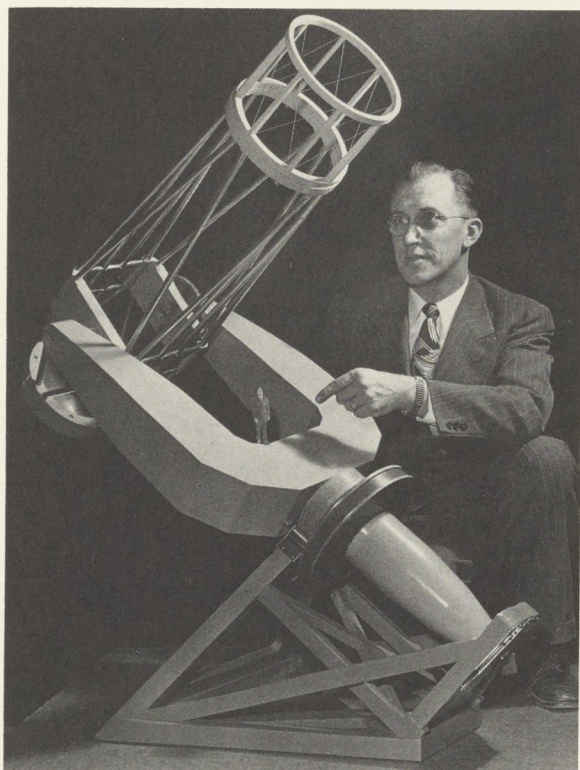


San Joséans who attended the old Normal Training School will well remember this big gray frame structure of Moorish renaissance architecture, erected in 1892 and razed in 1933. In 1891, the State Legislature appropriated \$37,000 for construction of this building. In 1892, the finished product boasted 15 classrooms, an auditorium, a gymnasium, and a basement that could serve as a playground in rainy weather. It faced Seventh Street and long remained the second highest structure on the San José State Normal School campus, now that of San José State.



Lick Observatory, atop Mt. Hamilton, fits into the Santa Clara County educational pattern because it was established as an integral unit of the University of California.

The big telescope at Lick Observatory as it looked on July 4, 1888. This instrument and the observatory of which it was a part formed one of the world's greatest attractions for tourists. At the time of its construction, the telescope, a refractor measuring 36 inches in diameter, was the largest in the world.



W. W. Baustian designed the 120-inch telescope for Lick Observatory, and is shown here in 1946 with his model. *(photo courtesy of Dick Barrett)*



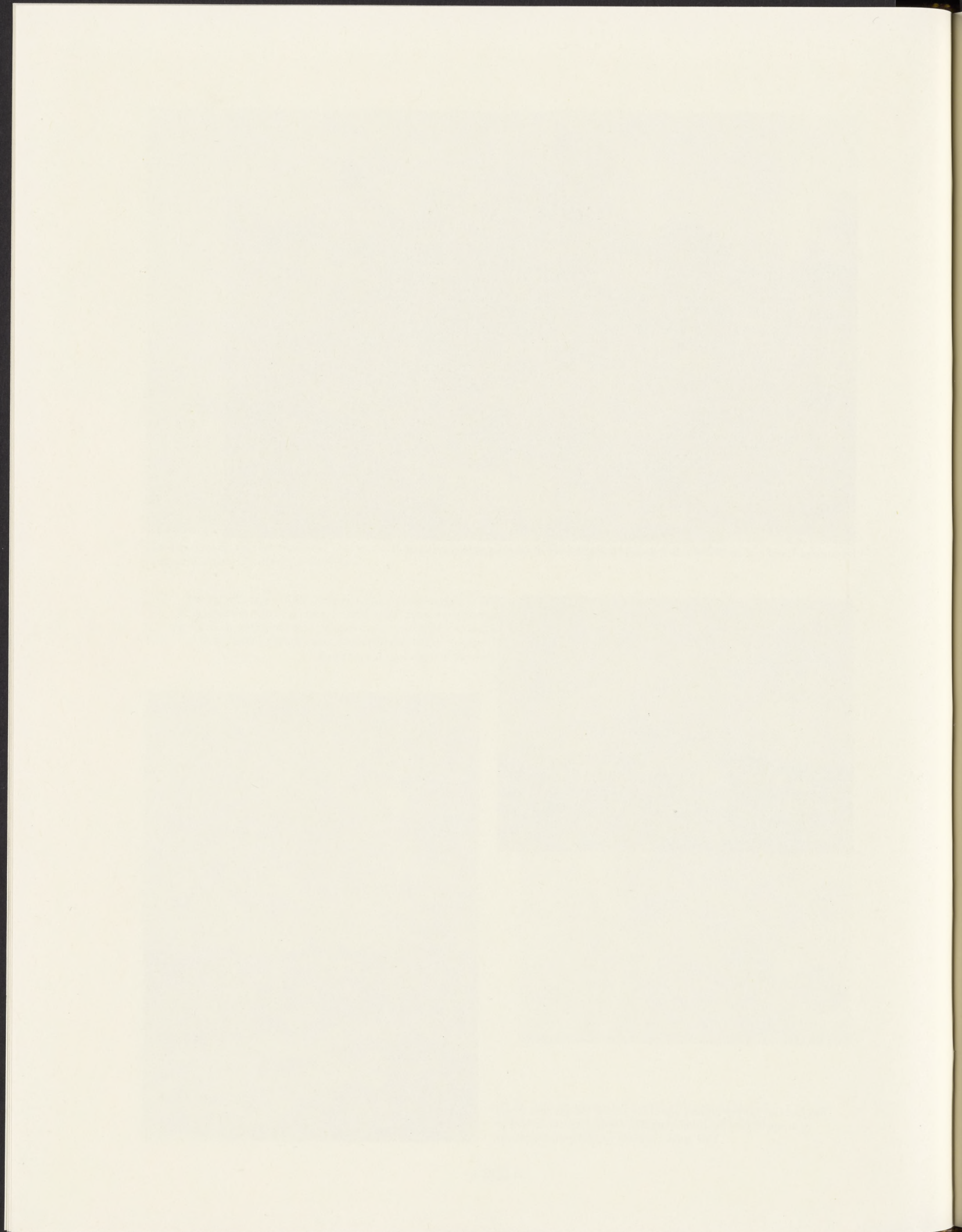
Ivy-covered Tower Hall in 1965 was the beautiful central feature of the San José State campus.



Heald's Business College was located at the corner of Santa Clara and Almaden Streets in this 1968 photo. *(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)*



San José City College became one of the satellite colleges that served the rapidly growing community. The campus is pictured here in 1967. *(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)*



11

BANKING

Short Talks on Riches

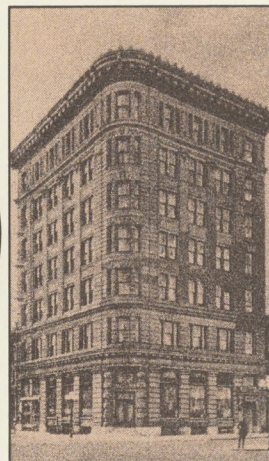
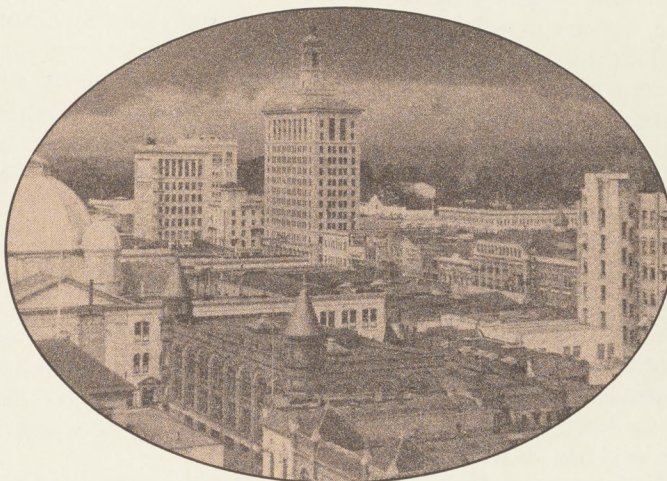
For All Ages

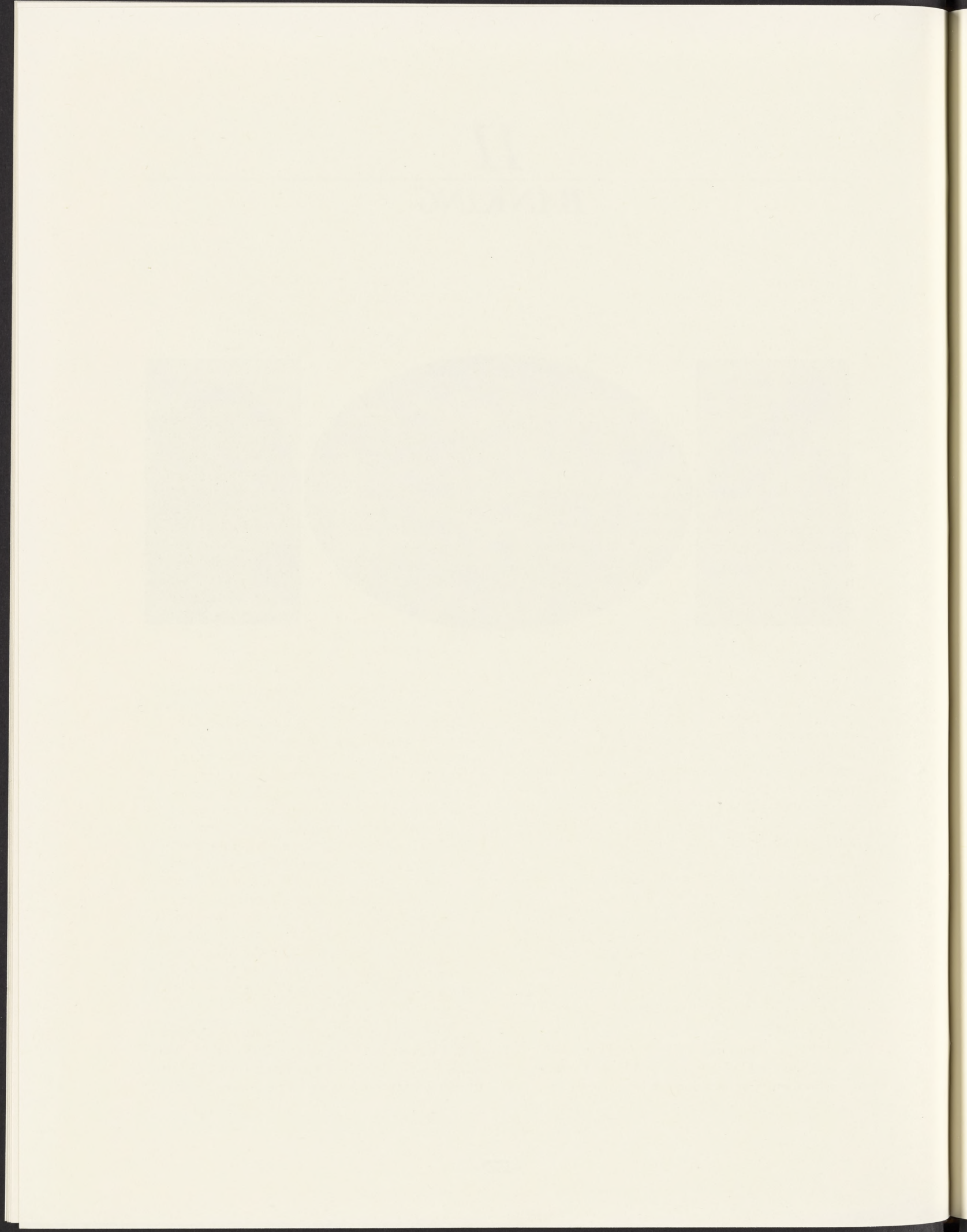
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HENRY BOCKEN, Sr.,	Vice President.
E. T. STERLING,	Cashier.
WILBUR J. EDWARDS,	Asst. Cashier.





The Survivors— In One Form Or Another

San José had no banks in the modern sense of the term until after the Civil War. Any person with money or gold dust to protect generally kept it in a "house of deposit," that is, a business establishment fortunate enough to own a strong safe. During the city's gold and state capital days, Josiah Belden's general merchandising firm served as such a depository. Later, the stores of Adolph Pfister and of John and Edward Auzerais did likewise.

These stores paid no interest on deposits, but they collected small fees on what may be described as commercial account transactions. If William Whiteman owed five dollars to Dr. Benjamin Cory, and wished to pay it with gold dust kept in Belden's safe, he had only to tear a small strip of paper from any sheet of stationery, date it, and write the following:

J. Belden, please pay to the bearer, Benjamin Cory, five dollars in gold dust and oblige.

William Whiteman.

If Whiteman happened to be of a formal turn of mind, he might sign himself "Your humble and obedient servant William Whiteman." And in payment of a bill of his own, Cory might assign the note to someone else. Belden cashed countless such notes on order of depositors, always taking for himself a modest pinch of dust as his fee for each transaction. In dealing with Spanish-Californians who had deposited gold dust in his safe, he frequently combined his "banking" with merchandising. The natives, fearing their gold would lose its value if they did not spend it right away, created a seller's market.

"The Spanish people coming in from the mines," Belden wrote, were anxious to trade. Money was a rather new thing to them, and having come easy and quickly, they were just as ready to spend it, and having a fancy for all kinds of dry goods, dress goods, they spent it quite freely.

"To show how freely they spent their money and how readily, I will state how I used to trade with them. I understood the language by that

time, and I succeeded in gaining their confidence to such an extent that when they came from the mines with a bag of gold dust, they would bring it into the store, and tell me to weigh it and see how much there was of it. I would weigh out the dust, which might be worth anywhere from fifty to five or six hundred dollars, as the case might be. After weighing it, and telling them the value of it, they would tell me to take it and put it away. I would put it into the box where I kept the gold I had on hand, and make a memorandum of the amount, and then they would commence calling for goods, one kind or another, whatever they wanted, and would make purchases of various articles for some time, I keeping a memorandum of what they took, and after they had selected a considerable quantity, they would ask me to count up and see how much the goods amounted to, and how much there was left of the gold dust unspent. So, after adding up the amount of their purchases, I would report the balance left to them, and they would commence calling for more goods, and go on buying, until after awhile they would ask me to count up again, and see how much they had left then, and so I would figure it up, and if there was still a balance left they would call for something more, and so on until the whole amount of gold was exhausted, when they would take the bundle of goods and go off satisfied. I had an old pair of scales I had rigged up for the occasion, and had correct weights, and I had got their confidence in regard to my dealings with them and in regard to my weighing out the gold, and I was always careful to allow them for the exact amount of gold, and give them a fair amount of goods for their money, of course charging a good profit, as goods were then high. I carried on the business there for the years '48 and '49, and then finally sold out my whole business to another party and retired from it..."

This commercio-banking venture started Belden on his way to becoming one of California's earliest millionaires. Also, the prominence thereby gained helped to elect him San José's first mayor.

BANKING

Meanwhile, on January 8, 1849, California got its first real bank, founded in San Francisco by Henry Morris Naglee and Richard Harcourt Sinton to provide every service expected of such an institution. Sinton soon resigned, but Naglee carried on until a nationwide financial panic forced him to close his doors in September, 1850. San José had a historical tie with this bank through Naglee. As one of this city's leading citizens, he became namesake of Naglee Avenue and a long time resident of the area known as Naglee Park. Naglee showed little inclination, however, to found a bank in San José.

Yet, except for such city institutions as Naglee's, and those of two or three express companies, California banking remained a primitive matter for some time to come. In the back country, where houses of deposit were non-existent, it often followed the hollow tree or post hole pattern.

If a rancher had just received a thousand dollars in coin for a herd of steers, he had to find a safe place for his money. To eliminate the possibility of covetous eyes, he might secretly deposit it at night in a hollow tree whose identity only he himself knew. Or better, if he lived far out on the plains, he might remove a corral fence post at night, drop the money to the bottom of the hole, and replace the post. After tamping and smoothing the ground around the post with his boot sole, he sprinkled it with dust, fragments of grass, or animal droppings. He could then go to sleep, confident that his deposit was safe.

A post hole bank had the merit of proximity to the ranch house. It could also become a liability, especially if the user happened to be a married man who died before telling his wife where he put his money. She could be left destitute with a fortune in her own backyard.

The Bank of San José

Sixteen years elapsed before two comparative newcomers—Dr. William J. Knox and his brother-in-law Thomas Ellard Beans—concluded that San José could support formal banking. In 1865, Knox paid \$21,000 for a fifty-*vara* lot on the northwest corner of First and Santa Clara Streets. He completely

covered it with the Knox Block, an ornate two-story brick building costing \$30,000. On March 1, 1866, he and Beans opened the Knox & Beans Bank on Santa Clara Street a door or two west of First Street.

Messrs. Knox and Beans prospered from the start, but their partnership was short-lived. Knox, Kentuckian by birth and senior member of the firm, successfully combined politics with the practice of medicine. He had come overland in 1850, settling in Nevada City whose district he represented in the State Assembly in 1854. Late in 1862, he left Nevada City for brief sojourns in San Francisco and Oakland before pushing on in November, 1863, to establish a permanent home in San José. In 1865, Santa Clara County elected him to the State Senate, of which he was still a member at the time of his death in 1867.

Beans, a banker by instinct, soon proved himself more than qualified to carry on the business of Knox and Beans. Born in Salem, Ohio, in 1828, he attended the local public school and, later, a private academy that offered the equivalent to a high school course. He turned early in life to mercantile pursuits, but managed to pick up two years of banking experience along the way. In 1849, he joined the great overland Gold Rush to California and he married Miss Virginia Knox, sister of his future partner.

With some eight years of gold country merchandising and mining behind him, Beans came down to San Francisco to enter the commission business, staying with it until he joined Knox in San José in 1866. The private Knox & Beans Bank continued to flourish under Beans' management until January 31, 1868, when it incorporated as the Bank of San José with a capital stock of \$100,000.

John Grandin Bray became first president of this new institution; Beans, cashier and manager; C. W. Pomeroy, secretary. In 1880, John T. Calahan became the first assistant cashier. When Bray died in 1871, Beans became president, and held that office until his own death in 1905.

Two other significant changes caught public attention during this early adjustment period. In February, 1869, the bank increased its capital stock from \$100,000 to \$250,000. In January, 1871, it bought a large lot on the northeast corner of First and Santa

Clara Streets with intent of erecting a \$100,000, three-story brick building surmounted by a clock tower.

This commodious structure was considered "the showiest in town" when it opened for business on June 15, 1872. Its clock facing in four directions functioned as the community's chief timepiece for more than seventy years. Businessmen roundabout set their watches by it. Its deep-toned bell let people three miles down wind know the time of day, and its location afforded a distinct advantage over the later three-faced post office clock at San Fernando and Market Streets. After suffering irreparable damage in the earthquake of 1906, the Bank of San José Building and its clock tower were replaced by a five story structure of reinforced concrete. The clock tower, still higher than the rest of the structure, rendered the clock visible and audible to an even greater area of the city.

During the next two decades the Bank of San José continued its long-established conservative course, probably ignoring certain innovations conceived in San Francisco in 1904 by a former San Joséan. As late as 1925, William Knox Beans, son of the founder, was president. His corps of officers, who had held their positions for years, were of the old school. Victor J. La Motte was vice-president-manager; Hiram D. Tuttle and Elmer E. Chase, vice-presidents; Alfred B. Post, cashier-secretary; J. Elmer Morrish and Waldo Lowe, assistant cashiers.

The Bank of San José's first departure from its conservative time-honored course occurred in July, 1926, when it established a branch at 256 South First Street. The second branch, known as Hester, opened the same year at 1171 The Alameda (later renumbered 1449 The Alameda).

But before the staff of either could perfect its routine, the Bank of Italy acquired the Bank of San José and its branches on January 16, 1927. The South First Street branch's accounts were transferred to another Bank of Italy property at 96 South First Street in 1930, the year that the Bank of Italy became the Bank of America. By 1969, the only recognizable vestige of the Bank of San José's physical existence was the building constructed especially for bank use

at 1449 The Alameda. Everything else had disappeared much earlier. On February 11, 1945, the San José newspapers announced the forthcoming razing of the big Bank of San José Building (long since renamed Beans Building) at First and Santa Clara Streets. Demolition was delayed about a year to permit occupants to find other quarters, but by January 14, 1947, the wreckers had cleared away what had once been a prime landmark.

The McLaughlin and Ryland Bank

The Bank of San José had hardly counted its first surplus when a Pennsylvanian named Edward McLaughlin and a Missourian named Caius Tacitus Ryland entered the local banking field. Both of these men had come to California in the gold days—Ryland in 1849, McLaughlin in 1852. Ryland had done well in law; McLaughlin, in hardware. On May 4, 1869, they pooled resources to open a private bank in a small building on the south side of Santa Clara Street, between First and Second.

According to one source, McLaughlin had contemplated making this venture entirely on his own, but soon discerned the advantage of a partnership with Ryland under the firm name of McLaughlin & Ryland's Bank.

In 1872 they erected a magnificent building on the southeast corner of First and Santa Clara Streets to which they gave the name Safe Deposit Block. This structure boasted three stories of the most ornamental architecture in San José. It fronted on First Street for 126½ feet, and extended 70 feet eastward on Santa Clara Street and 138 feet on Fountain Street. On the cornice at its northwest corner, stood two huge wooden bears supporting a medalion-like tablet surmounted by a wooden eagle. The tablet bore the inscription "Erected 1872." The bears and eagle were carved by Edward Power, an outstanding wood carver of the day.

Commercial and Savings Bank

McLaughlin & Ryland occupied the Safe Deposit Block until their bank lost its initial identity in the Commercial and Savings Bank, which they incorpo-

BANKING

rated as a joint stock company on May 13, 1874. The Commercial and Savings leased banking rooms in the Safe Deposit Block, with Ryland as president and McLaughlin as manager. Martin Murphy, Jr., and his son Bernard were among the stockholders.

In January, 1883, McLaughlin sold his interest in the Commercial and Savings firm, and, a month later, bought out Ryland's holdings in the Safe Deposit Block. On organization of the Safe Deposit Bank of Savings in 1885, the Commercial and Savings left the Safe Deposit Block, moving diagonally across the intersection of First and Santa Clara Streets to the Knox Block. There, with Bernard Murphy who had succeeded Ryland as president, it advertised \$1,000,000 capital with \$300,000 paid up. F. P. Ryland was cashier; John T. McGeoghan, secretary.

McLaughlin took official control of the newly-organized Safe Deposit Bank, with Mariano Malarin as president, and John E. Auzeais as cashier. This bank, too, had a "nominal capital" of \$1,000,000 with \$300,000 paid up, plus a paid up reserve of \$75,000.

For a while, owing to previous and contemporary ownership, the affairs of the two banks may have seemed a bit too intricate for the man on the street to determine who owned what. Save for dropping the word "Savings" from its corporate name, in 1905, however, the Safe Deposit Bank made few noteworthy changes. It remained in the Safe Deposit Block until absorbed by the Bank of Italy on November 19, 1917.

The Commercial and Savings, on the other hand, came close to being downright nomadic. It remained in the Knox Block well into the 1890's. The year 1897 found it at 20 West Santa Clara Street, but by 1900 it had moved into the Paul Block on the southeast corner of First and Fountain Streets. The final move took it to 64 West Santa Clara Street, on the corner of Lightston Alley, where the *City Directory* listed it in 1908. Here, this wandering institution, in perilously shaky financial condition, was absorbed and reorganized by the Bank of Italy in 1909.

On January 1, 1910, it officially became the Bank of Italy's first branch outside of San Francisco. If any of the old Commercial and Savings accounts remained

among the Bank of Italy's assets long enough, they went back to the Safe Deposit's vaults when the Bank of Italy took over that institution in 1917.

The First National Bank

By 1874 San José had 10,000 inhabitants and three banks, all dependent on the well being of the valley's agriculture. Yet no one believed the town had reached the saturation point in banking. On July 11 of that year, John Washington Hinds, William DeWitt Tisdale, William Lawrence Tisdale, Cuthbert Burrell, Emory Curtis Singletary, Elisha Lafayette Bradley, and Cornelius Gooding Harrison organized another bank. Ten days later, United States Comptroller of Currency John Jay Knox authorized them to conduct business under the name of Farmer's National Gold Bank of San José. Hinds, from Nevada City, became first president of the new bank. W. L. Tisdale took the office of vice-president, and George Philips Sparks, that of cashier.

The makeup of the bank's official staff during its first year in business formed a neat cross section of the community it served. Five hailed from the state of New York, and one each from Tennessee, Ohio, Illinois, and Massachusetts. Their number included two professional bankers, three farmers, one stock-raiser, one merchant, one miner, and one miller. As their affluence increased, two or three of them changed their *Great Register* listings to the more prestigious ranks of "Banker" and "Capitalist."

Their bank continued as the Farmer's National Gold Bank until 1881, when amended articles of association changed its name to The First National Bank of San José, which boasted paid up capital of \$500,000 and a surplus of \$38,000. That same year, Hinds relinquished the presidency to W. D. Tisdale, whom James Atkins Clayton succeeded in 1894. George M. Bowman followed Clayton in 1897, serving until Joseph D. Radford took over in 1903. Then came the all time champion of tenure—Willis S. Clayton, Sr., son of James A.—who held the office from 1907 to 1940.

No other president of the First National ever came close to equalling W. S. Clayton's record. Leland L. Madland, his immediate successor, served only

from 1940 to 1947. J. Bradley Clayton, W.S.'s son, then took over, thus permitting three generations of Claytons to hold the bank's highest office in fairly close succession. Joseph Rogers, who succeeded Bradley Clayton in 1949, enjoyed an incumbency of nineteen years before passing the honor to Howard W. Rathbun in 1968.

By then the bank had long since outgrown its tiny second floor quarters in the Wilcox Block, a little two story building on the northwest corner of First and San Fernando Streets. It had likewise outgrown the ground floor rooms of its own two-story structure occupying what was called "the Levy lot" on the southwest corner of First and Santa Clara Streets, purchased for \$75,225 on February 1, 1875. Therefore, in July, 1909, the bank published its plans for construction of the city's "second skyscraper."

This structure, occupied in January, 1911, stood nine stories high, not counting cornice and flagstaff. It cost \$400,000, and dwarfed every other structure around it except the great electric tower that rose more than 200 feet above the intersection of Santa Clara and Market Streets. It was faced on all sides with smooth grayish brick that appeared almost white in full sunlight. The banking quarters, at street level, radiated opulence with beautifully tiled floors, marble trimmed walls, and polished marble counters topped by tellers' windows of ornate bronze. No other bank in Santa Clara County could match the First National's vault and safe deposit facilities, which impressed everyone entering them. They offered a solid definition of the classical architect's concept of strength and beauty.

Hardly fifteen years elapsed, however, when the bank again developed growing pains. In June, 1926, the directors appointed a building committee to buy the next door Santa Clara Street lot, occupied by a men's clothing store known as the "White House." Construction of a nine story addition costing \$500,000, not counting the lot, began in August, 1927. The grand opening, which took place on September 28, 1928, attracted 10,000 spectators—or about a quarter of San José's population at that time. This addition almost doubled the bank's ground floor area, as well as the number of upstairs offices occupied by physicians, lawyers, and other professional men. The in-

creased frontage on Santa Clara Street gave the whole structure a much more imposing appearance. A new, more commodious vault boasted a circular door that weighed 35 tons.

President Willis S. Clayton was sure the new structure "would suffice . . . for at least a generation." He predicted that the bank would expand "up stairs" the next time instead of on the street level, but, as one contemporary recalled, he was "a little off target." In 1941 the bank bought the fifteen-year old Mercury Herald Building, next door on Santa Clara Street, which afforded even more ground floor space—plus a few extra rooms on the second and third floors.

The most expensive building program during the bank's first hundred years began in July, 1961, and ended in December, 1963. It marked complete renovation of the entire structure—inside and out, upstairs and down—at a cost of \$3,000,000. The old exterior brick facing gave way to great sheets of glass alternating with broad panels of Vermont and Georgia marble giving "a smooth modernistic touch." Heavy interior ornament of an earlier generation yielded to an attractive trimness featuring later day use of straight lines. Even in furnishings, anything barely hinting at baroque or rococo became a thing of the past.

For almost three quarters of a century, the First National's conservative directors gave scant thought to change and innovation. The old conventional methods of banking were good enough for them. If other banks wished to espouse such heresies, let them do it.

Gradually, however, the management began to entertain second thoughts. Branch banking had come to San José from an outside source as early as 1909, and from local initiative in 1917. Once the First National's directors were convinced that it was a safe practice, they changed their minds. Therefore, to serve the outlying districts of a city that was spreading inexorably across the valley floor, they established their first branch—the Beverly-Burbank—on May 3, 1948. Another branch, quickly following the one at Beverly-Burbank, was under construction when the First National celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1949.

BANKING

Once started, this expansion kept pace with the incredible growth of the city and county throughout the next two decades. It spread into outlying communities and, eventually, beyond the county's boundaries. Almost two dozen branches had come into existence before the homefolk realized what was happening.

Also came a noteworthy number of innovations or "firsts." In 1950 the First National introduced "drive up" tellers' windows for the convenience of motorists—the first in Santa Clara County. Next came the "concept of bank-sponsored credit." In 1953 the First National's Charge Plan became the first west of the Mississippi.

Other innovations included the "First National Auto Lease Plan," affording direct financing of auto leasing to individuals and business establishments. "One statement banking," the first in Santa Clara County, came about the same time. The exceptionally busy year of 1963 brought creation of the bank's trust department and four new branches.

Between 1939 and 1969, the First National's resources soared from \$39,000,000 to more than \$200,000,000, with no sign of let-up. A single day's business would have staggered the imaginations of John W. Hinds and his co-founders of 1874. Their bank, still operating under its original charter, was California's only surviving gold bank.

Garden City Bank

San José had been an incorporated city almost forty years when it got another bank. Houses of deposit had long since faded into the realm of dim memory. Despite an occasional casualty, improved banking laws had brought greater protection for depositors and investors—also an opportunity to Dr. Charles Wesley Breyfogle, an Ohio physician who had come to San José for his health in 1871.

Breyfogle, a Civil War veteran, practiced medicine here for fifteen years before entering San José politics to serve two years as mayor. He entered the local financial field in 1885 as a founder of the San José Building and Loan Association. Then he "perfected organization" of the Garden City National

Bank, chartered June 3, 1887, with himself as president, George E. Bowman as vice-president, and Thomas F. Morrison as cashier.

Contemporary accounts show this bank opening in a "beautiful suite of rooms" in the Wilcox Block on the northwest corner of First and San Fernando Streets the following July 18. It prospered from the start with eighteen stockholders and a paid up capital of \$100,000. At the end of the first eight months, it reported \$177,894.51 in individual deposits and \$48,150.13 in demand deposits. Undivided profits came to \$5,370.45.

"The Garden City," as San Joséans knew this bank, outgrew its original quarters in less than twenty years. By 1905 it planned a steel-framed, seven-story structure often referred to as the city's "first skyscraper." Its green sandstone facing would add color to thousands of postcards that tourists and newly-arrived residents sent "back home." Most of this building's framework was riveted into place just in time to withstand the great earthquake of 1906, which damaged in varying degrees every other structure around it.

In 1893 the Garden City changed from a national to a state bank, taking the name Garden City Bank and Trust Company. The first important break in its official staff came with the death of Dr. Breyfogle at the age of fifty-five on February 27, 1896. Stephen Byron Hunkins, native of New Hampshire then took over the presidency and held it until his own death in April, 1914. The next president, Thomas S. Montgomery, had the honor of being the first native of California to hold the office. His death in 1944 removed the last of the bank's founding directors and stockholders.

By 1922, while Montgomery was still president, the bank had shown remarkable growth. It had already tackled branch banking over an ever widening scale, establishing branches in Saratoga in 1917, and in Gilroy and Campbell in 1918. It also added Santa Clara to its list of outside acquisitions. With a capital stock of \$500,000, it advertised deposits of \$8,005,984.59 and a surplus of \$625,000. Vice-presidents J. J. Miller and John F. Duncan, Secretary William G. Alexander, and C. J. Tripp had every

reason to be proud of what their institution had accomplished under "T.S."

That same year, a change of names took place. On October 21, their bank and its branches merged with the Mercantile Trust of San Francisco, which became the American Trust Company on January 5, 1927.

The statewide network thus created was never dreamed of by Dr. Breyfogle and his associates. It played a highly important part in the growth and development of Santa Clara County during the first two decades after World War II—and became even more powerful after its merger with Wells Fargo Bank on March 25, 1960.

Wells Fargo, a venerable institution in itself, carried on with increasing vigor and proliferating assets, and establishing branches wherever needed. It soon had two dozen branches in San José and nearby communities. When San José's "first skyscraper," with all of its upstairs office space, became too cramped, plans were drawn for a more commodious structure on the southwest corner of Market and San Fernando Streets, a block to the west. As soon as Wells Fargo could move into the new structure, wreckers could go to work on the old one.

Security State and Savings Bank

By the time the Security Savings Bank incorporated, San José's day of pioneer banking had definitely passed, but the "flow sheet" that the First National kept on all other San José banks showed the Security Savings Bank coming into existence on June 23, 1891. Owing to certain business and personnel connections with the First National, the Security was often referred to as a First National offshoot. A list of its early officials and directors shows three First National names—W. D. Tisdale, Loring Gale Nesmith, and James A. Clayton. The Security's opening for business "in the rooms adjoining the First National" at 11 South First Street also suggested First National influence.

A University of Washington thesis prepared by Charles M. Hayes of the First National in 1952 mentions Tisdale as the Security's first president, with

Abram King as vice-president, and Nesmith as secretary. Earlier sources, however, put it somewhat differently. *Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers*, a local history published in 1895, shows Frank Stock, son of an early San José tinsmith, as first president, Nesmith as vice-president, and Paul P. Austin as manager and cashier. In 1933 McMurry and James' *History of San José*, using contemporary newspaper accounts of the periods and events covered, records Stock as first president.

In any event, King held the chair of president in 1895, when the Security boasted \$50,000 in paid up capital, \$346,256.46 in deposits, total assets of \$387,773.39, and reported paying \$13,850.44 to the stockholders in 1894. Contemporary observers considered this a "remarkable showing for a four-year-old bank." Incidentally, the board at this time reflected the conservative no-nonsense nature of the bank. It consisted of Henry Booksin, James A. Clayton, Henry Curtner, Thaddeus W. Hobson, and Frank Stock.

By 1901 the Security had moved to 32 East Santa Clara Street, where it developed a split personality on becoming a state bank in 1902. It had previously operated as the Security Savings Bank, a strictly savings institution with no commercial department. Henceforth it would be the Security State and Savings Bank. The *City Directory* and other sources would often refer to it as two banks with the same officers and personnel.

Most San José banks had been in good condition for some time and continued to progress. The average depositor could not help noting that "No panic had been able to suspend them," and this was especially confirmed by the Security's statement for 1920. With a capital of \$100,000, it had resources of \$4,687,924.59. Capital surplus and profits came to \$492,646.81, and deposits to \$4,175,277.88.

In March 1926, the Security, having outgrown its 1909 building, moved to more comfortable quarters in the Ryland Block on the northeast corner of First and San Fernando Streets. This building, a massive three-story brick structure, replaced the Lick House, its predecessor on the same site, after the fire of 1892. Here the bank's official address became 96 South First Street.

BANKING

Soon after this move, the Security again changed name and status, becoming the Security Bank and Trust Co., but on November 26, 1928, it lost its original identity by merging with the fast-growing Bank of Italy. Two years later, it became the South First Street Branch of the Bank of America, which address it gave up to move into a brand new building with a large parking lot at 280 South Second Street.

Growers Bank

San José's next "native born" bank, the Growers, organized in May, 1920, incorporated the following July 17, and opened for business on April 30, 1921. It was housed in the Rea Building on the northwest corner of Market and Santa Clara Streets, and was oriented toward agriculture and horticulture as its name implied. Its first president, V.T. McCurdy, owned one of the finest pear orchards in the valley. Vice-president Samuel E. Johnson and cashier-manager Fred W. Sinclair held similar affection for fruit. Though capitalized at \$300,000, with a surplus of \$60,000 by 1922, the Growers Bank showed no sign of ostentation. It occupied the ground floor of a much repaired and enlarged five-story brick structure built in 1864-65 as a lodge hall for the Masons and Odd Fellows.

Though the lodges moved out after the damaging earthquake of 1868, later occupants had more faith in the building's foundation and repaired walls held together by steel rods. In course of repairs, it converted from fraternal to hotel and business use. Thomas Rea, who bought it for \$40,000 in May, 1880, added the fourth and fifth floors. And further repairs after the earthquake of 1906 called for more steel rods and the installation of an elevator.

Among the notable ground floor occupants of the structure before it became the Growers Bank Building, were the United States Post Office and Wells, Fargo & Co.'s Express. Law and business offices shared the upstairs floors with insurance agencies and tailoring shops, and almost every other kind of business seeking modest quarters at attractive rental.

Here the Growers Bank prospered under its original name until April, 1929, when it became the

San José National Bank, an affiliate of the Anglo-National Corporation. With that, it set out to rival McLaughlin and Ryland's Bank in name changes. In February, 1935, it became the Anglo-California National Bank, then the Crocker-Anglo, Crocker National, and Citizens National. Finally, in November, 1963, it took the name under which it was operating at the time of this writing—Crocker Citizens Bank.

The original building matched each name change as long as the bank stayed in it—Growers, San José National, and Anglo-California National. But on October 10, 1940, the bank's vice-president, William H. Pabst, announced the structure's contemplated demolition to make way for one "of which modern San José can be proud of for many years to come."

Almost periodically thereafter, the local newspapers ran historical and other articles to keep the public informed on the progress of the project. On December 10 the *Mercury* reported that the building's great electric sign and "famous electric clock" had been taken down and put into storage—"but not necessarily for erection on the new building." It also noted that the bank had opened temporary quarters at 65-67 West Santa Clara Street, in rooms formerly occupied by the Goodfellows Grill.

On February 5, 1941, it was officially announced that the razing of the old building would begin "within the next few days" and that the new building would "be completed within a year." The only materials to be salvaged from the old bank would be the marble around the counters and the vault door.

As soon as the old building was cleared from the lot, work began on the new one under supervision of architect Ralph Wychoff. Despite war time conditions and material shortages, the Anglo-California dedicated its new home, a magnificent reinforced concrete structure, on Saturday, August 7, 1942.

By 1969, several ownership and name changes later, the little bank that started out for the specific purpose of aiding growers had become an integral part of a mighty Bay Area corporation boasting hundreds of millions of dollars in resources and several branches in San José and elsewhere in Santa Clara County.

Bank of Italy

Though no San Joséan realized it at the time, the farthest reaching event in this community's banking history occurred in 1909. It had all the aspects of creating a new bank and rescuing the stockholders of an old and long shaky one. Its impact would not only affect banking procedure all over the nation, but also spread abroad.

As noted elsewhere, Messrs. McLaughlin and Ryland brought the Commercial and Savings Bank into existence in 1874, with Martin Murphy, Jr., and his son Bernard as stockholders. McLaughlin sold his interest in this establishment in 1883, and Ryland's influence was soon overshadowed by that of the Murphys. Bernard Murphy, the bank's second president, continued in that office until 1895, eleven years after his father's death.

Bernard Daniel Murphy was a gregarious college-educated man, active in politics and involved in all kinds of organizations and civic movements. How he ever found time for the proper discharge of his duties as bank president, mayor, legislator, library board member, Alum Rock Park commissioner, and almost everything else, remains something of a mystery. But during his presidency and management of the Commercial and Savings, the bank's policy became pretty much Murphy policy.

The Commercial and Savings, the same as other San José banks, lent large sums of money to the great landholders of the area, with a Murphy family as a "typical beneficiary." As stated in Marquis and Bessie Rowland James' *Biography of a Bank*, "Loans on Murphy land reflected the history of family's ups and downs over a period of nearly thirty years." They were also accountable to a considerable degree for the fact that during this time the bank's capital had been pared down from \$500,000 to \$150,000.

The Commercial and Savings experienced a close call or two as a result of this procedure—so close that in 1895 frightened depositors demanded that Lazard Lion be elected president, replacing Murphy. Lion was founder of L. Lion and Sons Company, San José's largest furniture store. As president of the bank, he had his son Gustave for vice-president.

Together, they might have "kept the bank rolling along for a while" as the James' put it. But the State Banking Act of 1909 made that impossible.

The bank had created the Commercial Land Company, a holding company whose officers were identical with those of the bank. Its purpose was to clear long-carried land-secured foreclosures from the books of the bank, for which the bank would receive Commercial Land Company shares whose conversion to liquid assets at book value was out of the question. The new Banking Act did not regard these shares as legal assets. Messrs. Lion therefore hastened to San Francisco to discuss the matter with A. P. Giannini, native of San José and recent founder of the Bank of Italy.

In the Commercial and Savings' difficulty, Giannini saw an opportunity for his own bank's expansion. On October 12, 1909, the Bank of Italy's directors appointed a committee to obtain from State Superintendent of Banks Alden Anderson permission to establish a branch of their bank in San José, a deal that included absorbing the Commercial and Savings.

Anderson granted the desired permission, but one formidable legal obstacle remained to be cleared—by a somewhat roundabout method. The Banking Act prohibited one bank's buying another bank's stock, but it did not restrict the fertile mind of Bank of Italy attorney James A. Bacigalupi. He devised a plan whereby individuals representing the Bank of Italy bought the Commercial and Savings stock in their own names. The Bank of Italy would then buy the Commercial and Savings' remaining assets as permitted by law. In the resulting consolidation of the two banks, Commercial and Savings stock would be exchanged for Bank of Italy stock on the basis of ten shares for one.

On November 13, 1909, president Lion announced that control of the Commercial and Savings had passed to "L. Scatena of San Francisco" who had for fellow stockholders Dr. A. H. Giannini, James A. Bacigalupi, George G. Caglieri, and Nicholas Pellerano. The next day the *San José Mercury Herald* quoted Dr. Giannini:

The transformation of the local bank into a branch of the San Francisco institution does not

BANKING

mean that coin will be taken away to San Francisco, but that San Francisco coin will be brought to San José. The officers are in no sense intruders in the local field as many of them are very well known in the community, having lived here.

This applied particularly to Pellerano, drug store owner and long time resident of San José.

A month later, Bacigalupi gave a heartening talk to Commercial and Savings stockholders. Besides informing them that the crippled bank's accounts had taken an upswing since consolidation got under way, he also traced the next legal moves to complete the deal. He further noted that the unimpaired paid capital of the Commercial and Savings was not \$150,000 as supposed, but closer to \$143,000 of which only \$16,000 was in cash.

At the moment, the Bank of Italy had neither surplus stock nor intention of soon turning out a new issue. A. P. Giannini therefore offered to put up his personal stock, turning it over to the Commercial and Savings stockholders. The Commercial and Savings stockholders approved the offer. When the Bank of Italy stockholders ratified the transaction on January 1, 1910, the Commercial and Savings became the San José Branch of the Bank of Italy. More importantly, it became the Bank of Italy's first branch outside of that institution's Mission District office in San Francisco, sometimes referred to as only another teller's window of the mother bank on the other side of town.

Until this consolidation, the Commercial and Savings had led a nomadic life, occupying several locations as indicated in the story of the Safe Deposit Bank. Henceforth, the Bank of Italy would do the moving. The Bank of Italy remained at 64 West Santa Clara Street until shortly after it took over the Safe Deposit Bank in 1917. It then moved to the Safe Deposit's roomier quarters, which it outgrew by 1925. Its only move thereafter was to temporary quarters at 15 South First Street, where it operated until dedication of a new 13-story Bank of Italy Building on the southeast corner of First and Santa Clara Streets.

When the Bank of Italy picked up the Bank of San José and its two branches in 1927, and the Security

Bank in 1928, it became San José's dominant bank. During the latter year, it also established a branch in the "900 Block" of East Santa Clara Street. For the first time the people east of Coyote Creek had banking facilities in their own area.

Then came the biggest change of all. On November 3, 1930, the Bank of Italy changed its name to Bank of America, the title under which it became the world's largest banking institution. Adequate account of how the Bank of America attained this preeminence is beyond the scope of this narrative. A. P. Giannini's victories over the financial titans of Wall Street and elsewhere constitute the greatest banking epic in American history. Their far reaching results affected banking and money lending all over the world. They took in everything from simple crop loans to financing streamlined trains. Within a few years, this bank had twenty-eight branches in and around San José alone. And this was just a microcosm of its California activities.

Yet no worthwhile story of the institution's success could be written without considering the man who made it all possible by revolutionizing banking—Amadeo Pietro Giannini. "A. P.," as everyone knew Giannini, was born of Italian immigrant parents in San José on May 6, 1870. His twenty-two year old father, Luigi, and sixteen-year old mother, Virginia, came across the United States by the newly-opened transcontinental railroad. They arrived in San José almost before the echo of the mallet that drove the golden spike at Promontory died away.

At the time Amadeo was born, Luigi was operating the twenty-room Swiss Hotel at 248-250 Market Street, later renumbered 79-83 North Market Street. Two other children, Attilio H. and George soon followed. Luigi quickly learned hotel keeping and the English language. He soon had enough money to buy forty acres of land near Alviso. Here, he successfully farmed until his murder in August, 1876, by an Italian farmhand named Joséph Ferrara, alias Paolo Semorillo, in a dispute over one or two dollars in pay.

Before Ferrara's case came to trial, a fellow countryman allegedly told him to plead insanity. A jury empaneled on March 13, 1877, however, rejected that plea and, on the 17th, found the murderer guilty

as charged. Ferrara was sentenced to San Quentin for life, and two days later Sheriff Nicholas R. Harris took him there.

Virginia and her three young sons managed to get along on the family farm until well along in 1877. Accounts of the mother's activities are sketchy almost to the point of non-existence. What seems the most reliable one has her growing strawberries for the San Francisco market. Then she met and married Lorenzo Scatena who had come to California in 1863 at the age of thirteen.

Scatena had worked as a farm hand at the San Pedro Ranch, on the coast side of San Mateo County. Soon he had saved up enough money to buy a wagon and team of horses, and he entered business for himself. He delivered wholesale groceries in San Francisco for a while, then switched to hauling produce from surrounding farms to the Alviso boat landing and railroad station. After marrying Virginia Giannini, he took over the management of her farm and became a leading strawberry grower. He also loved and brought up her three sons as if they were his own, making sure they got good educations. Virginia, in turn, had three children by him—a son, Henry, and two daughters, Florence and Pearl.

In 1882 Scatena moved his family to San Francisco, where he entered the commission market business as a member of the fruit firm of A. Galli & Company. But within a year, he organized his own firm of L. Scatena & Company.

Meanwhile, Virginia enrolled her three sons by Luigi in the Washington Grammar School, near their Green Street home, to expand the rudiments of learning they had gathered in the little public school in Alviso. As her children by Scatena reached school age, they, too, went to Washington. Attilio, "the scholar of the family," went on to college to become a physician, but Amadeo directed all of his energy toward business.

As soon as classes at Washington let out in the afternoon, Amadeo streaked for L. Scatena & Company to learn all he could about buying and selling farm produce. He also picked up a few mysteries of accounting from the firm's bookkeeper, Tim Delay

(Daley?). This, topped off with five months in Heald's Business College, enabled him to meet the world as a partner in L. Scatena & Company before he was out of his teens.

Judged by modern "educationist" standards, Giannini was a dropout, entitled to no more than a contemptuous glance. Yet he accomplished more with his limited schooling than many a "Ph.D." could ever hope to do. Indeed, a sizeable number of "Ph.D.'s" owed their lucrative positions to his generous gifts to the University of California, of which he became a regent.

As Giannini worked his way up in the business world, he became acquainted with people of all racial stocks and origins. He learned their buying and selling practices by heart, and accompanied them down to the wharves to meet boats arriving with fruit and vegetables from the Santa Clara, Sacramento and San Joaquín Valleys. Their problems caught his sympathetic ear as did those of the farmers and orchardists on whom commission markets everywhere depended.

As a growing boy and mature man, one thing consistently angered him—the big banks' slighting the little farmer and small businessman. To him, any man who made a small patch of ground more productive or intelligently conducted a hole-in-the-wall store was entitled to unstinted banking service—something theretofore reserved for big landowners and merchant princes. In 1904, after observing the raw deals suffered by his North Beach Italian friends and the back country farmers, he resolved to do something about it. On October 17, after attending to all organizational problems with his directors, he opened the Bank of Italy for business. Previously, the people went to the bank, now the bank went to the people. As Giannini demanded, the man in overalls got the same courteous treatment as the big depositors.

In the very beginning, Giannini staffed his bank with employees who spoke two or more languages, particularly Italian, a practice that has continued. He scrupulously avoided what he considered the Canadian Bank's mistake in establishing provincial branches either by creation or acquisition. The Canadian filled branches with personnel from the mother bank,

strangers to the communities to which they were assigned. Giannini, on the other hand, saw that each of his branches was staffed with citizens of the community it served. This inspired local confidence and made for much better public relations and patronage. Employees could also climb the promotional ladder from small town to big city status with no stifling of initiative and ability.

Easily arranged credit for ordinary home owners and small farmers and business men proved another trump card. The thousands of new depositors and millions of dollars in assets that came through Giannini's doors soon attracted outside attention. Old line bankers who had anathematized Giannini methods as unorthodox and idiotic began to open their eyes. In adopting those methods, they eventually paid Giannini the greatest of all possible compliments.

Giannini had every opportunity to amass the greatest personal fortune in history, but the idea did not appeal to him. He gave away more money than many another high ranking financier ever acquired. One gift alone—\$1,500,000 to the University of California—reflected his undying love for agriculture. It established that institution's Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics. At the time of his death on June 3, 1949, Giannini left an estate of only \$489,278 much of which went to charities and old friends. It was far less than half the amount left by his stepfather, Lorenzo Scatena.

Despite his colossal stature in the banking world, Giannini was a simple, home-loving man. In 1892 he married Clorinda Agnes Cuneo, the same age as himself. She was a daughter of Joseph Cuneo, prominent North Beach businessman who had begun his California career as a miner on the Mother Lode. Clorinda presented to "A. P.," three sons and three daughters, all of whom attained honorable places in society.

One of the sons, Mario, proved himself as instinctive a banker as his father, both as president and board member. Time and again, in battling to save the Giannini empire from predatory New York interests, he was his father's sword and buckler.

A. P. Giannini's love extended not only to members of his own household, but also to Lorenzo Scatena who had protected and guided him since childhood. While Giannini was in Europe in August, 1930, he received word that his stepfather was dying in Sausalito. Giannini immediately sailed from Cherbourg, desperately hoping to reach Sausalito before Scatena breathed his last. From New York he rushed across the continent via the T. A. T.'s alternate train and plane service, the fastest means available at that time. He arrived at Scatena's home three hours too late to hold the hand of the man he loved with all his heart.

On June 3, 1949, the moment came for A. P. himself to die. He did so in full knowledge that he had created the greatest bank in history, with branches all over the world. But more importantly, knowing he had been the world's only banker who had consistently championed the cause of the little man gave him confidence of eternal peace. He had proved all things and held fast to that which was good.

The Bank of Italy's taking over the Commercial and Savings in 1909 marked the beginning of branch banking for San José. The founding of the Growers Bank in 1920 ended the first era of "home grown" banks. In 1942 the *San José City Directory* listed only six banks of any kind, and only six building and loan associations (now called savings and loan). All coming after 1942 owed their existence to the great influx of population that got under way during World War II.

The seventy-six years between 1866 and 1942, most of San José's early banks managed to survive in one form or another. One came all the way under its own power and corporate identity. Others made it by absorption or merger, but invariably lost their earlier names.

The Casualties

There had, however, been casualties. The first of these, the San José Savings Bank, supposedly died voluntarily, with an unexplained contributory factor or two. The San José Savings incorporated on January 30, 1868, with a capital stock of \$100,000. James C. Cobb, a physician, became its first president. Other officers and directors were Hiram Mabury, Woods

Mabury, W. W. McCoy, James Hart, Solomon A. Clark, Lawrence Archer, Hiram Shartzer, B. Bryant, Simon M. Cutler, J. H. Flickinger, and John Joseph Bowen.

These men represented a wide field of experience, ranging from finance and farming to medicine and civil engineering. Yet little remains to describe the workings of their institution, founded in a day when banking regulations were none too irksome. The most apprehensive moment in the entire San José Savings' history probably came in May, 1880. Someone embezzled \$16,000, and suspicion fell upon secretary Robert Krieg. Though the money was soon found in a canvas bag in the vault, Krieg committed suicide by slashing the arteries of his wrist and upper arm.

The following October 16, the San José Savings went out of business, presumably because its proprietors wished to run their own bank in their own way. When the State Bank Commission criticized their procedure, he noted that they "closed their doors without loss to the depositors."

The next casualty was the Farmers Union Bank, founded May 11, 1874, the same year as the store of that name. It stood unique as San José's only firm serving simultaneously as a bank and merchandising establishment. The bank's officers and directors were presumably identical with those of the store. The ups and downs of both were in some way linked to those of the valley's farmers for whom they were organized.

In any event, the bank did not long survive the nationwide depression of 1907-8. When it suspended, its obituary in the First National Bank's flow sheet consisted only of a verb and a date: *Suspended October 16, 1912.*

Despite the risks involved, San José never lacked men who felt sure they were born to be bankers. On November 30, 1889, several of these venturesome souls incorporated the Union Savings Bank with Walter Scott Thorne as president, Silas Newton Johnson as vice-president, and Henry Ward Wright as cashier.

Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers, a book published by the *Mercury* in 1895, showed the bank in flourishing condition with \$1,232,491.17 in assets and \$880,919

in deposits. Wright was president and manager with a new set of officers. The *City Directory* for the following year listed Wright and the same officers, plus an authorized capital of \$1,000,000 and paid up capital of \$300,000.

Yet the State Bank Commissioners closed its doors in 1898, and the *City Directory* listed it as "liquidating" for several years thereafter. Many stockholders were said to have "lost everything." But one, who sensed or knew what was coming, escaped disaster by paying off a large debt with his stock one day before the bank suspended.

The modern expression "wheeler-dealer" may well describe James Augustine Costa, founder of San José's next ill-fated bank. He may also be likened to the mythical king who jumped upon his horse and rode in all directions at once. But no one could accuse him of laziness.

Costa, was born in Amador City, California, May 15, 1864. He came to Santa Clara County at the age of six, settling near New Almaden, where his father grew vegetables for families living at the New Almaden and Guadalupe mines and the Goodrich Quarry. He learned the fundamentals of business in helping his father grow, deliver, and collect for vegetables. Later, he attended San José High School and the Garden City Business College. In 1887 Costa married Miss Mary E. Gray of New Almaden. The next half dozen years saw him as a steamship agent in San Francisco, and as the San José real estate dealer and developer. Then, as if these activities were not enough, he added banking to them in 1896.

Costa's bank opened and ran its entire course at 22 North Market Street under the name of Bank of James Costa & Co. It was purely a private bank with his wife as secretary-manager and himself as assistant manager and cashier. From behind its counters, he directed all of his ventures. His customers could deposit money or buy a steamship ticket or house lot without leaving the premises. Here and at his two-story mansion at 229 West St. James Street, Costa enjoyed his palmiest days. He also had a \$40,000 interest in his father's estate, which had taken on other valuable holdings since the New Almadén vegetable growing days.

BANKING

Costa's bank came to an abrupt end in 1912. Details of its demise are exceedingly skimpy—and, even then, are more in the realm of hint than of fact. Many years later, old-timers answered enigmatically when questioned, indicating all was not what it should have been. The First National's flow sheet summed the matter up more directly: *Bank of James A. Costa & Co. 1896 Suspended 1912.*

Other Banks and Building and Loan Companies

At the beginning of 1942, the first full year of United States involvement in World War II, the classified pages of the *San José City Directory* listed six banks and six building and loan firms in the City of San José.

The banks have been covered elsewhere in this work. But the building and loan firms were: San José Building & Loan Assn., established in 1885; Guaranty Building & Loan Assn., 1919; Nucleus Building & Loan Assn., 1889; First Federal Savings & Loan Assn.

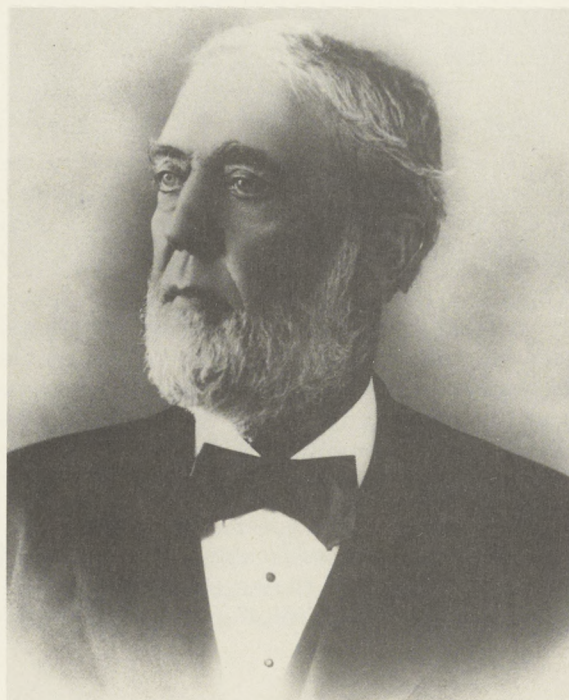
of San José, 1925; Surety Building & Loan Assn., 1926; Independent Building & Loan Assn., 1929.

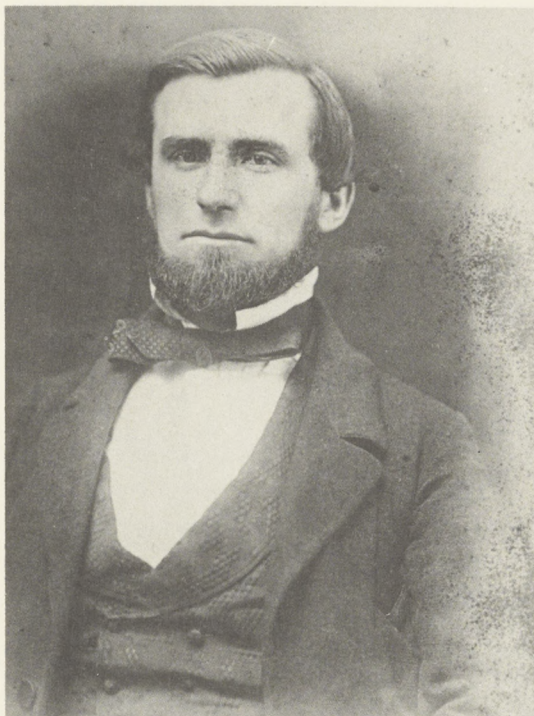
The figure for the banks, which had risen only to nine by the beginning of 1956, included the recently-arrived Hibernia Bank at 142 West Santa Clara Street, with John F. McArdle as manager.

By this time, the rush of newcomers to the Santa Clara Valley was already gaining the momentum that soon became uncontrollable. An ever increasing number of industries and business firms had to be financed; hundreds of thousands of new citizens built new homes. As the number of banks and building and loans skyrocketed, their changes of name through merger or choice multiplied faster than even a day-to-day journalist could keep track of them.

Establishments with such exotic names as Summitomo Bank and Bank of Tokyo attached themselves to local usage in the 1960's. Banks with American or English names soon became commonplace. And all, of whatever name, waited patiently for some future historian to record their stories.

Caius Tacitus Ryland (1826-1897), native of Howard County, Missouri, came overland in the Gold Rush of 1849. He, too, quickly discerned that a man of his temperament could make more money in law, banking, and judicious investment than in mining with a pick and pan. By the end of 1850, he had firmly established himself in San José. He married Letitia Burnett, daughter of Governor Burnett, and became one of the city's most prominent bankers. Ryland Avenue, running westward from the "400" block of North First Street, bears his name.



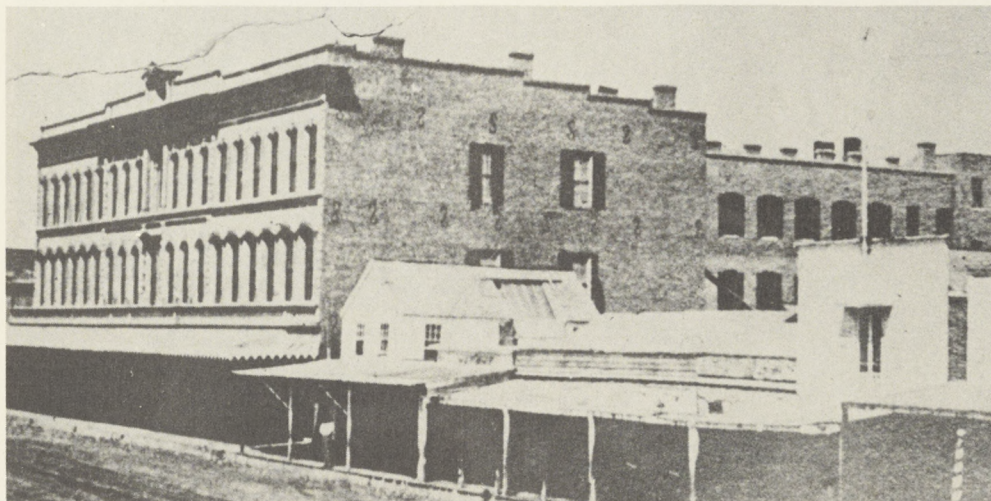


James Atkins Clayton, born in England in 1831, migrated with his parents to Wisconsin in 1839, and overland to California in 1850 with his brother, Joel. After a brief fling at mining in California and Australia, he settled in San José. Here he has been credited with being California's second commercial photographer. But he seems better remembered for being County Clerk, founder of the James A. Clayton real estate firm, and president of the First National Bank. He died in 1896.



This southward view along First Street from approximately 150 feet north of Santa Clara Street was taken in 1910. Note the First National Bank Building, still under construction, on the near right.

It dwarfs the distant Garden City Bank Building, which was the tallest building in town from 1907 to 1910. The five-story Bank of San José, visible in the upper left corner of the photo, is dwarfed by both of the "skyscrapers."



The cameraman had hardly left the scene when a wrecker moved in to raze the shacks in the right foreground of this photograph. They occupied a 50-vara lot (137-1/2 feet square) on the northwest corner of First and Santa Clara Streets, sold to Dr. William J. Knox for \$21,000 in July, 1865. Knox erected upon it the two-story \$30,000 Knox Block in which he and Thomas Ellard Beans opened San José's first bank on March 1, 1866. A wrecking crew leveled it in 1945 to make way for J. C. Penney Co.



This undated photo, probably taken about 1915, shows the interior of Wells, Fargo & Co.'s downtown San José office when it was at what appears to have been 44 South Market Street. General Agent W. F. Powars sits at his favorite roll-top desk, with three unidentified clerks looking on from their respective compartments.



This somewhat ornate structure stood on the south side of Santa Clara Street about midway between First and Market. It belonged to the San José Savings Bank, which incorporated in 1868 with the incredibly small capital of \$10,000. By 1874, with a capital of \$300,000, this bank appeared to be in the most flourishing condition. Yet, because the state banking commissioners criticized its banking methods, it went out of business, with no loss to its customers, in 1880.



FROM THE
Security State Bank
 Of San Jose, Cal.
 32 East Santa Clara Street.
 A COMMERCIAL BANK
 WITH A
 SAVINGS DEPARTMENT.

OFFICERS.
 W. S. RICHARDS, - - - President.
 HENRY BOOKSIN, Sr., - - - Vice President.
 E. T. STERLING, - - - Cashier.
 WILBUR J. EDWARDS, - - - Asst. Cashier.

Judged by modern standards, old-time banking advertising may seem a bit quaint, but it was practical. Shown here is the cover of a little folder distributed by the Security State Bank of San José in 1908. Some of the virtues extolled inside are to Avoid Debt; Begin by Saving Some, No Matter How Little; The Dollars You Have Spent Earn No Income; and Pleasures Bought on Credit Haunt the future!



The Garden City Bank Building, erected on the southwest corner of First and San Fernando Streets in 1906-7, was proudly dubbed by San Joséans as the city's "first skyscraper" for many years afterward.

Though the Garden City Bank Bldg., at First and San Fernando Sts., was often referred to as San José's first skyscraper, the honor probably belonged to the Rea Bldg., seen here through the framework of the city's famous electric tower. This structure stood on the northwest corner of Santa Clara and Market Sts. until razed in 1941 to make space for the Anglo California Bank.



Looking southward through San José's financial district in the mid-1880's: Here, at the intersection of First and Santa Clara Streets, stand three banks and a large office building. The Bank of San José, with its four-way tower clock, occupies the near left (or northeast) corner. Directly across Santa Clara Street, on the southeast corner, the Commercial and Savings (later Safe Deposit) Bank sports its architectural finery for an admiring public. On the far right corner, stands the First National Bank, which came into existence as the Farmers National Gold Bank, in 1874. The Knox Block, dating back to 1865, takes up the near right corner, later occupied by J. C. Penney Co.



Looking southward across the intersection of First and Santa Clara Streets in 1925, the Safe Deposit Block, which boasted several changes of name, stands on the corner at the left. It, together with its many cornices and other architectural decoration, would soon be razed to make way for a 13-story Bank of Italy (later Bank of America) building. The building on the right is the First National Bank.



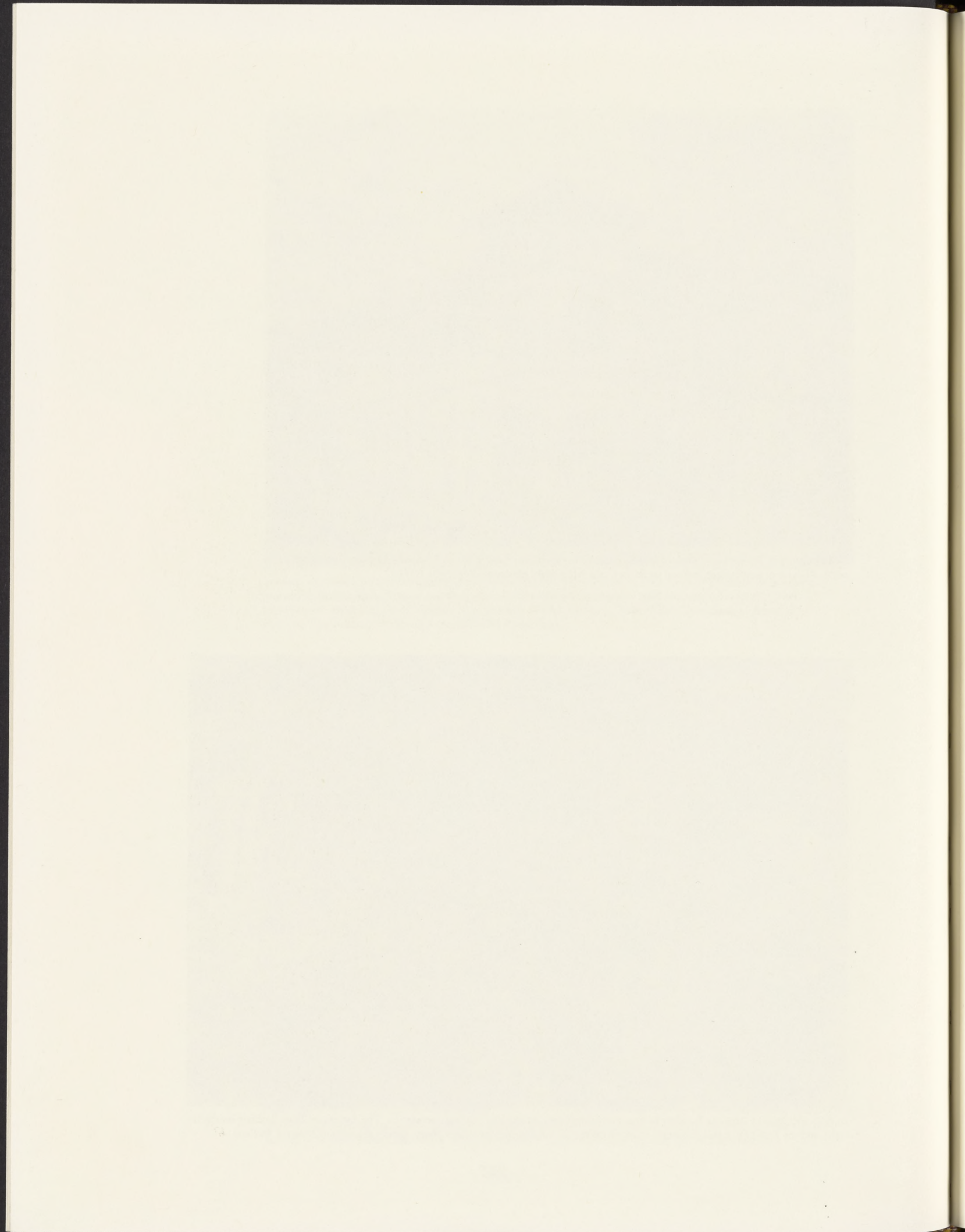
The San José Building and Loan Association, founded in Granger Hall in 1885, had several different locations before settling at 81 West Santa Clara Street, where this photo was taken just after its "face lift" in the mid-1920's.



This branch of A. P. Giannini's Bank of Italy was the first branch built outside of San Francisco. Located within 100 yards of Giannini's birthplace, it stood on Santa Clara Street and Lightston Alley (circa 1912).

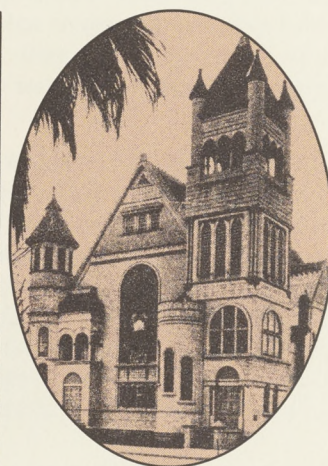
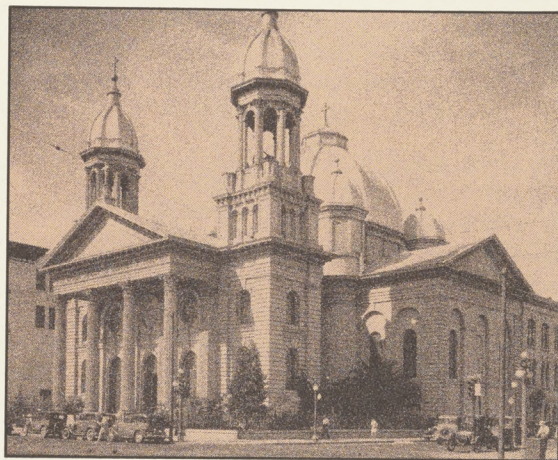


In 1926, the Bank of America Building at First and Santa Clara Streets was nearing completion. The American Trust Building on the far right, and the Post Office and St. Joseph's Church on the far left also appear in this photo. (photo courtesy of Leonard McKay)



12

RELIGION



12

RECEIVED



Catholic Churches

Chaplains of passing ships conducted Christian worship at widely separated points of the California coast as early as 1579 and 1602. Yet, organized religion in lasting theological form did not arrive until July, 1769. It came by land from México to what is now San Diego with the exploring party of Lieutenant Gaspar de Portolá, which included missionary Padres Junípero Serra, Juan Crespi, Rafael Verger, and Guillermo Vicens.

Of these four missionaries, Crespi was first to see the area later described as Santa Clara County. He touched its northern end with a Portolá scouting party late in 1769, and passed through it twice with Lieutenant Pedro Fages in 1772.

Arrival of these missionaries—and others soon afterward—resulted in the establishment of the first seven of California's Franciscan missions by the end of 1776. Beginning with San Diego, they were San Carlos Borromeo, San Antonio, San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, San Francisco de Asís, and San Juan Capistrano.

Viceroy Bucareli had already included the eighth mission of the chain—Santa Clara de Asís—in his plans. On December 25, 1776, he wrote to Serra, stressing the urgency of its establishment. But on January 12, 1777, long before his letter could reach California, Padre Tomás de la Peña had blessed the site, raised a cross, and celebrated the opening mass of the new mission.

Santa Clara's first church stood just southwest of the point where the Bayshore Highway later crossed Guadalupe River. The second stood about 400 yards south of the first, near the present intersection of De La Cruz Boulevard and Martin Avenue.¹ The third, serving from 1784 to 1819, practically covered the intersection of Franklin Street and Campbell Avenue, much closer to the present church.

None of these locations proved convenient to the Pueblo of San José, founded ten and a half months

after the Mission. But they afforded the only church facilities between Monterey Bay and the Golden Gate.

San Joséans wishing to attend Mass had to go to Santa Clara, a long and sometimes dangerous journey. They had to ford the capricious Guadalupe, a sinuous, brush-choked stream that frequently inundated the land. In flood season, they risked drowning in a mile-wide sea of brown water or sinking out of sight in bottomless mud.

This situation prevailed for the first twenty-six years of San José's existence and probably restrained the religious fervor of more than a few *pobladores* who had to survive similar flooding closer to home. Padre Magín Catalá's completion of The Alameda in 1799, two years after the pueblo moved to higher ground, hardly bettered conditions. Willow saplings, planted along both sides of the avenue, resisted no winter floods—and offered little protection from summer sun.

Finally, the *pobladores* felt they had endured enough inconvenience. Through their *comisionado*, Sergeant Macario Castro, they applied in 1802 to the governmental and clerical authorities in Monterey for a church of their own. Their request was granted, and on July 12, 1803, governmental representative José María Estudillo and Padre José Viader officiated in the cornerstone ceremony of a church dedicated to the pueblo's patron, St. Joseph.

The small edifice that soon rose above the cornerstone had adobe walls, a common gabled *ramada* (thatch) roof, and, more than likely, a dirt floor. In 1835, it was replaced or augmented by another structure of similar materials destined to be encased by kiln-dried brick in 1858. This edifice, in turn, suffered irreparable damage from the great earthquake of 1868, and had to be replaced by an entirely new building the following year.

But St. Joseph's tragic era had not yet passed. On April 23, 1875, a devastating fire swept the 1869 church, stunning San José's Roman Catholic community. Yet before the year ended, architect Bryan Clinch completed plans for the present edifice whose cornerstone ceremony took place on March 19, 1876. Construction was rushed, and Archbishop Joseph S.

¹The bronze historical marker here is not on the actual site, but is within the area. The Big Cross is on the only spot the landowner would permit.

Alemaný dedicated the new church on April 22, 1877—before its dome and bell towers were finished.

Meanwhile, the congregation worshipped in two temporary locations. The first, used for three months immediately after the fire, was City Market Hall on the southwest corner of Market and El Dorado Streets. The second, a small frame church costing \$1,950, stood on the west side of San Pedro Street, a door or two north of San Fernando.

These temporary locations, plus the story of Antonio Suñol's donating the land for the second church, have caused much speculation regarding the site of the first church. Yet the earliest available maps of the area show the first and second churches on the same site in 1820 and 1840. The question of whether Suñol donated all the land for the second church or, more specifically, some land for enlargement of the first one has yet to be satisfactorily answered.

For the first forty-six years of its existence, St. Joseph's had neither resident priest nor parish status. It depended entirely on Santa Clara for its clergy. Its first pastors, José Viader and Magín Catalá, came from the Mission at stated times to celebrate Mass and conduct other holy services. Both were Santa Clara Franciscans as were all three of their successors prior to the spring of 1851—Rafael de Jesús de Moreno, José María Pinyero, and José María Real.

The first Jesuit—Father John Nobili—came in May, 1850, to assist Father Pinyero who spoke no English. The following spring, on order of Bishop Alemany, Nobili took full charge of the "parish of Santa Clara and pueblo of San José." Whereupon, the Franciscans departed from this area. The administration of St. Joseph's affairs has since remained with the Society of Jesus, and the 1877 edifice still marks the first site of Christian worship in San José.

Division of St. Joseph's authority in San José came with the founding of St. Patrick's Church in 1872, while St. Joseph's was painfully convalescing from the earthquake damage of 1868. Indeed, the Archbishop's announcement that San José would get a new parish at this time brought a wry observation from Father Nicholas Congiato of St. Joseph. Noting that the new parish got the high and dry side of town east of Fourth Street, where most of the people with

means lived, Congiato said, "And to us remains the floodable part of San José."

With Father Joseph Gallagher as its first pastor, St. Patrick's occupied a little frame structure, hardly larger than a cottage, on the east side of Eighth Street just south of Santa Clara. While here, it began construction of a beautiful \$15,000 brick structure of Gothic architectural style on the northwest corner of Ninth and Santa Clara Streets. And on moving there, it took along the original structure to serve as the pastor's residence.

St. Patrick's, the same as St. Joseph's, occupied its brick edifice before completion. Early photos show it without a steeple, and the interior did not receive finishing touches until 1888. Among St. Patrick's clergy who left indelible marks on San José society were Patrick J. Dowling, Lawrence Serda, and D. Spellman, all secular. Serda took the last confession of the bandit Tiburcio Vasquez in 1875.

Just as ivy had begun to make a good showing on the outer walls of St. Patrick's, the great earthquake of 1906 turned the whole structure into a heap of rubble in half a dozen seconds. Except for a few bricks that might be salvaged for foundation purposes, it was a total loss.

Moreover, St. Patrick's got no comfort from knowing St. Joseph's, downtown, had suffered \$80,000 damage. Both had more than their respective shares of trouble. And though each deplored the other's loss, both immediately went to work—St. Joseph's to repair, St. Patrick's to rebuild.

On April 14, 1907, four days less than one year after the earthquake, St. Patrick dedicated a beautiful modified Gothic edifice with shingle siding on the site of the destroyed church. This structure served until termites and general deterioration compelled it to give way to a more modern building on St. Patrick's Day, 1967.

On June 19, 1968, the *Mercury* announced that many of old St. Patrick's furnishings would be sold at public auction eleven days later. The same paper reported on July 10 that the abandoned church looked as if "it had been rocked by an explosion." Its work had been taken over by the brand new half million

dollar St. Patrick's on the northeast corner of Santa Clara and Eighth Streets, several doors to the west. But the great bell that had tolled all services for three generations of faithful communicants had gone silent.

Two decades after its first division, St. Joseph's parish divided again, this time into what was known as a "national church." For more than thirty years, San José's German colony had been growing steadily. Its members of Protestant persuasion had long since organized for religious service in their native tongue, and eventually those espousing Roman Catholicism decided to do likewise.

The idea was first suggested by Father George Hieber who obtained the backing of Pastor Bartholomew Calzia of St. Joseph's and Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan of San Francisco. Within a short time, Father Joseph Mueller, S. J., raised enough money to begin construction of an attractive \$15,000 building on a lot at 553 South Third Street, donated by Myles P. O'Connor who lived nearby.

Laying of the cornerstone took place on July 10, 1891, and on March 21, 1892, the clergy dedicated a commodious brick and sandstone edifice in honor of St. Mary. This church combined different architectural orders and lines in a manner that reflected the skill of its designer, William Klinkert. It followed neither the classical order of St. Joseph's nor the Gothic of St. Patrick's. A stone triplearched entrance gave it a touch of Romanesque, while other details were seemingly borrowed from middle Europe. Round, slim spires, the tallest of their kind in San José, tapered upward to sharp, cross supporting points in a manner that must have reminded worshippers of similar ones in the fatherland. Blocks of brown sandstone from Jacob Pfeiffer's Greystone Quarry near New Almadén formed large sections of the lower walls and supported the steeples.

Most important of interior decorations was the altar, made of wood by Brother Anthony Ciotti, S. J., and beautifully adorned with figures carved by Gregorio Bianchi of San Francisco. It came from St. Joseph's, which had just erected a magnificent marble altar donated by banker Edward McLaughlin.

In after years, as the number of German immigrants to this area diminished, so did the need for

sermons in the German language. The old generation died off, their children grew up speaking English, and St. Mary's adjusted accordingly.

With one national church established and flourishing, others were sure to follow. Early in 1905, San Joséans of Italian origin, who had been worshipping in the older churches, decided to establish one of their own. They accordingly canvassed their community, most of which was in the Fourth Ward, with the blessing of St. Joseph's. The result was a "miniature St. Peter's," built in 1906 on the northwest corner of San Fernando and River Streets.

With Father Serafino Snider as its first pastor, this church took the name "Holy Family." It had a seating capacity of 400. Its classical portico and great silver dome formed a neighborhood landmark until the projection of the Guadalupe Parkway in 1969 forced the congregation to seek a new location. On August 3 of that year, Holy Family's clergy celebrated Mass in a three-car garage at 4848 Pearl Avenue, a humble structure that served until completion of a new church building.

During the decade before this move, urban redevelopment and shifting population had changed Holy Family's congregational pattern. As second and third generation Italians moved into newer residential areas, Méxicans took their places in the Fourth Ward, and language used in the church slowly changed from Italian to Spanish.

Environment at the Holy Family's new location forecast a definite shift to English. Yet, as long as Holy Family remains to serve its parish, no member of the flock can forget Fathers Snider, Aloysius Roccati, Athanasius Biagini and Harold de Lucchi who laid the ground work for all subsequent construction.

About the time that Holy Family's founders attained their objective, a little mission began to serve the large Italian colony in the northern part of St. Patrick's parish. It took the name of Most Precious Blood, and under that title ministered to the spiritual needs of the area's residents for fourteen years. Father Ignatius Tutorici conducted the first baptism within its precincts on September 7, 1906. In 1911, the mission became an Italian national church, occasionally

RELIGION

referred to as a National Church of Sicily, with Father Egisto Tozzi, S.J., as pastor.

A modest frame structure, which rose on the southeast corner of Twelfth and Jackson Streets in 1911, it served the parish until erection of a larger and more up-to-date structure in 1920, during the pastorate of the Reverend James Sorasio. Almost concurrently with the latter event, the church changed its name from Most Precious Blood to Holy Cross, the name by which it was known as late as 1969.

But San José's roll of Roman Catholic national churches had yet to be filled. Devout Portuguese families who farmed the valley east of Coyote Creek, and well into the eastern hills, had long desired to worship in their own tongue. On November 8, 1914 they therefore organized a church to be known as Five Wounds.

Five Wounds' first pastor was Father (later Monseigneur) Henrique Ribeiro. The first church was a small frame structure known as I E S Hall, a Portuguese society's meeting place at 1401 East Santa Clara Street. It lacked even a hint of anything pretentious, but it inspired the parishioners to something far more ambitious—a magnificent baroque edifice of cathedral proportions with a seating capacity of 700.

Construction of this church began a door or two west of the I E S Hall in 1916, but owing to conditions brought about by World War I, work proceeded slowly. Dedication did not take place until 1919. Even before completion, Five Wounds became a Santa Clara Valley landmark. Its beautiful double towers could be seen from miles around, and its old country architectural style attracted countless artists and camera enthusiasts. Together with the pastor's residence, school, social hall, spacious gardens, and other appurtenances, the Five Wounds establishment soon covered most of a city block. From its earliest days, Five Wounds represented an industrious law-abiding people who made vast contributions to the upbuilding of their city and county.

In 1912, two years before the creation of Five Wounds' parish, "the Faith" began to spread westward from the corporate limits of the city. Catholic residents of the Interurban Park and Roselawn areas,

later called Burbank District, welcomed a little mission sent out from St. Joseph's. For the first time, they could attend church without having to go to Santa Clara or the center of San José to do so.

In 1914, this mission became the Church of St. Martin of Tours, with Father John McNally, a secular priest, as pastor. St. Martin's stood on the northeast corner of West San Carlos Street and Cleveland Avenue, a tiny frame structure destined to early enlargement. At that time, St. Martin's experienced no serious trouble in coping with the area's leisurely growth. Half a dozen neighborhood stores along the north side of San Carlos Street took care of most inhabitants' need for meat, grocery, and other simple wants. Anyone wishing something more elaborate could hop the Peninsular Railway's Bascom Local to town.

As late as 1920, the main area was fairly well filled with inexpensive homes for people of moderate means,—and with abundant room for expansion into surrounding orchards and fields. But World War II changed that. Burbank became a bustling business community as the orchards and fields disappeared under the homes of thousands of newcomers. St. Martin's, bursting at its cornerposts enlarged, but to little avail. By 1953, its old site became untenable, and a new building with a seating capacity of 600 came into existence at 200 O'Connor Avenue, a mile to the northwest, the following year.

Here, St. Martin's constituted the center of a parish whose size may be perceived by noting several of the thoroughfares that formed its boundaries. Among them were San Tomas Expressway and Meridian, Payne, and Walnut Grove Avenues.

The next "close in" church to attain full parish status was St. Leo's at 1049 West San Fernando Street. It opened in 1915 as a mission from St. Joseph's, with the Reverend William Butler, S.J., in charge.

In 1920, St. Leo's became a canonical parish and took on the ambitious program of building a school on the same premises the same year. Whereupon its history became almost inseparable from that of the school. Parishioners could hardly mention one without thinking of the other. Both originally occupied one-story frame structures with shingled roof and yellow triple-lapped siding.

Sisters from the College of Notre Dame, then in the 200 Block of West Santa Clara Street, taught the school's first classes, a somewhat inconvenient arrangement. In 1923, the year that Notre Dame moved from San José to Belmont, the Society of Jesus turned the school and church over to diocesan (secular) clergy represented by Father John McNally. McNally had no easy time with both. The school had to close for want of teachers until the Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary came out from Dubuque, Iowa, to take charge a short time later.

An experienced parish builder, McNally eventually moved on to other fields, leaving behind him a succession of highly capable men to administer St. Leo's affairs. Among them were the Reverends Harry J. Lyne, John Buckley, and Joseph Manning.

The little frame school and church of Father McNally's day have long since given way to large modern structures, with no hint of the austerity of old. The school, which started with seventy-five pupils in 1920, had 440 by 1951, but later reduced the size of its classes and declined a bit in conformity with state regulations.

The parish, however, continued to flourish. The present church, dedicated by Archbishop J. J. Mitty on December 13, 1953, is a far cry from the humble mission structure of 1915. Occupying the northeast corner of Race and San Fernando Streets, it has a seating capacity of 750.

While most of San José's Roman Catholic churches came into existence first, and their schools afterward, Sacred Heart Church seems to have reversed the order. Tradition shows it as an outgrowth, or result, of St. Francis Xavier School, founded on the northeast corner of Palm and West Virginia Streets in 1905.

Listed in the *City Directory* as located at 974 Palm Street with Father Serafino Snider as pastor, in 1918, Sacred Heart started as a mission from St. Joseph's, became an Italian national church, and ultimately attained its present territorial parish status. Construction of its present building began in 1927, and on February 12, 1928, the *Mercury* reported Archbishop Edward J. Hanna's officiating in the cornerstone ceremony.

St. Francis Xavier School, abandoning its original site in 1949, moved to Sacred Heart's premises at 310 Edwards Avenue and became Sacred Heart School.

With Sacred Heart, San José rounded out its list of Roman Catholic churches established prior to American entry into World War I. Most of them started as missions that grew into independent territorial parishes. The majority had established parochial schools of their own. Several had neighborhood social halls. And the two oldest—St. Joseph's and St. Patrick's—had for many years sent priests to hold services in such far apart communities as Alviso and New Almadén's Hacienda and Town on the Hill.

During the great wave of church construction following World War II, San José got several more Roman Catholic parishes in rapid succession. Under the pastorate of Father (later Monseigneur) John J. Healey, St. Christopher's Church came into existence on the southeast corner of Curtner and Booksin Avenues in October, 1951. St. John Vianney began to serve the Alum Rock area in 1952, while the Holy Spirit's edifice rose at 1200 Redmond Avenue in 1966 to serve the New Almadén area.

St. Maria Goretti, with Father Arthur W. Hoffman as pastor, became a parish in 1961. Its present edifice, at Senter Road, was built in 1962.

To serve communicants of Mexican origin, Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, came into existence as a mission from St. Joseph's under Father Donald McDonnell in 1953. On becoming a parish in 1962, it marked the return of Franciscans to the Santa Clara Valley, with Father Anthony Soto. Its present octagonal building was erected in 1968.

At last report, all these later institutions were carrying on their labors with gratifying success. The chain reaction, begun with St. Joseph's little *ramada*-covered adobe in 1803, showed every sign of continuing indefinitely.

Protestant Churches

An interval of 267 years separated the first Protestant Christian service in California from a provable second.

RELIGION

When Francis (later Sir Francis) Drake beached his *Golden Hinde* for repairs at some obscure point on the Marin coast in 1579, Chaplain Francis Fletcher conducted worship, using the *Anglican Prayer Book* of the new Church of England. This event is sometimes referred to as the first Christian service on the mainland of California. Church historian Dr. Clifford M. Drury pronounced it "the first Protestant service in the English tongue in what is now continental United States."²

Adna A. Hecox, a Methodist "local preacher" conducted the first Protestant service in what is now Santa Clara County. It was for the funeral of a child of Joseph Aram, which took place in Santa Clara in December, 1846.

Hecox and Aram had just come overland from Missouri with a large immigrant party that had taken shelter against oncoming winter in several abandoned buildings at Mission Santa Clara. From about January 1 to mid February, 1847, Hecox conducted Sunday evening prayer meetings and other services of Methodist persuasion as often as possible for his multi-denominational group. He moved to Santa Cruz with the coming of good weather, but occasionally visited this area thereafter. Lyman mentions hearing him preach in San José in May, 1848.

The next Protestant clergyman to come this way was Chester Smith Lyman who, as noted in another chapter, arrived in San José in July, 1847. There was nothing of the "stump preacher," "local preacher," licentiate, or exhorter about him. A Yale graduate, he was a civil engineer, astronomer, and the finished product of a divinity school—an ordained Congregational minister.

Lyman noted carefully and faithfully attended every Sabbath evening meeting possible. His diary indicates that these meetings, often held in the homes of Methodists and conducted "largely" in the Methodist fashion, were not *strictly* Methodist. He himself

preached at several of them, and he mentioned a "Rev. Mr. Brierly," a Baptist, preaching at Methodist Zachariah Jones' house as late as December 9, 1849. And another meeting, strictly Methodist, took place on the same date at the home of Samuel Crockett Young.

Though the two groups were locally about evenly divided at that time, and though many of the evening prayer meetings took place in the homes of Southerners, Lyman failed to distinguish between members of the Methodist Episcopal Church from those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He indicated, however, that their meetings did not occur with unbroken regularity. Several times, when he was in town on the Sabbath, his diary received no mention of religious service at anyone's house or elsewhere. He also noted poorly attended meetings, and recorded one occasion when an advertised preacher did not show up.

One of Lyman's most significant entries concerns what appears to have been the first attempt to put San José's Protestantism onto an organized basis. On Sunday, May 7, 1848, after noting that Mr. Hecox and the Reverend Elihu Anthony had preached at an undisclosed place, he continued:

A sort of temporary religious soc(iety) or class was formed on the Methodist basis; about a dozen joined.

About this time, however, news of the Coloma gold discovery arrived. Except for outsiders passing through San José on their way to the gold region, the town was almost depopulated, and the "temporary religious society" seems to have languished for some time thereafter.

After a summer of alternate mining and trading, in and out of the diggings, Lyman left the Tuolumne River region on October 26 and arrived at San José on November 1.

How many, if any, prayer or other religious meetings took place in San José during his absence is a question. With himself, Hecox, Anthony, and Dun-

²"A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, No. 2, June 1947.

leavy in the diggings, there was probably no one left here to keep record.³

Presbyterians

Lyman was out of town three week-ends between the first of November and last of December, 1848, and therefore mentioned no meetings that might have occurred during his absence. Yet for the five Sundays when he was here, he recorded only one. And he mentioned none at all during the months of January and February, 1849, though he was in San José every Sunday.

On March 3, however, he reported the arrival of an ordained Presbyterian minister, the Reverend John Douglas, for whose pastorate local Presbyterians subscribed \$1,400 in cash and pledged \$2,500 more. Douglas promptly set about gathering a flock. But poor health and church work that frequently took him to San Francisco interrupted his preaching several times during the first two or three months. On these occasions, Lyman substituted for him.

From early spring to early fall, Lyman was away from San José much of the time, surveying in the Sacramento delta region and attending business in San Francisco. He therefore missed what he would have considered the most important event in San José's church history, which can best be described by the record:

"On Saturday evening, October 6, 1849, the following persons were assembled with the Rev. J. W. Douglas at the house of Mr. James Mathers, viz.: Mr. James Mathers and Sarah his wife, Warren Dutton, S. W. Hopkins, Oliver Crane, Austin Arnold and Dr. James C. Cobb. After prayer and conversation it was determined to organize a church on the morrow after the Presbyterian form."⁴

The next day, October 7, Douglas and this little flock founded San José's first formally organized Protestant church with an ordained resident pastor, fully empowered to administer the sacraments. It took the name of Independent Presbyterian Church of San José, but on June 3, 1858—changed the title to First Presbyterian Church of San José.

Though the Methodists unquestionably held the first Protestant services in this community, the Presbyterians claimed the first formally organized church. According to Dr. Clifford M. Drury's, *A Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California*, the Methodists did not complete their organization until after arrival of the Reverend William Taylor in 1850.

But together, these two churches marked the beginnings of organized Protestantism in San José. All other local Protestants organized after incorporation of the City the following March. To get leaders and successors into perspective and chronological order, a glance at the general growth is in order.

From James Mathers' house, where they were organized, the Presbyterians moved to the *Juzgado*—or "town hall" as Lyman called it. After that structure's razing in 1850, they met in the Assembly Hall of the Statehouse. Finally, on February 9, 1851, they dedicated a little frame edifice of their own on the east side of Second Street about midway between Santa Clara and St. John. Together with the lot on which it stood, it represented an investment of some \$3,000.

About this time, Douglas left San José, and the Reverend Isaac H. Brayton took over from August, 1850, to January, 1852. Then came Eli Corwin, who remained until 1858. Corwin distinguished himself in the community for more than clerical activities. In 1854, he prodded the City into providing good housing for common schools, and in 1856 he became the city's first school superintendent.

Corwin's pastorate ended toward the close of 1858, and his successor, the Reverend Laurentine Hamilton, took over on May 1, 1859.

³Mrs. Hecox (*California Caravan*) showed Dunleavy's given name and initials as James D. T., and spelled his surname Dunleavey. Bancroft, who had his signature, noted this discrepancy, saying the given name and initials were James G. T., and the surname was spelled without the second "e." Lyman's spelling agreed with Bancroft's.

⁴All but Cobb signed the petition for the church. He joined later.

RELIGION

Hamilton, a native of Seneca, N. Y., came to California in 1855. He had preached and built a church in the Mother Lode town of Columbia before coming to San José, where he promptly took an active part in public affairs. He, too, became superintendent of San José's schools, but achieved more far reaching fame from something unrelated to preaching and teaching. On September 1, 1861, he accompanied William H. Brewer's U. S. Geological Survey party on the first recorded ascent of a high peak in the Diablo Range east of San José. And thanks to Brewer, an old friend of Hamilton from back East, that peak took the name "Mt. Hamilton."

During his pastorate, Hamilton raised \$20,000 to build a relatively commodious brick edifice of Gothic architectural design on the site of the original frame church. The original, moved to the rear of the church lot, was put to social and conference use.

The next two pastors—William Wisner Martin and James S. Wylie—were men of poor health which compelled their early resignation. Wisner succeeded Hamilton in January, 1865, and Wylie took over from Wisner in February, 1866. By the end of 1869, both were dead.

Wylie's problems were further complicated by the earthquake of 1868, which did \$5,000 damage to the church. Nevertheless, the damage was quickly repaired, and the structure was ready for rededication on May 16, 1869. More, just six days earlier, on the 12th, the church bought a 1,750 pound bell costing \$1,068.75.

Wylie's successor, William Alexander, stayed in San José only from November, 1869, to June, 1871, but the church prospered under his leadership. Membership increased from 207 to 250; Sunday School enrollment rose to 368, the library built up to 642 volumes, and debt decreased by twenty-five percent. San José's First Church suffered a great loss when Presbyterianism's statewide affairs demanded his ability and talent on a grander scale elsewhere.

Eben M. Betts, who came as stated supply in 1871, was installed the following year. Before failing health forced his retirement early in 1877, his church made the most gratifying gains under what most observers considered adverse conditions. It lost a

couple of dozen or more members with the organizing of the United Presbyterian, Cumberland Presbyterian, and First Congregational Churches in 1874 and 1875. Yet, the membership increased to 320, a net gain of seventy, which included four Chinese who joined in 1875. It was also during Betts' pastorate that the church bought a \$2,000 pipe organ.

Following Betts' resignation, the church had no pastor other than stated supply. Then came young John Paul Egbert who took over in September, 1877, first as stated supply and then as installed pastor. During his ministry, he welcomed 204 new members into the church—111 of them by confession of faith. But following his departure in May, 1882, the church again had to depend on stated supply until the Reverend Henry Collin Minton arrived in January, 1885.

Minton had hardly stepped into the pulpit when Presbyterian authorities decided San José needed another church of their persuasion. Therefore, the Second Presbyterian Church, which took 121 of First Church's members, came into existence on May 24, 1891. It organized its First Church and later built a large frame edifice on the west side of South Second Street between San Salvador and William. And there it stayed until 1926, when, as Westminster Presbyterian Church, it moved into a new \$55,000 church building on the southwest corner of Shasta Avenue and The Alameda.

Dr. J. W. Dinsmore, who succeeded Minton in September, 1891, served an even ten years, First Church's longest pastorate to that time. Though constantly busy with Presbytery and Synod affairs, Dinsmore did much to recoup First Church's membership losses occasioned by creation of Second Church.

The Reverend Francis Palmer who took charge in May, 1902, served only until called by a Trenton, N. J. church in September, 1905, but his pastorate must have been somewhat exciting. He determinedly abolished the old pew renting system of raising money for the church.

The next pastor, Dr. Harmon H. McQuilkin, had hardly struck his San José stride when the 1906 earthquake demolished his church, collapsing walls and toppling the steeple and spire across Second Street. To him went the responsibility of rebuilding,

not an easy task because many of his parishioners had also suffered great property damage.

Yet, he succeeded in just two years and eight days. On April 26, 1908, First Church dedicated a spacious \$72,000 edifice on the east side of Third Street midway between Santa Clara and St. John.

The year 1906 also brought the Cumberland Presbyterian Church back to First Church's fold increasing the latter's membership by a sizeable figure. By the time McQuilkin accepted a call from Orange, N. J., in 1915, First Church of San José was far along the road to complete recovery.

From 1915 to 1922, Dr. Henry M. Campbell carried on the work of a flourishing establishment whose membership rose to 921. He was so popular that when he left in December, 1922 to become Secretary of Men's Work for the whole Pacific Coast the San Joséans voted him Pastor Emeritus.

Assistant Pastor Herrick J. Lane thereafter filled the pulpit until Dr. Joseph A. Stephenson took over on July 1, 1923. Stephenson, who had much in common with McQuilkin, was active in both church and community affairs. He remained until August, 1930, when he accepted the secretaryship of the Department of Social Education of the Board of Christian Education. He left San José a legacy of work well done; his departure was considered a community loss.

Then came Dr. Newton Preston Patterson who served from 1931 to 1935. During his pastorate, the church's membership increased to 1,000. Patterson's successor, Dr. A. H. Saunders, continued the good work, lifting the membership to 1,115 between 1936 and 1945. Saunders especially interested himself in college students, the founding of Foothill Presbyterian Church, and organization of the Westminster Foundation of Northern California.

The creation of the McCurdy Youth Center was the outstanding accomplishment of Dr. Paul J. Goodwin's pastorate, which extended from 1945 to 1950. Drs. Robert McLean and Herbert Booth Smith respectively served in 1951 and 1952. The Reverend Malcolm Gwaltney, who took over as full pastor during the latter year, remained only one year before

leaving to become founding Pastor of Calvin Presbyterian Church on Meridian and Fruitdale Avenues. He took about a fourth of First Church's members with him to the new church.

During the few months that he served in 1954, the third interim pastor, Everett C. Thomson, did much to make up for First Church's loss of members to Calvin. He gave way on September 1 of that year to Dr. Phil Barrett whose fifteen year pastorate was the longest in First Church's history up to that time.

Barrett, a "genial giant," added to his church duties an active interest in public, charitable, and fraternal affairs. Hardly a day went by that local papers did not mention his name in connection with some noteworthy service to the community. Also, when his First Church pastorate ended in October, 1969, he did not leave San José. He went on to become pastor of Foothill Presbyterian Church.

First Church had come a long way since John Douglas and his six co-founders met in the home of James Mathers back in 1849. As founder of Presbyterianism in the Santa Clara Valley, it also developed the area's longest posterity of Presbyterian "daughter churches."

Methodists

But if the First Presbyterians suffered numerous setbacks from earthquakes and loss of members through creation of new churches, the First Methodists went them one better. To the aforesaid handicaps, they added that of fire, which destroyed most of their early records.

When the Reverend (later Bishop) William Taylor first visited San José on January 19, 1850, he found local Methodists still holding prayer or class meetings in private homes as frequently—or infrequently—as time and place permitted. He himself conducted a service in one of these homes. When he came again on March 29,⁵ he took the first steps toward organizing the San José group into a solidly

⁵*Diary has Taylor organizing the San Jose Methodist Church in January, 1850. Taylor says the actual organization took place in March.*

RELIGION

based society. In his own life story, he mentioned this event, saying, "The new society, I organized on that trip."

An enthusiastic Methodist writer of a much later period interpreted Taylor's statement somewhat differently, holding in effect, that Taylor merely added a finishing touch to an already established *church*. Yet, Taylor's statement stands. As one of the first two men sent by the Methodist Church to California expressly for such work, and as a man later elevated to the rank of bishop, he must have understood the nature of his action. The "new society" that he organized henceforth identified itself as the First Methodist Church of San José.

With organization accomplished, the congregation concentrated on a church whose first location is a bit uncertain—probably owing to loss of original records. But the first location of which there is any positive knowledge was a lot at what would now be about 51 North Third Street. The Reverend Harry Pressfield described it in his centennial history of the church as "the first piece of property held by the trustees of the church." Also, surveyor Sherman Day's 1850 map of that section of the city shows the "Methodist Church" on the same spot.

A little frame structure on the lot served the congregation's needs until dedication of a spacious \$15,000 edifice on the southwest corner of Second and Santa Clara Streets, September 23, 1866.

The lot on which the new edifice stood fronted on Santa Clara Street, measuring 137 feet long and 69 feet deep. It was big enough to allow for expansion of physical facilities, but the trustees erred in selling eighty feet of the Santa Clara Street frontage for \$3,500, leaving the church in a corner lot hardly larger than the building. Meanwhile, the original Third Street building had been sold for \$450 and moved to Third and San Antonio Streets to be used as a Chinese mission.

Inevitable growth compelled the church to sell its Second and Santa Clara Street property for \$12,000 and erect a much larger edifice at what became 25 North Second Street. The church moved to this new building about the end of January, 1869. Three weeks later, on Washington's Birthday, this structure burned

to the ground, in a fire supposedly set by an arsonist who resented the church's work with the Chinese.

One account of the event noted that the only thing saved was the building's key, which happened to have been in the sexton's pocket. The ashes of the burnt church had not yet cooled when the congregation subscribed \$6,000 toward construction of a new one on the same site. The following July 18, Bishop Kingsley officially dedicated a \$25,000 edifice that served until the 1906 earthquake ended its usefulness for church purposes—at least in opinion of the trustees.

Prospering in this new home, the church freed itself of a many years accumulation of debt by June 5, 1898. Its 822 members enthusiastically looked forward to even greater accomplishments. They boasted a library of more than 500 volumes and a Sunday School enrollment of 469, not counting officers and teachers. In 1874, they had created their Ladies and Pastor's Christian Union. Their Young People's Union reorganized as an Epworth League in 1889, and to it were added a Junior and Intermediate League. The women had several missionary societies bearing such identifying titles as Women's Foreign, Women's Home, Young Women's Foreign, and Little Helper's Mission Band.

Fortunately, the church was in good financial condition until the disastrous 1906 earthquake compelled it to "scratch for money" again. This temblor, which badly damaged the practically outgrown North Second Street edifice, probably forced the solution of a problem that should have been tackled earlier.

The trustees soon approved selling the entire property to the Elk's lodge for \$20,000, most of which went toward buying a large lot on the northeast corner of Fifth and Santa Clara Streets for \$14,562. On May 26, 1907, came completion of the \$18,952 chapel, partially financed by a gift of \$5,000 from the Methodist Relief Association.

The work was carried on during the pastorate of the Reverend A. J. Case, but the task of building an entirely new church was assigned to the Reverend (later Bishop) George A. Miller, who served as pastor from 1909 to 1914.

Miller, a skillful money raiser, worked fast, and carpenters went to work with equal speed. On March 19, 1911, Bishop Edwin Hughes dedicated a great \$37,802 edifice whose price included stained glass windows costing \$3,069. Fifty-eight years later, this structure still housed San José's First Methodist Church—and was still in good enough condition to serve as such indefinitely.

Miller was indeed a "giant" who set a stiff pace for his successors, most of whom held doctorates. One of them—William "Bill" Stidger—set out to "clean up the town" almost at the moment of his installation. For half a century afterward, old-timers recalled how his wrath had saloon keepers, prostitutes, and their customers fearing that the Day of Judgment had come. No one in Santa Clara County mistook his identity.

By Stidger's time, the length of pastorates had begun to increase, which made for a decline in the number of pastors. From 1850 to 1864, pastorates were limited to two years; from 1864 to 1887, three years; from 1887 to 1900, five years. In 1900, the limit was abolished, and any pastor could remain with a church as long as its congregation would permit. Stidger's eight successors down to the time of this writing averaged five years, with Dr. Joyce W. Farr setting a record of fourteen years.

In the course of its long existence, First Church has directly—and indirectly—influenced the founding of several other churches of Methodist persuasion in San José. Among the best known were the Willow Glen, German, Centella, College Park, East San José, and Free. The same influence existed in such outlying communities as Alviso, Berryessa, Evergreen and New Almadén.

The most important of these churches in relation to First Church was the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, later known in San José as St. Paul's. It belonged to a conference that seceded from the Methodist general conference in 1844 because that body suspended Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia for owning slaves. Whereupon Southern sensitivities later aggravated by the Civil War and Northern "Reconstruction," long precluded reconciliation. Not until 1937 did an entirely new generation reunite the

two multimillion-membered conferences into a single great church.

Another union affecting First Church occurred when the Evangelical United Brethren came into the general Methodist fold in 1946. The local church had already dropped the word "Episcopal" from its name in conformity with a nationwide move some years earlier. Now, in inserting the word "United," it became the First United Methodist Church of San José.

St. Paul's Methodist Church, South

Long before the great reunion, however, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had firmly fixed itself in the San José mind. Only lack of a resident pastor prevented its formal organization when South Church superintendent, the reverend Jesse Boring, came here for two months of preaching and mission work in April, 1850.

Finding many Southerners here, Boring carried on as best he could under existing conditions. An even year elapsed before he saw the Reverend A. L. Wynne arrive to take over the San José charge.

Wynne lost no time in carrying out Boring's plans. According to Munro-Fraser's *History of Santa Clara County*, he organized San José's Methodist Episcopal, South, on May 25, 1851, with the following members: Charles Campbell, Margaret Campbell, Nancy Campbell, Alexander Hatler, Nancy Hatler, J. W. Powell, Elizabeth Ray, Marcus Williams, and Susan Williams. And to these names, Mrs. Marcus Blanchard's history of the church adds Dr. L. H. Bascom, Annie Bascom, Edward Pyle, and Rosanne Whiteman. Mrs. Blanchard also identified Elizabeth (Mrs. J. G.) Ray as Elizabeth Campbell, and Margaret R. Campbell as Mrs. J. C. Simmons.

Wynne conducted his first services in the Assembly Chamber of California's first statehouse, located at about what is now 180 South Market Street. But on reappointment by his church's Pacific Annual Conference in 1852, he commenced construction of a brick edifice on the northeast corner of Second and San Fernando Streets.

This building, measuring 36 x 50 feet, boasted a plastered interior, good lights, and full carpeting.

RELIGION

The congregation considered it the finest church structure in California at that time. The society it represented was often referred to by the affectionate name of "South Church."

Boring preached the sermon of dedication, on October 17, 1852. After which Pastor Wynne announced that the whole establishment—lot, building, and furnishings—had cost \$5,350, of which \$1,750 had been paid. There was a little matter of \$3,600 yet to be collected, before the dedicatory prayer could be offered.

The church was packed with 300 worshippers, and Wynne's announcement got immediate results. With the money in hand, as Mrs. Blanchard recalled, the church was promptly "dedicated to God." "Many of the large . . . contributions," she added, "were made by young men, not members of the church but who seemed as anxious to see the debt wiped out as (were) the churchmen themselves."

The builders of this building proudly pronounced it the first "Methodist Episcopal Church, South, wholly built and dedicated in California." San Francisco's contemporary structure, they noted, "had been shipped around the Horn."

Also, the Pacific Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, organized in 1852, held its first annual meeting in the San José church in April, 1853, with Bishop Joshua A. Soule presiding. This gave San Joséans a feeling of importance because Soule, author of the Constitution of American Methodism, was a nationally-known figure.

With one brief interruption, San José's first South Church structure served well until replaced by a much larger frame edifice in 1874. The interruption came when the great earthquake of 1868 sent the cupola crashing into the pulpit.

But South Church had not yet reached the half-way point in its procession of buildings. The 1874 structure became a heap of ashes in the fire of July, 1892, and its successor on the same site was severely, but not irreparably, damaged by the 1906 earthquake.

This last building was repaired—at least for "the time being." In 1907, the congregation acquired a 50-*vara* lot on the southwest corner of Second and

San Carlos Streets, which offered enough space for church, parsonage, and a modest amount of landscaping.

On February 7, 1909, South Church, henceforth known as St. Paul's, dedicated a \$25,000 brick edifice on this site. And here it stayed until its merger with neighboring Centella Church on June 1, 1956, enabled both to dispose of their downtown holdings and move as a single society to a new location at Tenth and San Salvador Streets.

During the interruptions occasioned by fire and earthquake, South Church's members worshipped in several different places. After the 1892 fire, they met for a while in the Y. M. C. A. Building, later known as the Labor Temple, at 72 North Second Street. Then they moved to the brand new Knights of Pythias Hall at 69 South Second Street to await completion of the city's third Methodist edifice of Southern persuasion.

Right after the 1906 temblor, they accepted the generous invitation of their Jewish friends to meet in Temple Bickur Cholim (Synagogue) on the northeast corner of Third and San Antonio Streets. And while the 1909 church was under construction, they used the recently abandoned Cumberland Presbyterian church at 18 South Third Street.

At no time during its first hundred years could St. Paul's be classified as a large society. Thirty years after founding, it had 155 communicants, a number that increased only to 267 by the centennial year of 1951. Its members had suffered as much from fire and earthquake as the members of any other San José church, plus something worse. Being of Southern origin, they were reviled as "Secesh" during the four years of fratricidal war between the North and South—and for some time after it. Also, they could hardly remember a time when "the hat wasn't being passed."

Moreover, San José's South Church had a Sunday School that flourished from the start despite the elders' seeming indifference. Munro-Fraser, who listed it with four officers and eight teachers in 1881, felt that it should have been doing even better. "If the members of the church would only interest them-

selves in it," he wrote, "they would soon double—its membership."

South Church's early pastors followed what appears to have been the Methodist succession pattern of the day. Most of them served here not more than two years, and a noticeable number stayed only one year. Several of the two-year men preached their allotted time here, went elsewhere, and then came back for another two years. O. P. Fitzgerald, who became State Superintendent of Schools in 1867, served two terms in this manner, and George W. Sim served three.

At the time of Centella merger, St. Paul's had been a "downtown church," more or less surrounded by business establishments, for 105 years. Communicants who could remember it in any location other than the last two were almost gone by 1969. So were most of the pastors. But to paraphrase Michigan's state motto, "If you would see what they accomplished in this community, look around you."

Centella Church

As San Joséans continued to spread into the area south of Reed and Colfax (now West Reed) Streets, First Church perceived the need for a mission therein. Commencement of this project in 1882 was largely the work of three women. Mesdames John Burns and John B. Hill scoured the area by horse and buggy, in quest of prospective church members. Mrs. Eloise Smout walked from house to house, seeking children for a Sunday school that she opened in her own house at 488 Orchard Street (now Almadén Avenue) with a class of twelve.

Mrs. Smout enjoyed success. Her class grew so fast it soon had to move to a larger house at Colfax and Orchard Streets, and from there in 1883 to the home of Mrs. G. P. Moody on the northwest corner of Market and William Streets. To keep up with their subject and purpose, the school's officers and teachers held weekly prayer meetings in the home of a Mr. John Bell.

In March, 1884, First Church decided the time had come for something more than a mission in the

southern part of the city. Whereupon George Bowman and James A. Clayton were appointed a committee of two to acquire a large lot on the southwest corner of Second and Reed Streets.

Meanwhile, a significant event had occurred almost unnoticed. In July, 1883, Mrs. L. M. McColl, a wealthy widow, came to San José to erect a monument over her late husband's grave in Oak Hill Cemetery. From Miss Kate Leffler, a teacher, Mrs. McColl heard for the first time of the plans for the new church. They interested her. In addition to losing her husband, she had just lost her eight-year-old daughter, Centella, and felt "inclined to erect a monument to the child's memory." She was pondering the matter in September, 1884, when Methodist authorities formed a charge⁶ with \$200 of missionary funds and provided a pastor for a new society to be called Reed Street Church.

With the Reverend George M. Beatty as pastor, the new church opened on October 16 in a building formerly occupied by a saloon at the gore of First and Market Streets. Mrs. McColl, still pondering, considered this no location for a house of worship. She soon arranged to donate an attractive brick edifice on the south side of Reed Street between First and Second, to be named Centella Church in honor of her daughter. Then she even retained the Boston architectural firm of Van Brunt & Howe to design it, and generously provided ample funds for both construction and furnishings.

The Methodist officials, in turn, gratefully accepted her gift. On July 2, 1885, one year to the day after her daughter's death, Mrs. McColl witnessed groundbreaking ceremonies for the new church, which was dedicated free of debt on August 8 of the following year. The builders located this church on the northwest corner of the lot, thereby leaving abundant room for expansion to meet future needs.

Centella Church outgrew its first home in less than seventeen years. In 1903, during W. S. Kelly's pastorate, the members obligated themselves to erect

⁶An ecclesiastical term indicating responsibility for the care of a nascent parish or the beginnings of another church.

a spacious \$20,000 brick edifice adjoining the original structure. And they paid the last installment of the thereby incurred debt during the pastorate of C. E. Irons who served from 1913 to 1918.

Centella's next structural addition was the educational and recreational unit known as Menker Hall, donated by John C. Menker in 1929. It passed to other use and ownership after the merger of 1956, but was still standing and intact forty years after its construction.

At no time in its history did Centella suffer earthquake damage comparable to that experienced by many of its early contemporaries. And its one fire, which entailed much rebuilding and redecorating, came in 1937, when the Reverend Alfred J. Case was in charge.

Subsequent events included incorporation in 1941, restoration of the chapel in 1944, removal of the corner tower in 1946, repainting in 1951, and recarpeting in 1954. They gave every indication that Centella was prepared to "stay a while."

But changing population patterns after World War II, and the area's slow shift from residential to industrial and commercial use, boded no bright future for the church at Second and Reed Streets. Together with the vexing modern problem of parking space, they were responsible for the merger that enabled Centella and St. Paul's to recover their health in a new, more desirable location.

First Baptist Church

On December 9, 1849, San José heard the first Baptist sermon of which any local person kept record. Lyman thus reported it in his diary, "Rev. Mr. Brierly (Baptist) preached at Mr. Jones house. No fire, few present. Another meeting (Methodist) at Mr. Young's." Whether Brierly came here to "get the lay of the land" or just for an occasional service is uncertain. Lyman heard him in San Francisco on January 27, 1850, and again in San José the following February 17.

On the last occasion, Brierly shared the Sabbath with Presbyterian John Douglas. Both used the Assembly Chamber or the Statehouse—Brierly in

the morning, Douglas in the evening. In some respects, Brierly was a self-effacing man. His name seldom, if ever, got into print in any form other than the "Reverend Mr. Brierly" or "Rev. B. Brierly." In any event, Brierly founded no Baptist Church in San José. That honor went to the eloquent Osgood C. Wheeler who did so with a group of two men and six women on May 19, 1850.

As shepherd of all Baptists in California at that time, Wheeler was a busy man. In addition to holding a full pastorate in San Francisco, he managed, among other duties, to visit San José every three weeks. Wheeler's first church here was Grandma Bascom's multi-purpose blue denim tent, which afforded little comfort in late winter and early spring. But his little group of eight founders soon grew into a congregation of twenty-five and commenced construction of a \$2,900 plank-sided frame church at about what is now 81 East Santa Clara Street.

The San José Baptists got their first regularly installed pastor, the Reverend L. O. Grinnell, in December, 1850. With some help from the missionary fund and much assistance from his family, Grinnell got quick results. His married daughter led the singing, and her husband organized the first choir. The first baptism took place in the Guadalupe River, which was also used by the Methodists.

Though they later got several pastors in fairly quick succession, the Baptists did not follow the rigid Methodist practice of two-year pastorates. Grinnell stayed here five years. And at the time he turned his charge over to the Reverend Henry Henderson, the congregation numbered seventy-three despite recent destruction of their little edifice by fire.

Henderson held the San José pulpit only a year, leaving in September, 1856. This compelled the congregation to get along by itself until the Reverend O. B. Stone arrived in January, 1858. Stone proved another energetic builder. Less than a year after his arrival, the church bought a large lot on the northeast corner of Second and San Antonio Streets and commenced construction of a 32' x 50' brick edifice. And there it remained through a succession of churches and much remodeling for more than 100 years.

The church lost a few of its 105 members in the next decade, several of whom went out to establish a church in Gilroy. But from 1868 on, its record was one of steady growth. Besides Stone, the following pastors saw it through the difficult Civil War and "reconstruction" periods: J. H. Giles, 1864 - 66; H. C. Davenport, 1867; Ezra D. Simmons, 1868 - 70. Between 1870 and 1876, E. Anderson, C. Blood, W. T. Green, and William Hildreth came and went with hardly more than a year each.

By March, 1875, the congregation realized their church had outgrown the little brick structure, which was replaced with a large frame building the following October. A. J. Frost, who accepted the San José call in 1876, was the first long term pastor to serve in the new edifice. Before his resignation in 1880, he organized the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Pacific and increased the church's membership to 252. The Sunday School prospered in proportion during his pastorate.

The Reverends W. Scott and W. Stewart followed Frost as supply pastors, with Stewart accepting the call only for 1881. Then W. T. Ravlin, who succeeded Stewart, promptly set about reducing the \$9,720 legacy of debt from Frost's pastorate. Ravlin got the debt down to \$4,500, and would have wiped it out entirely if fire had not leveled his church in the meanwhile. Also, a difference of opinion took forty-five members, bent on establishing a new society, out of the church. And a second group left under more pleasant conditions to found a church in Los Gatos.

Ravlin's new edifice, opened in 1883, boasted the latest improvements of the day. Though damaged to the extent of \$29,000 by the 1906 earthquake, it was still standing and in use eighty-six years after initial construction.

The year 1887 brought a heartwarming reconciliation. The dissident members who left to form their own church returned to the fold, and their pastor, A. W. Runyon, succeeded Ravlin as pastor of First Church.

Runyon's resignation in December, 1888, created a vacancy that was not filled until G. W. Ellison arrived in July, 1889. Ellison departed during the

winter of 1889, and his pulpit remained vacant until J. Herndon Garnett took over early in 1890.

Garnett managed to reduce the long standing debt to \$1,500 and raise the membership to "332 Bible believing Baptists." But the vagaries of Nature prevented further reduction of the debt. In November, 1892, a terrific windstorm literally raised the roof of the church, and an accompanying rainstorm poured "barrels of water" into the organ and ruined the carpeting.

Garnett had left just before this disaster. Much of the task of cleaning up and restoration was left to his temporary successor, L. B. Greenwood, who did everything possible to hold the church together throughout six discouraging months.

Conditions brightened, however, when Frank M. Mitchell, another "dynamo," took charge in April, 1893, for a period of three years. He concentrated on young people's organizations and a mission Sunday School. The latter, established in 1895, had a chapel at Washington and Crittenden (now Sixteenth) Streets, and its original membership of sixteen quickly jumped to more than eighty.

Thomas S. Young, the church's longest-termed pastor up to that time, took over in 1896 and served until 1905. He was an expansionist of the first order. The Burbank Mission and West San José Christian Endeavor Society came into existence during his pastorate. And having five ordained ministers in his congregation, he put them all to work wherever he thought they could serve best.

W. F. Harper, who succeeded Young in 1905, had a hard man to follow. Also, nature did nothing to make his work easier. He had barely settled into his duties when the 1906 earthquake struck, and many of the church's members left San José to get far as possible from earthquake country. And despite generous help from the Home Missions Society, the church found itself \$7,000 in debt for almost complete reconstruction.

Old-timers described John Marvin Dean, who succeeded Harper in 1910, as a "stem winder," but he stayed only one year before assuming greater responsibilities on the general church's lecture platform.

RELIGION

This brought Claude Kelly to San José. He, too, concentrated on young people, and his ministry brought 420 new members into the church. But about a quarter of this gain was nullified when 130 members withdrew to found Grace Baptist Church to serve the east side of the city. The Burbank Chapel, built in 1913, also came during Kelly's pastorate.

The European War, now described as World War I, broke out in 1914, a year before Kelly left San José. Therefore, his successor, J. W. Kramer, occupied the San José pulpit before and throughout the United States' participation in that conflict.

Kramer's dynamic preaching attracted huge crowds to the church, and his involvement in civic affairs won much renown. For awhile, his pastorate ran concurrently with that of Bill Stidger of the First Methodist Church who, like himself, was a reformer. It was said that many non-church members went to hear both just to find out "who was going to catch it this time."

The crowds that came to hear Kramer soon freed his church of all indebtedness. But unfortunately, he did not remain in San José. He left in 1919 to enter upon a spectacular evangelistic career. Two comparatively forgotten interim pastors filled the short gap between Kramer's departure and Dr. W. K. Towner's takeover in 1920.

Despite the mild, short-lived national depression in the early 1920's, tremendous growth characterized Towner's pastorate. The Sunday School and its extensions attained an enrollment of 1,200, with average attendance of 550. Other accomplishments were in proportion, but the pastor's pioneer radio broadcasting prove the best remembered.

Under an arrangement with radio engineer Charles D. Herrold, Towner broadcasted his first sermon from Station KQW on December 5, 1925. His services and those of his successors, plus singing of the Baptist choir, remained regular features of the station for many years thereafter.

KQW, founded as FN by Herrold in 1909, was the world's first broadcasting station. In Towner's day, it had all of its equipment except the antennae in a building adjacent to the church. The antennae were

on actual church property, with the towers anchored to the northeast and southwest corners of the edifice. This compromised the church's tax exempt status, a problem that was solved by deeding to neutral individuals, for a microscopic consideration, the small squares of space on which the towers stood. Thus, the church escaped taxation as a business institution.

Before Towner resigned his pastorate in March, 1928, he conducted a number of evangelistic tours, during which time the Reverend Harold Barton "filled in" for him in San José.

The next regularly installed pastor was Paul R. Ralstin who kept the church on an even, unexciting course from November, 1928, to May, 1932. If anything distinguished his pastorate, it was his kindly thoughtfulness throughout the depression years of the 1930's. Never a day passed that he did not perform a good deed of some kind for a parishioner. His purchase of auditorium ear phones for the elderly hard-of-hearing folk endeared him to all.

Andrew Fraser, who succeeded Ralstin as acting pastor in 1932, soon took full charge. As the depression tightened its grip on the nation, he, too, strove to keep the church from "going under." Members came and went in quest of greener pastures, and many, formerly affluent, were hard put to contribute even the widow's mite. Fraser kept the charge until November, 1934, before turning it over to A. A. Muench who continued the struggle until David M. Dawson arrived in June, 1936.

Dawson was the right man in the right place at the right time. Economic conditions had taken a slight upswing, and he was quick to take advantage of every improvement. When failing health compelled him to relinquish his charge in 1944, he left the church in an inestimably better condition than he had found it. During the last year of his pastorate, Dawson was greatly aided by his young assistant pastor, Clarence R. Sands, who took full charge on October 18, 1944.

An expansionist of the first order, Sands built the church beyond anything the pioneer founders dreamed possible. He acquired valuable real estate outside the church premises for youth centers and

Bible classes. Buses ranged the countryside, picking up youngsters and oldsters and bringing them to church, and other innovations were in the making. Under his leadership, the church celebrated its centennial with 2,200 members and had a Sunday School with a regular attendance of 900.

By 1969, Sands was serving his twenty-fifth year as pastor, the church had outgrown its downtown premises, and the congregation had begun to think about newer and larger quarters elsewhere.

Trinity Episcopal Church

Once the "Big Three" churches of local Protestantism were organized, San José witnessed no further church founding until the 1860's. Then other denominations, which had been active elsewhere, began to arrive.

First came the Episcopalians. The Right Reverend William Ingraham Kip, first bishop of their faith in California, came here from San Francisco in 1854 to hold services in the little Presbyterian edifice on Second Street. But his visits were so far apart and difficult to make that local Episcopalians probably forgot the text of one sermon by the time he preached the next one.

There matters stood until the Reverend Sylvester Etheridge, who had come west for his health, arrived in 1860. Etheridge found only nine communicants here, but he served notice that he would hold a missionary service in the lower courtroom of the City Hall on the first Sunday of Advent of that year.

Mayor Robert B. Buckner, who attended this service, sat at the back of the room, skeptical of the outcome. But he soon noticed the room was crowded with Episcopalians and non-Episcopalians and that Etheridge's sermon and manner were highly agreeable to all present. After Benediction, he went forward to congratulate Etheridge and offer him a larger and better room on the upper floor for future services.

Etheridge, who had served as priest, organist, and chorister at the first service, continued throughout the following December and January. But on February 22, 1861, the formal organization of Trinity

Episcopal Church took place, with John Appleton, Lawrence Archer, Thomas E. Brown, William Daniels, Mark Hardy, George B. Langworthy, James R. Lowe, William McCune, John Tennant, and Stephen Thorn composing the first vestry.

At its first meeting, on February 28, 1861, the vestry adopted a constitution based on the California Episcopal Convention of 1850, unanimously elected Etheridge first rector, and set the boundaries of San José Township as those of the parish. They also fixed the rector's annual salary at \$800, and the organist's pay at \$8.00 a month.

Late in 1862, Trinity's parishioners took the first step toward erecting an edifice. They bought a lot on the northwest corner of Fifth and San Fernando Streets, but soon sold it to buy a more satisfactory one on the southwest corner of Second and St. John Streets. Meanwhile gifts of money and interior furnishings had been coming in, thereby precluding the possibility of bare walls.

Under the superintendence of Captain James W. Hammond, work on the new church progressed rapidly. The building was constructed, inside and out, of first growth California redwood and, as one observer noted, "fitted together with the ship builder's art." Its stained glass windows came from New York. A two-manual, twenty-four stop organ from Boston cost only \$125, but ran up an \$800 freight bill in coming to California via the Isthmus of Panama.

Dedication took place on Advent Sunday, 1863, three years to the day from the first meeting in the City Hall. And a grateful congregation directed a letter of thanks to the Mayor and Common Council for permitting Trinity to use the City Hall for church purposes.

Trinity's dedication, however, was not without a sad note. Mr. Etheridge died on February 18, 1864, of a longstanding pulmonary ailment that prevented his preaching the opening or any other service in the new church. He was buried, in compliance with his wishes, under the chancel of the little structure that meant so much to him.

The Reverend T. A. Hyland temporarily filled Etheridge's place until Dinsmore D. Chapin could

take over as rector the following May. Chapin went about his duties as if oblivious to the Civil War emotion and sectional discord then affecting the community. He not only kept the society on the firm traditional basis desired by Etheridge, but also looked after matters in the dooryard. The little carpenter Gothic edifice, once so lonely on its large bare lot, became a gem of board and batten in a pleasantly landscaped setting. An attractive picket fence along St. John and Second Streets lent even more charm.

Though enlarged from time to time, Trinity stood on the only ground it would ever know for more than a hundred years. In 1872, during George W. Foote's rectorate, a two-story rectory was built at the southeast corner of the church lot, at what became 81 North Second Street. It replaced the little cottage that stood just west of the church, facing St. John Street from 1863 to 1922.

Enlargement of the original church building, necessitated by a growing congregation, came in 1876. The original structure was cut in half. One half stayed in place to form the south transept of the augmented edifice; the other half swung around to form the nave, facing Second Street. The ivy that James R. Lowed had brought from Melrose Abbey, Scotland, to adorn the initial structure was used to cover the exterior walls of the enlarged one.

While workmen busied themselves at Second and St. John Streets, church services were held in the Music Hall on First Street.

Before the end of summer, the building committee reported the church ready for occupancy. On September 3, Bishop Kip of California, assisted by Bishop Whittaker of Nevada, formally reopened it. Reconstruction had practically trebled the church's original seating capacity of 200. In 1879, a several years collection of children's Sunday School offerings enabled Trinity to buy the chimes whose soft tones have pleased San Joséans for more than ninety years—with the prospect of doing so indefinitely.

The chimes were first installed in the unfinished bell tower. Final installation came during the rectorate of the Reverend John B. Wakefield who succeeded Foote in November, 1884. The tower was then raised

and completed, taking on the steeple, belfry, and cross-surmounted spire that identified it for succeeding generations.

In 1888, the beautiful sandstone Parish House became another structural addition to Trinity's premises. It stood on St. John Street between the church and erstwhile rectory cottage.

Trinity was never ravaged by fire or irreparably damaged by earthquakes as were several of its sister churches about town. After the 1906 earthquake, however, an apprehensive vestry took the precaution of strengthening its upper structure with a few strategically placed tie rods that were removed in a general refurbishing program forty years later.

Also, Trinity's rectors succeeded one another in a more leisurely manner than did the pastors of the Methodist and Baptist Churches—even in early days when rapid rotation seemed customary.

The last two rectors had a combined service of almost half a century at the time of this writing. Dr. Rifenbark served thirty-one years; Mr. Murdock, thirteen, the latter with every indication of continuing much longer.

In racial relations, Trinity was way ahead of the city's other white Protestant denominations. The earliest congregation, under Sylvester Etheridge, included Peter Cassey, a black who became an ordained priest of the church. The *City Directory* showed Cassey conducting a school for black children on the east side of Fourth Street, between William and Reed, in 1870. He also conducted St. Philip's Mission for black children in Phoenixian Hall at Third and San Antonio Streets. His Sunday school had thirty-eight pupils and five teachers, with Jacob Overton, a former slave, as superintendent.

A fast growing community and Trinity's cooperation inspired the founding of several other Episcopal Churches in San José's surrounding metropolitan area. St. Francis, in Willow Glen; St. Edward's, in Cambrian Park; and St. Andrew's, just west of Congress Junction on Saratoga Avenue.

Trinity had unperturbedly seen the great rise and fall, and warriors and statesmen come and go. Its edifice stood untouched by the swirl of ephemeral

modernity. It remained a gem of carpenter Gothic architecture reminiscent of something brought here from a calm English countryside.

Temple Emanu-El

"My house shall be a house of prayer for all people." These words above the entrance to San José's Temple Bickur Cholim greeted all worshippers of Jewish faith who entered those sacred precincts. They expressed the feelings of a monotheistic people who had been worshipping the one God for three thousand years before the Christian era.

Descendants of those ancient ones brought their faith to San José almost simultaneously with the city's incorporation. Grave stones in the Home of Peace Cemetery testify to their early presence. In 1852, Marcus Stern founded the leather goods business operated by his posterity 117 years later. The records of San José Lodge No. 10, F. & A. M., show Israelites meeting on the level with their brethren of all other faiths. They had already taken a firm, highly respected place in the community.

Several years slipped by, however, before they organized a society. Finally, on August 5, 1861, ten men met to discuss forming one with the threefold purpose of establishing a house of worship, providing for the sick and needy, and acquiring a consecrated burial place.

The opening minutes of their meeting read as follows:

By request of Mr. Stern, Rich and others, the Israelites residing in the City of San José assembled this day August 5, 1861, for the purpose of organizing a Hebrew Society. Mr. M. Levy was chosen by the Assembly to act as Chairman and Solomon Eisner Secretary, pro tem. By a motion of Mr. Lubliner to name this Society, Bickur Cholim Society of San José, was adopted by a large majority.

The society formally came into existence six days later with Jacob Levy as president; Jacob Rich, vice-president; Morris Lubliner, treasurer; Solomon Eisner, secretary. Meyer Levy, S. Morris, and Hyman Rich were the first trustees.

The first official act of the new society was a motion to get some money into the treasury. Every one who signed the roll, except charter members, paid a dollar initiation fee. Dues were fifty cents a month. In two months, these fees, plus donations and other income, swelled the treasury to \$174.25, which, Mr. Stern moved, should be put out at interest when it reached \$300.

Though the Bickur Cholim Society was basically a philanthropical organization as its name implied,⁷ it evinced great religious fervor. The first services for High Holy Days were held in the City Hall, and later in the Masonic Hall. So devout was one member, a Mr. Harris, that he came by horse and buggy from San Juan Bautista to attend these services.

Soon after its organization, Bickur Cholim acquired from the City of San José a burial ground adjacent to Oak Hill Cemetery. By 1869, the society had almost \$2,000 in the treasury and had bought a large lot on the northeast corner of Third and San Antonio Streets. The time was ripe for construction of a temple.

Planning got under way on February 13, 1870, and a \$5,200 temple was soon under construction. Dedication of the new Congregation Bickur Cholim followed in August of the same year.

The "Rev. Mr. Lowenthal," first of several rabbis between 1870 and 1875, received \$100 a month for serving as "minister and teacher of the Hebrew language." The succession slowed down in 1875 with the arrival of Rabbi M. S. Levy who stayed until 1881. After Levy, came Rabbis J. D. Nathanson, Morris Urich, Montague Cohen, Harvey Franklin, Joseph Karesh (acting), Iser Freund, and Joseph Gitin. Rabbi Gitin's name was synonymous with public spirit and community service throughout the city.

As an organization, Bickur Cholim had its "ups and downs," particularly during the days immediately prior to and during World War I. Furniture and other appurtenances showed signs of much wear, and the Temple needed painting and refurbishing inside and out. Attendance fell off except for High Holy Days.

⁷This name means "Visiting the Sick."

RELIGION

The faithful, however, remained steadfast. Under the inspiring leadership of Jesse Levy, they raised enough money to rejuvenate the entire building. Isidor Marcus, chairman of the board of trustees, revitalized the congregation. Joseph Karesh, who became a Superior Judge of San Francisco, took over as acting rabbi, receiving \$50 a month for conducting Friday services and teaching religious school.

Help also came from two of San Francisco's most distinguished rabbis—Jacob Nieto of Sherith Israel and Martin Meyer of Temple Emanu-El. For several years, their Friday services filled the temple to overflowing.

The Congregation's biggest—and most vexing—problem had been one of changing times and attitudes. Should the service be Orthodox, Reform, or Conservative? Marcus remembered that "after many furious meetings that lasted well into the wee hours we finally settled on the basis that we didn't care if they prayed with their hats on or off, tallith or prayer book of their choice." The main concern was providing religious education for their children instead of telling them how to pray.

This view prevailed so successfully that Rabbi Harvey Franklin was ordered to put the following inscription over the front door—"My House Shall Be A House Of Prayer For All People." As far as known, the San José Congregation was the first anywhere to express this sentiment.

The Orthodox group began their Sabbath services at 8:00 a.m.; the Reform, at 10:30. The Orthodox took over again at 1:00 p.m., with both joining in the Memorial Services at 4:00.

Temple Bickur Cholim was built too late to suffer from the earthquake of 1868, and being a frame structure, it rode out the 1906 shake with what could be described as minor damage compared with that suffered by neighboring religious edifices. But it did not completely escape misfortune. On April 25, 1940, fire irreparably damaged it, leaving the Congregation homeless.

Help, however, came from just across the street. The First Congregationalists offered the use of their church to their distressed Jewish brethren until such

time as the Temple could be restored. Also, joint Thanksgiving Day services took place in Calvary Methodist Church, and High Holy Days in the Civic Auditorium. For the next seven years, Temple President Maurice Engelman scoured the Central Coast and Bay Areas in general and San José in particular for donations, large or small, individual gift or public subscription.

Eventually, Bickur Cholim bought a fine building lot on the southwest corner of University Avenue and Myrtle Street, in that section of the city known as College Park. There, on Sunday, February 1, 1948, a long looked-for groundbreaking ceremony took place. A year later, on February, 1949, Rabbi Iser Freund and the Congregation dedicated the beautiful edifice henceforth known as Temple Emanu-El. Maurice Engelman could gratefully say with the Psalmist, "My cup runneth over."

On celebrating its centennial in 1961, the Jewish community of San José could review a hundred years of the most praiseworthy accomplishment. The ten founders had grown into a great society of several hundred families, and was still growing.

Bickur Cholim's members who mourned the death of President Lincoln by resolution and marching in his memorial parade in 1865, sent forth many descendants to distinguish themselves in public service. They served on grand juries, commissions, the county Board of Supervisors, and in other capacities. The artistic work of Deputy County Recorder Franz M. Goldstein may still be seen in early land grant books and documents.

The great influx of Easterners during and immediately after World War II brought many new members to Bickur Cholim and, through it, to Temple Emanu-El. The newcomers soon changed the vocational character of the congregation. Where businessmen once composed the majority, it now counted increasing numbers of educators, scientists, engineers, and other professional men and women.

By 1954, another change had taken place. The Temple experienced its first division when a sizeable number of its members—mostly orthodox traditionalists—departed to organize a society of their

own, called Congregation Sinai, which built a temple at Willowbrae Avenue and Meridian Road.

Temple Emanu-El, however, remained San José's main center of Jewish activity. The sanctuary, as dedicated, had a normal seating capacity of 450, which could be increased by opening sliding doors that separated it from an adjacent chapel. But even this proved inadequate on High Holy Days, when providing temporary seating taxed the ingenuity of Temple authorities.

A twenty-room school building, added in 1958, housed a library, arts and crafts room, music room, offices, and enough classroom space for 800 children. Here the children studied religion and such other subjects as would enable them to perpetuate their ancient heritage.

They and all other members thus demonstrated their utmost gratitude to the "minyan" that brought their society into existence so long ago.

The "Telescoping" Years — Other Methodists

But well before completion of Grace Lutheran Church, the "telescoping" of foundings had begun. For the remainder of the 19th Century and well into the first decade of the 20th, there was hardly a time when two or more churches were not organizing or building somewhere in the San José area.

In 1892, the Methodists had a Chinese mission at 595 North Seventh Street, and a similar one for Japanese at 562 North Sixth Street.

The latter showed every intention of organizing as a church. In 1894, Junsaburo Tagaki, Sutematsu Katehara, N. Tereshima, and several others established a home center for newly arrived Japanese farmers.

Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers, published a year later, mentioned a Reverend T. Maeajume's having charge of the mission, but the Reverend Morizo Yoshida was founding pastor of the church, which opened as the Japanese Methodist Episcopal Church on August 13, 1895.

During its early years, the church moved from temporary quarters to temporary quarters, beginning at Second and St. John Streets, then 587 North San Pedro Street, 200 Washington Street, and 651 North Fifth Street. During the pastorate of the Reverend Otoo So in 1910, the congregation bought a large lot at 566 North Fifth Street. And here they erected an edifice whose cornerstone ceremony the *Mercury* reported on April 21, 1913.

Besides its original title, this church has borne three other names. It became San José Japanese Methodist Church in 1939, Wesley Methodist Church in 1955, and Wesley United Methodist Church in 1968.

By 1950, the congregation had outgrown the 1913 building and in 1951 laid the cornerstone of a new, much larger structure whose facilities have been greatly expanded to include every kind of modern church activity.

An idea of the church's growth may be obtained from the following figures. During all the years between 1895 and 1934, the membership had increased from perhaps a dozen to 99. Between 1934 and 1941, it remained practically stationary, actually showing a loss of two. After the wartime evacuation of 1941-45, most of its old-time members returned to San José, but a noticeable number chose to live elsewhere. Yet by 1953, the congregation had increased to 185, keeping pace with the general growth of the city. At the end of 1969, it had reached the top 400's. Wesley United Methodist Church had never lost the vision of its founders.

Seventh Day Adventists

Almost concurrently with the first gathering of Japanese Methodists, the *City Directory* took note of San José's Seventh Day Adventists. They were meeting on Auzerai Avenue near Delmas, with Charles M. Nicholas as presiding elder. Their church, a small frame structure, cost \$1,375.

From Auzerai Avenue, the Adventists moved to 63 South Seventh Street, and from there to 77 North Fifth. They later established their Conference office at 1691 The Alameda, a school at 281 North

Thirty-third Street, and several churches some distance from the center of town.

Episcopal Christ Church

The same period found the Episcopalians' Christ Church holding services in the Druids' old hall at 151 South First Street, with the Reverend L. H. Mansfield in charge. From there, they moved to a little structure at Market and San Salvador Streets, formerly owned by the United Presbyterians. This structure was moved in 1905 to the northwest corner of Fourth and William Streets, where it remained Episcopalian property until the trustees were authorized in 1926 to sell it.

Willow Glen Methodists

Willow Glen Methodist Church, in the distant suburbs, came into San José via annexation as did the East San José and College Park churches. It started as a Sunday School in the 1860's, meeting in the Willow Glen public schoolhouse on the northwest corner of Lincoln Avenue and Malone Road, with George Hare as superintendent. In 1870-71, it erected a small structure of its own on the east side of what is now Lincoln Avenue's 1300 Block—its home for the next forty-three years.

There seems to have been nothing ostentatious about Willow Glen's founders. For years, their church was simply referred to as "the church in The Willows." The name Willow Glen did not appear in the Methodist Conference records until 1874. A Willow Glen Pastorate was mentioned in 1892 and '93, when H. C. Longley and C. G. Milnes respectively took charge, but the society received no mention as Willow Glen Church until 1909.

Throughout November, 1913, however, the *Mercury* kept this church well forward in the news pages. On the 7th and 8th, it ran accounts of the building's destruction by a falling eucalyptus tree. More comment followed on the 18th, with a drawing of the proposed replacement whose groundbreaking ceremony was announced on the 26th.

The new edifice, an imposing structure according to the neighborhood's architectural standards,

stood on the east side of Lincoln Avenue opposite the end of Brace. Though it looked a bit tacky at times, it served well until a fast growing congregation demanded more spacious quarters on the southeast corner of Washington (now Newport) and Minnesota Avenues in 1948.

After 1890, an increasing number of churches, having no buildings of their own, met in private halls—usually fraternal. Several never got beyond that status.

For example, churches and other societies meeting in the *Druids' Hall* at 151 South First Street in 1895 were still meeting in the *Druids' Hall* in 1904. They had no directory address other than *Druids' Hall*, but the *Druids' Hall* changed its address fairly often.

In 1895 alone, the Swedish Mission Church met in the Y. M. C. A. Hall (later Labor Temple) at 72 North Second Street; the Second Baptist (Negro), in the A.O.U.W. Hall; New Church, Rutherford Hall on southwest corner of Second and San Fernando Streets. That same year, the Florence Night Mission occupied a small room on Fountain Street, and the Salvation Army had its headquarters on North First Street. Also, a Mrs. F. F. Williams conducted what was known as Cottage Grove Union Chapel just beyond the city's southern limits.

German Methodist Episcopal Church

By the end of 1861, San José's churches had ceased to be a pioneering venture. Completion of the Panamá Railroad in 1855 eliminated the long voyage around Cape Horn for thousands of newcomers and an increasing volume of freight. Butterfield Overland Mail stages "spoiled" Californians in 1858, when the first stage came through from St. Louis to San Francisco via Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona in "23 days and 23 hours." In 1860, the Pony Express rushed mail from St. Joseph to Sacramento in ten days. And completion of the transcontinental telegraph in 1861 let people on one coast know what was happening on the other almost as soon as it happened.

Together, these improvements facilitated westward migration and practically eliminated the frontier

before steel rails closed it entirely. California church authorities no longer had to wait months for instructions from Eastern headquarters. Churches began to spring up all over the state, most of them starting with meetings in private homes or public buildings.

The German Methodists of San José followed this pattern under the Reverend A. Kellner in 1861. Their meetings were not overwhelmingly large—even under Gottlieb H. Bollinger who soon took over from Kellner. In 1881, Munro-Fraser noted that Bollinger's wife "composed the original membership," and the venture soon lapsed.

Nothing further happened until the latter 1860's, when the Reverend Hermann Brueck began to preach in the City Hall. Brueck soon gathered a flock composed of Mr. and Mrs. William Fruhling, Mr. and Mrs. August Grube, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Kuchenbeiser, Rudolph Kocker, Rosalie Reinhardt, and Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Theaerkauf.

Brueck hardly had time to organize a society and Sunday School before he was succeeded by the energetic C. H. Afflerbach. Under Afflerbach, the church soon acquired a lot and commenced construction of an \$8,000 frame building at what is now 59 South Third Street. The *Mercury* of March 21, 1870, with a follow-up on April 8, announced dedication of the edifice.

This was an ambitious undertaking for a society that had less than fifty members. Yet, at the end of Afflerbach's three year term, when he turned his charge over to the returning Bollinger, the congregation had paid off all but a few hundred dollars of that indebtedness.

Fortunately for the faithful, their church escaped fires, earthquake, and storm damage. The great fire of 1892 devoured almost everything for half a block back from the north side of San Fernando Street between First and Fourth, but stopped just short of the church's south property line. The structure swayed with the 1906 earthquake, but suffered little more than cracked plaster.

Owing to its linguistic characteristic, the German Church was never a large one. It had only eighty members under Pastor F. Bonn, and a Sunday school

of 150 children superintended by Rudolph Kocher, twenty years after its founding. On reaching maturity, many of these children and their children drifted away from the mother church, moving away from San José or marrying into other denominations. The coming of Lutheranism, itself of German origin, would also cut into Methodism's supply of local Germans.

The unfounded hostility that many Americans displayed toward people of German stock during World War I likewise proved an obstacle to growth—at least "for the duration."

In any event, the church continued its own quiet way, serving its original purpose to the best of its ability. Among the later pastors who carried it through good times and bad were O. Wilke, H. C. Jacoby, and H. D. Kamp. Finally, changing times and circumstances made it inadvisable to continue.

African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church

Few modern San Joséans have given much thought to this city's early black citizens and their contributions to the community's religious life. Yet one of the oldest churches in town owed its existence to them. Deacons William Smith and James Lodge founded it as the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church with eight members in 1864. Today it is generally referred to as AME Zion to distinguish it from other Methodist churches with somewhat similar names.

This church has roots that go back to 1800, and perhaps earlier, in New York and Philadelphia. No other church in the history of San José started under more disadvantageous circumstances. Its founders, out of slavery only a short time, were persons of small income. The Civil War was in full swing, building materials were scarce, prices high, and rentals exorbitant. It took more than ordinary faith to carry such a project through to completion.

Yet by 1870, when the Reverend A. Stevens was pastor, AME Zion's congregation had comfortably settled into a small frame church on the northwest corner of Fourth and San Antonio Streets. The lot on which this structure stood was donated by Mr. and

RELIGION

Mrs. John Madden, and the adjoining parsonage, facing Fourth Street had been the Madden home.

Construction and financing details of the house of worship are somewhat sketchy, but the church got clear title to the property the same day it incorporated—September 6, 1883. As neighborhood landmarks of long standing, both edifice and parsonage represented San José's main seat of Christian worship for blacks until the founding of Antioch Baptist Church in 1893.

In 1918, AME Zion replaced its original church with a larger one covered by triple-lap siding. This structure, facing San Antonio Street, lasted until 1969, when the church sold the entire property to the City of San José for urban redevelopment. The congregation then moved to the First Methodist Church's Vivian Chapel, on North Fifth Street, for all services until a new building could be constructed or purchased.

Christian Church

Alexander Campbell, an early leader of the Disciples of Christ, was still alive and vigorous when Thomas Thompson preached the first sermon of that persuasion in San José in 1851. With San José as his "home base," Thompson roamed northern California establishing the church variously known as Disciples of Christ, Christian, and Campbellite. Most San Joséans called it the Christian Church.

With all of his work, Thompson apparently devoted little energy to establishing a church in San José. In 1855, he founded one that dedicated a \$2,500 frame church in Gilroy two years after organization. But San José's Christians, who held their first services in private homes in 1868, did not formally organize until 1870. After that, they wandered somewhat nomadically around the downtown business district for almost fourteen years. Among their meeting places were a tiny hall over an insurance office on Santa Clara Street, Champion Hall on First Street, Brohaska's Opera House on Santa Clara Street, and California Theatre on Second Street. Finally, they dedicated a little brick church on the west side of Second Street about four doors north of San Antonio, in January, 1885.

At least three pastors participated in these wanderings. One, identified in print only as the "Rev. Cary," appears to have been first. William D. Pollard, teacher, preacher, and orchardist—came next. J. W. Ingram, who followed Pollard in 1883, took over for five years and saw the church through its 1884 - 85 building program.

When Ingram resigned on July 15, 1888, George E. Walk took his place. By that time, the congregation, which grew slowly at first, had increased to about 300. It continued to grow until the "Big Earthquake" destroyed its meeting place in 1906.

This could have saddled the membership with an unbearable debt, but fortunately help was at hand. Back in 1891, San José, which had gone for many years without a Christian Church, got a second one. This society, known as the Central Christian Church, had erected a \$4,000 frame building on the west side of Second Street three doors north of St. James. And since it had suffered as badly as First Church, the two organizations consolidated under the name of First Christian Church and built a magnificent \$30,000 edifice along classical lines at 80 South Fifth Street. This gave the consolidated society a membership of close to 1,000 and a sanctuary that became a show-place of the city for thirty years.

On May 10, 1937, disaster struck again. Fire ruined the big church beyond repair, but despite the concurrent economic depression, the congregation was equal to the challenge. By 1939, a beautiful new edifice had risen in the place of the old one. San José's church of Alexander Campbell and Thomas Thompson again looked confidently to the future.

Immanuel Evangelical Lutheran Church

The Germans had hardly settled into their Lutheran routine of worship at Orchard and San Carlos Streets when the Swedes decided to do the same a couple of blocks away. On November 23, 1884, Pastor Johannes Telleen of San Francisco preached San José's first sermon in Swedish and organized the Swedish Evangelical Immanuel Lutheran Church.

In one respect, it was hardly an auspicious occasion. The offering came to exactly \$4.05. But that

detail could be attended to later. On New Years Day, 1885, the congregation approved asking Augustana Synod for an ordained pastor. Next came the inspection of building lots.

These matters consumed more time than expected. Pastors were in short supply, so the founders voted on April 14 to take any pastor they could get. On May 8, they finally selected a large double lot on the northwest corner of Market Street and Auzerais Avenue and agreed to begin construction immediately. Plans approved two weeks later called for a redwood clapboard-sided frame structure of "simple architecture" fifty-four feet long and thirty-six feet wide, with a seating capacity of about 225.

This structure lacked a basement, but more than made up that deficiency with a fine bell tower. Its high steeple and spire would serve as a landmark for years to come. Supervisor of construction Perry Poulson made the altar, lectern, and pews and did much of the general carpentry—all for \$3.50 a day.

A concise account of construction says nothing about the building's formal dedication, but it was finished in time for the visit of Pastor Eric Norelius of Augustana Synod on December 25—or at least before the first resident pastor, F. A. Linder, arrived on January 12, 1886.

Linder stayed only long enough to get the church well on its way. On March 27, 1887, the Reverend P. A. Faire took charge. Faire's resignation in 1892 left a vacancy that had to be filled temporarily by J. L. Wallin of San Francisco until a regular pastor, A. M. L. Herenius, could take over in May, 1893.

In dealing with female members of the congregation, the Swedish Lutherans were far ahead of the Germans. In the early German church, the men ran the establishment, with no misunderstanding of the fact. The Swedes, on the other hand, granted full suffrage to their women in 1895. The ladies could thereafter vote as they pleased in church matters—with or against the menfolk.

In 1904 and 1909, Immanuel's members appropriately celebrated the twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversaries of their organization. Interim comment by the church's chronicler noted the "great San Fran-

cisco earthquake" of 1906, with no mention of the damage, if any, done to his own place of worship.

Remodeling in 1910 replaced gas with electricity for lighting the church. In 1914 English was introduced in the church service for the first time, and it alternated with Swedish until English took over completely in 1939.

Another important change came in 1943, when the church officially changed its name from Swedish Evangelical *Immanuel* Lutheran Church to Evangelical *Immanuel* Lutheran Church.

Meanwhile, the church had given considerable attention to real estate. In 1920, it had disposed of its surplus lot on Market Street for \$10,000. Increasing membership and need for additional facilities led to purchase of two parcels of property in 1926—one at Auzerais and Spencer Avenues; the other in Willow Glen.

The trustees contemplated early expansion, but despite a congregation of 200 adults and 52 children, changed their plans when the depression of the early 1930's gripped the nation. As did every other church in San José, Immanuel encountered several years of "tough going." Not until 1941 did it recover sufficiently to buy a \$1,420 organ.

Then World War II started a population influx to San José that is still in full swing. Sunday School services began in the Willow Glen and Burbank areas in 1947 and '48. All signs indicated the necessity of moving the church from the downtown location. In 1952, the congregation voted to relocate at 1710 Moorpark Avenue, where a suitable lot was available for an incredibly favorable price. The old church property at Market Street and Auzerais Avenue was sold for \$37,000 in 1953, and dedication of the new property followed on May 31.

Since then, the story of Immanuel had been one of continuous congregational and structural growth. By 1959, membership had reached 509 adults and 327 children, and plans were made for expanding church school facilities.

Society of Friends (Quakers)

As nearly as can be determined, the Pacific Coast's first meeting of the Society of Friends took

place in San José in 1861. The members of this society, brought together by Jesse and David Hobson, held their first services in private homes. But in 1866, they moved into a neat frame meeting house on an 80 x 80-foot lot on the northeast corner of Ninth and St. John Streets, donated by the Hobsons. The deed, recorded on February 2, 1867, conveyed the property to the society's trustees—Jesse, David, and David I. Hobson, William C. Ables, John Barker, Thomas Henry Knowles, and Stephen Thorne.

With Stephen Hobson as first elder, the society got off to a good start. It "regularly organized under the authority and discipline of the Iowa Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends" in 1873. By 1881, it had sixty-five members holding religious meetings at 11:00 a.m. every Sunday and Thursday. Sabbath School also met on Sunday at 11:00 a.m., and monthly meetings for transaction of business convened on the second Thursday.

The Society sold the Ninth and St. John Streets property to the Free Methodists on December 6, 1883, and on November 21, 1884, bought a lot for a new meeting house on the west side of Stockton Avenue about four doors north of The Alameda.

This second structure was known as the "Stockton Avenue Meeting." Though the dwindling congregation used it until 1924, the Society sold the entire property to the Yearly Meeting of the Friends Church on June 27, 1922. The Yearly Meeting sold it to Swen and Anna Erickson who, in turn, sold it to Charles D. Griffel who converted it to a furniture finishing and repairing establishment.

About 1883, however, a sizeable group styling itself the College Park Association of Friends had left the original society over a difference in matters of faith. After meeting a while in a downtown lodge hall, its members commenced construction of a meeting house on a lot donated by James Bean to make sure they had their own meeting place. This property was located at 1020 Morse Street, just north of Davis, in what County records described as the Chapman-Davis Tract.

Joel Bean, brother of James, kept a diary that recorded the meeting house's progress. His entry for

March 17, 1885, noted, "Jas. B. and I bought lumber for the Meeting House." Subsequent entries kept track of carpentering, plastering, and painting until Saturday April 25, when he wrote, "Finished the Meeting House." The next day, his remarkably terse entry for such an occasion recorded the "First meeting in the Meeting House." Bean and his fellow Quakers were apparently in no hurry with legal details. They did not record the deed to the property until January 17, 1890.

Throughout its long existence, this society has been referred to as College Park Meeting, Morse Street Meeting, and Bean Meeting. But whatever it was called, it was alive and flourishing forty-five years after the Stockton Avenue Meeting disappeared. It resisted change in structure, appurtenance, and surroundings as long as possible, as indicated in a paper that Senator Herbert C. Jones read to the Society on November 5, 1949. In his closing remarks, Jones observed:

"Thus the little Meeting House has stood through the years. At first it was surrounded by fields of grain. In the spring it witnessed the sprouting of the tender shoots of barley; in summer it gazed upon the surrounding fields of hay-cocks; in the fall it was surrounded by the brown California stubble. As the years have passed, the fields have been subdivided into lots, until now it is surrounded by homes. Only three weeks ago, on October 15, the Meeting House yielded to the march of progress. It then had electric lights and an electric heater installed in the dining room."

When Senator Jones mentioned the march of progress, he hardly envisioned the State of California's forcing the College Park Friends Meeting to abandon its original site. Yet, to clear the right of way for construction of Route 5 (Highway 17) across northern San José in 1958-59, the little white structure was moved from 1020 to 1041 Morse Street, barely off the right of way.

It was still at the latter address in 1969, an architectural gem in a delightful setting, and declared the oldest Friends Meeting in California.

Unitarian Church

By the time the Christians formally organized in 1870, the foundation and much of the superstructure of San José's Protestantism had become an integral feature of community life.

The same held good for the local beginnings of Unitarianism. San José took little notice of this denomination until 1865, when Charles Gordon Ames arrived in San Francisco with a "roving commission" to spread the gospel of Unity elsewhere in the state.

In 1866, two former New Yorkers, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Watkins of Santa Clara, asked Ames to speak in San José. He gladly accommodated them with an enlightening talk to a large gathering in the City Hall. This led to the assembly of a loosely formed group variously known as Unity Society and Unity Congregation in 1867, with formal organization following in 1869.

The first trustees of the new society were Messrs. Joseph E. Brown, R. P. Thompson, J. L. York, and Mesdames S. L. Knox and B. F. Watkins. The first services took place in 1870 in the Odd Fellows Hall, then located on the East side of First Street near El Dorado (Post). By 1874, however, the society had moved to an upstairs room on the Second Street side of Central Hall, a newly constructed market building that extended from First Street to Second between San Fernando and San Antonio.

After meeting in public and private halls of one kind or another until 1891, San José's Unitarians finally commenced construction of an edifice of their own. The Grand Lodge, F. & A. M., of California laid the cornerstone on September 23 of that year, and first services followed in 1892.

This structure, featuring what someone called a Transylvanian architectural design, cost almost \$30,000 and was exceptionally well built. It survived the 1906 earthquake with only a little plaster cracked from the interior of its dome, and its auditorium became a medical center and shelter for victims of the disaster.

By 1969, this church had been declared the only 19th Century structure fronting on St. James Park

that had never changed its original external features in any respect.

Compared with the first four of San José's Protestant churches, the Unitarian could never boast a large congregation. Ninety years after its founding, it could count only "some 200" members. Rejection of certain orthodox theological concepts had somewhat restricted the membership to the well-educated or "thinking" class of humanity. In the 1930's, more than one wisecracking San Joséan referred to the Third Street edifice as "the brains church."

During the disturbing "McCarthy days," the willingness of this church's members to examine and discuss a controversial or taboo subject made them suspect in ultraconservative circles. Yet time and again, they saw acceptance of their proposed reforms, and confirmation of their opinions by the highest courts of the land.

In 1954, for example, they were required to sign a loyalty oath to obtain church property tax exemption. They denounced the oath as unconstitutional and refused to sign it, choosing, instead, to pay their taxes. Their stand on the oath was declared correct by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In 1906, the San José church deeded its edifice and real property to the American Unitarian Association of Boston, now the Unitarian-Universalist Association. Thus, as an integral unit of a nationwide organization, it has increased its power as a champion of religious and political freedom.

United Presbyterian Church

By 1870, San José had earned its reputation as a "town of schools and churches," and churches far outnumbered the schools. In trying to cope with the surge of religion after the Civil War, new societies sprang up faster than the home folk could keep track of them. Skeptics wondered whether the citizenry had become more "churchy" than religious.

Besides the already noted Roman Catholic St. Patrick's, three new Protestant churches came into existence before the decade was half gone. And this is not counting the Christians who met regularly in

RELIGION

the late 1860's, but did not formally organize until 1870.

In order of succession, these Churches were the First United Presbyterian, First Congregational, and Cumberland Presbyterian. Each took from one to 17 members from the First Presbyterian Church.

The United, as old-timers referred to it, organized on November 6, 1874, with twenty-eight members. Its first pastor, the forty-year-old Reverend Alexander Calhoun, served in missionary capacity until his formal installation in 1879. The first elders—James Black, James Kirkpatrick, and J. M. Fleming—were likewise long termers, still in office eight years after the church's founding.

The United's members worshipped for four years in a little second story hall in the San José Savings Bank Building on the south side of Santa Clara Street midway between First and Lightston. In 1878, they engaged architect and builder W. C. Hamilton to erect a \$4,000 two-towered frame building on the northwest corner of Fifth and Santa Clara Streets.

This structure remained the United's home until it was razed after dissolution of the society in 1931.

First Congregational Church

For the first quarter century of its corporate existence, San José had no Congregational Church. As nearly as can be determined, the earliest Congregationalists here during that period worshipped with the new school Presbyterians on Second Street. But as the mid-1870's approached, the perceptive Ebenezer Snell, M.D., felt that enough Congregationalists had arrived here to warrant organizing a church. He and his wife Rachel accordingly began to hold meetings for that purpose in their home at 627 Second Street (now about 520 South Second).

The Snells soon discovered there were more Congregationalists and former Congregationalists in San José than they had thought. On April 7, 1875, the Reverend Theodore Munger arrived from Lawrence, Massachusetts, to assist them. Four days later, on the 11th, he conducted San José's initial Congregational service, the first of a series of four held a week apart

in Central Hall. Munger's first day proved a great success. He had an attendance of sixty at his morning services, and 100 in the evening.

On May 10, the founders moved to Judge Lawrence Archer's building on the southwest corner of Second and Fountain Streets, and from there three weeks later to the southwest corner of Third and Santa Clara.

Meanwhile, on May 3, a "Congregational Society" was organized to act as legal agent for the church. Formal establishment of the church with forty charter members took place at a meeting held by the Council of Congregational Churches in the First Presbyterian Church on June 2, 1875.

Now functioning as the First Congregational Church of San José, the founders directed their attention to acquiring a lot and edifice. They must have considered the latter the more important, for Lowell C. Pratt noted in his seventy-fifth anniversary history of the church that the lot was a rented one. Ella Adele Taylor, writing in 1900, simply described it as vacant.

In any event, they erected on it a 36' x 50' frame structure, dedicated on August 29—less than ninety days from the first nail to the last. The building and its furnishings cost a total of \$1,874.57, every cent of which was paid off by March of the following year. It stood on the south side of San Antonio Street about midway between Second and Third.

The chief characteristics of this young church's members were obviously foresight and good business judgment. Wisely anticipating growth, they paid \$1,950 in 1880 for a large lot on the southeast corner of Third and San Antonio Streets. On December 27, 1887, they dedicated a commodious new structure on this lot, and then moved their first structure to just behind the new one for Sunday School use. Substantial enlargement of the church lot came in 1906 with the purchase of a twenty-foot wide strip of adjacent land for \$1,700. Construction of a \$14,000 parish house followed in 1908.

By this time, the several units formed a single much augmented structure extending along the south side of San Antonio Street halfway from Third to Fourth. Remodeling of the main structure in 1938

took care of further growth—for a while. Six years later, the congregation launched a pay-as-you-go money raising campaign to build a new church.

The funds thus raised were invested in government bonds, valued at \$26,750 in 1950. This enabled the building committee to buy three acres of land on Leigh Avenue a short distance south of Hamilton. By 1953, however, it was decided that a corner lot would be a better place to locate. The three acre parcel was sold and the church bought nine and a half acres on the southeast corner of Hamilton and Leigh Avenues at a cost of \$47,500.

The net cost of this property was reduced by subdivision and sale of three acres, leaving the church six-and-a-half acres for building, parking space, and other improvements.

The building program got under way on March 1, 1954, with Bolton White as architect. A fund raising committee under chairman William W. Lester soon had pledges of \$142,000 for construction of "a new Sanctuary, Fellowship Hall and class rooms." Ground breaking ceremonies took place on June 6, 1954, and the Fellowship Hall and class rooms were dedicated on May 22 of the following year.

Construction of the Sanctuary came up for consideration on May 24, 1964. The thirteen regular and four ex-officio members of the building committee considered the project from every possible point of view for ten months. They chose Allan M. Walter for architect and awarded construction to the firm of Nicholson-Brown, Inc. Costs of the new sanctuary and its furnishings would come to \$350,000.

The congregation approved the preliminary plans at a special meeting held on April 9, 1965, and pledges of \$225,000 were received the following June. October 17, 1965, witnessed the ground breaking ceremonies. The first service took place in the new sanctuary on December 4, 1966, and official dedication followed on January 15, 1967.

Cumberland Presbyterian Church

Presbyterians, as have Baptists and Methodists, have long been divided into a variety of independent

groups that often retained their original identities in a somewhat precarious manner.

One of them, the Cumberland, barely survived three decades in San José. Organized in the First Presbyterian Church July 4, 1875, it was considered a daughter of First Church—although it took only one of its twenty-four founders from the mother society. But not much is known about it today.

Its church, erected at a cost of \$3,000 soon after organization, stood on the east side of Third Street, about four doors south of Santa Clara. The *City Directory* listed it there until 1906, when its never large congregation consolidated with that of First Church in conformity with a nationwide Presbyterian movement.

But the old church had not yet finished the course. It echoed to "the Word" again when a fundamentalist sect referred to as "Holy Rollers" took it over for a while shortly after World War I. When they gave it up, what had once been a house of God fell under the wrecker's hammer.

The pastors of this church were the Reverends D. E. Bushnell, W. H. Baugh, J. O. McClurkan, John R. Walker, C. N. Reyburn, S. B. Bixler, and J. N. Crawford. Bushnell, first in the *City Directory*, was in office in 1876 and still there eleven years later. Crawford, listed in 1900, remained until the church closed its doors for the last time as a Presbyterian institution. The other pastors served only two or three years each.

First Immanuel Lutheran

Proliferation of churches during the 1880's and 1890's reflected the rapid population growth of the Santa Clara Valley. San José alone got no less than sixteen new churches during those two decades, with no sign of let-up in the first ten years of the 20th Century. And along with orthodox institutions came any number of spiritual and other short-lived groups that proved no more than sparks in the local religious firmament.

In 1882, Lutherans organized the first Immanuel Lutheran Church under direction of the Reverend J. M. Buehler, a missionary from San Francisco. That

RELIGION

same year, the Reverend William Braunwarth, who preached in German, became the first resident pastor. His edifice, on the northeast corner of San Carlos and Orchard Streets, belonged not to the San José congregation, but to the Bethel Church of the Evangelical Association of North America.

Braunwarth stayed on until 1892, when he helped to incorporate the church as *Ersteutsche Evangelische Lutherische Immanuel Kirche* of San José, with himself as president of the congregation. But on becoming involved in a sharp controversy soon afterward, he resigned his pastorate, left the church, and took about half of its members with him. Whereupon, the Reverend G. Denninger took over for fourteen years.

In 1894, safely beyond the Braunwarth affair, Denninger persuaded the congregation to buy the building from the evangelical association. The premises remained in local hands thereafter.

In 1907, the Reverend E. P. Block succeeded Pastor Denninger. Block, a bachelor, ran his church in strict German fashion. The men sat on one side of the aisle; the women, on the other. The men went to communion first; the women afterward.

A hint of the length of Block's sermons may be derived from his dispatching a parishioner at mid-sermon to fetch a cup of hot chocolate or coffee. Ill health prevailed on Block to request a leave of absence in 1921. His place was taken by the Reverend H. C. Zarwell, who was duly installed in 1922.

Zarwell, an innovationist, introduced English into the church's usage "to keep the young people," as one long time member expressed it. After observing his jubilee in the ministry, Zarwell retired in 1940, and was succeeded by the Reverend E. H. Lutz.

In 1945, midway in Lutz's pastorate, the church reluctantly sold its property for \$35,000 to the City of San José, which needed it for enlargement of the next door Civic Auditorium. And though the congregation had acquired a fine lot at 374 South Third Street, a shortage of building materials occasioned by World War II delayed construction.

Groundbreaking did not take place until January 23, 1949. The cornerstone ceremony and dedication

respectively followed on June 5 and December 11 of the same year.

A four-month vacancy occurred in Immanuel's pastorate when Lutz departed for Tillamook, Oregon, in 1950. A supply pastor, the Reverend Du Brau, took over until the Reverend A. J. Brommer could be installed in 1951.

Brommer, who served until his death in 1969, thus became the first pastor to be installed in the new edifice. A parsonage, parish hall, and many other improvements, including a \$25,000 organ, were added during his pastorate.

Over the years, the little society organized by missionary Pastor Buehler had grown into a flourishing church. The little frame structure on San Carlos Street had changed to a magnificent edifice of modified California mission architecture, and the stability of its congregation has been remarkable.

Free Methodist Church

In 1858, the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of western New York excluded several preachers for taking a different view of certain doctrines of the church. These ministers, however, retained their views, and presently a new denomination known as Free Methodist came into existence. Its official organization took place in Pekin, New York, August 23, 1860.

The missionaries of this church spread in all directions and, by 1879, reached California. Bishop B. T. Roberts, recognized as founder of Free Methodism, came to San José that same year to conduct a series of six evening services in the little Quaker meeting house at Ninth and St. John Streets.

In 1881, Free Methodist Bishop E. P. Hart arrived and settled in Alameda, across the estuary from Oakland. As superintendent of his church in California, he visited San José during the winter of 1882 - 83 and took the first steps toward establishing his denomination here. He and his wife rented a little stone building on Santa Clara Street between Fourth and Fifth, and in it established the first Free Methodist Church in California on March 4, 1883.

Hart's founding congregation consisted of seven full-fledged members and three probationers. They were Avery C. Allen, Fanny Allen, James Allen, Mary Allen, Jannette Amidon, Reuben Amidon, Charles Brown, James Kennedy, Mary Ransom, and Richard C. Wallace. Mary Allen and the Amidons were the probationers.

It is said that Hart spent his last five dollars for lumber to make seats for his congregation. Hart and his little congregation disliked meeting in rented quarters. They therefore bought the Quaker meeting House at Ninth and St. John Streets on December 6, 1883. The next day, the state's leading Free Methodists gathered in this little church to dedicate it and organize the Free Methodist Conference of California.

The San José congregation outgrew this building by 1904 and, accordingly, sold it for \$200 to a man who moved it to Twelfth Street near Jackson. Construction of a new church began immediately, for the *Mercury* of January 6 and 9, 1905, reported completion and dedication of a new \$2,822 frame building dedicated by Bishop William T. Hogue.

A later ambitious remodeling program increased the seating capacity to 200 and provided additional Sunday School rooms. The triple lap wooden siding, popular in the first decade of the 20th Century, gave way to stucco. The entrance was also changed from St. John to Ninth Street.

This structure, as built and remodeled, served the community's Free Methodists until the end of 1964. In January, 1965, they moved into a magnificent new structure occupying an exceptionally large lot on the southeast corner of Curtner and Meridian Avenues. Dedication by Bishop L. R. Marston followed on June 6 of the same year.

This new location, with its buildings, represented an investment of \$182,000. It provided abundant space for additional buildings and parking when needed. On moving to that site, the church changed its name from the simple downtown designation of Free Methodist to Willow Vale Community Church—Free Methodist.

Emmanuel Baptist

Emmanuel Baptist, Bowman Methodist, and Swedish Emmanuel Lutheran constituted another trio of churches organized in the 1880's. Seventy-five years later, only the Swedish church remained.

Emmanuel Baptist, noted elsewhere, was an offshoot of downtown First Baptist Church. Its forty-five founders disagreed with First Church on some procedural point in 1884, and left in January, 1885, to establish a church of their own. Most of them had returned to First Church by the end of 1887. And the pulpit of First Church, vacant at the moment, was offered to Emmanuel's pastor, A. W. Runyon, who accepted it.

But the wound had not completely healed. James and McMurry's *History of San José*, published in 1933, mentioned the holdout dissenters' building and edifice in 1889. The 1897 *City Directory* located this church on the southwest corner of East and Crandall Streets, with C. J. Thompson as pastor.

East Street, now South Montgomery, was then just outside the city limits, which was probably one reason for Emmanuel's leaving First Church. In any event, Emmanuel's dwindling congregation ultimately passed from existence, and the little 1889 structure slowly fell into dilapidation.

Bowman Methodist

The little East San José society known as Bowman Methodist Episcopal Church probably bore more names in its forty-three years of existence than did any of its contemporaries.

Founded in 1888, it first appeared in the *City Directory* in 1890, when the Reverend W. T. Mayne was pastor. Its church stood on the northwest corner of Webster and Jefferson Streets, now Twentieth and San Fernando. Presently, the name Bowman gave way to Webster Street Church, which alternated in the public mind with East San José Church.

In January, 1913, thirteen months after East San José's annexation to San José, Webster Street became Twentieth Street, and the church accordingly took

RELIGION

the name Twentieth Street. Its official address was then listed as 95 South Twentieth Street.

The Twentieth Street Church served a community purpose and apparently prospered until the end of the first decade of the 20th Century. On January 11, 1908, the *Mercury* reported the cornerstone ceremony for a new house of worship. Yet the congregation gave up in May, 1931, and the church closed its doors, a victim of a nationwide depression and changed population pattern.

Grace Baptist Church

San José's Grace Baptist Church was organized in 1914 within the walls of the forty-four year old German Methodist Church at 57 South Third Street. Its 129 charter members had left the First Baptist Church over a difference of opinion regarding that church's approval of certain preachings of Evangelist Amy Semple McPherson. They felt that they should keep more in line with what they considered traditional Baptist doctrine.

The Reverend James A. Sutherland, their first pastor, saw them through the formative years. In 1916, they moved into a one story, box-like, stucco-covered structure on the northeast corner of Seventh and Santa Clara Streets. It was not an entirely new structure, for it embodied a dwelling house that had occupied the site for thirty years or more. But it was at least a "home of their own."

Here, after Pastor Sutherland's retirement in 1924, they continued to prosper under the successive pastorates of Charles S. Knight, E. H. Hicks, H. E. Bottemiller, Hubert Mathews, Henry J. Croes, and John Akers. They survived the great national depression of the 1930's, and adapted their building to growth and other conditions as they went along—even to adding a touch of picturesqueness to its architecture.

A replica of a coastal lighthouse towered above the southwest corner of the roof from 1924 to 1929, giving the structure the appellation of "Lighthouse Church."

In 1941, Grace Church moved into a beautiful, spacious edifice that it erected on a large lot on the

southeast corner of Tenth and San Fernando Streets. It also sold its far outgrown property at Seventh and Santa Clara Streets.

Owing to World War II, the new church opened with several of its important features different from those in the original plan. Its stained glass windows, ordered from Italy, went to the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean when a German submarine sank the ship that was carrying them to America.

Yet, all was not lost. The church's magnificent Robert Morton organ, installed in 1941, was treasured beyond the price of rubies. It came to the church from San José's venerable Liberty Theatre, where it had delighted thousands of the city's music lovers since 1914.

At last report, this instrument had served the church longer than it served the theatre, and devoted care ensured its continuance with the church for a much longer period.

Except for the loss of its Italian windows, Grace Church came down the years without noteworthy mishap or disappointment. It at no time suffered the calamities of earthquake and fire that had afflicted many of its early predecessors of all denominations. It had built well in realizing the dream of its first pastor, James A. Sutherland.

Second Presbyterian (Westminster)

From 1885 to 1891, Dr. Henry Collin Minton's dynamic preaching had a tremendous effect on San José Presbyterianism. It regularly filled First Church's brick edifice to overflowing and created an urgent need for additional facilities. As a result, the Second Presbyterian Church came into existence on May 24, 1891, with seventy-seven of First Church's members, a figure that ultimately increased to 121.

To help the new society get under way, Mrs. Jane B. Cobb of First Church donated a large lot on the west side of Second Street just north of William. The founders matched her generosity with cash, and construction began almost immediately. Their edifice, rivaling St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in size and ornament, was dedicated free of debt the follow-

ing September 13, with the Reverend Robert F. Maclaren as pastor.

At the time of dedication, this great cream-colored structure could have accommodated all the Presbyterians between Santa Clara Street and the southern city limits. Besides the pastor's study and office space, it possessed a social hall and a large auditorium separated by sliding doors from an expansive Sunday School assembly room.

This last feature was used for coping with overflow attendance on special occasions. It served exceedingly well on January 16, 1896, when the church was packed with mourners attending the funeral service of Dr. Benjamin Cory, first physician to settle in Santa Clara County. And even then, a large portion of the crowd had to stand outside, braving a threatening shower.

Lewis Barnhisel, L. M. Duncan, Dr. F. K. Ledyard, Dr. J. J. Miller, and A. H. Stinson constituted Second Church's first board of trustees. Their services and Pastor Maclaren's preaching more than doubled the church's membership by 1895, and their successors kept it in flourishing condition for a couple of decades thereafter. It got through the 1906 earthquake with negligible damage, and at no time in its existence did it suffer from fire.

Gradually, however, an encroaching business district and changing population pattern began to take toll. By 1922, when M. M. Kilpatrick was pastor, the congregation had begun to mull the idea of seeking another location. After inspecting several sites, the committee decided that the Hester-Hanchett, College Park, and Stockton Avenue areas offered a wide territory not served by a Presbyterian Church.

The congregation soon "tied up" four lots extending westward from The Alameda along the south side of Henry Street (now Shasta Avenue). Subsequent dickering for another lot provided additional frontage on The Alameda. And on May 10, 1926, the *Mercury* reported construction of a \$54,327 edifice, called Westminster Presbyterian.

Old Second Church, reduced to 194 members, changed its name and arranged to sell its Second Street property before moving. Under a new name

and a new home, it flourished as never before, reaching a membership of 700 in relatively short order, and continued to do so. Forty-three years after completion, its edifice looked as solid as it did the day building contractor Leo Nommensen turned it over to the congregation.

Antioch Baptist Church

Same as the prophet whose gospel they preach, San José's black citizens of Baptist persuasion trace their local denomination to a humble beginning. Seven of them gathered in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hawkins on August 2, 1893, to organize the Antioch Baptist Church. The following month, the Reverend C. C. Laws became their pastor.

Nationwide hard times of that period tested their faith severely and found them not wanting. Come what might, Carl Aurther, Turner Berry, Ella Davis, Robert Evans, Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins, G. W. Johnson, John W. Jordan, E. Mast, Daniel Pinkey, E. Pinkston, Simon Turner, and L. Walker had no intention of turning back.

Their first building was a city-fronted frame structure on the south side of Julian Street between Eighth and Ninth. A photograph taken in 1893 shows it with channel siding in front, board-and-batten on the sides, and a common gable roof whose shingles appeared somewhat sun-warped. It could not accommodate more than forty worshippers with any degree of comfort.

As economic conditions improved, the members took the first steps toward insuring the permanency of their society. On April 28, 1905, they incorporated it with Turner Berry, F. Bowman, C. C. Brown, J. C. Corbett, R. J. Evans, Henry Hawkins, and Daniel Pinkey as the first trustees. The next move took Antioch Church into the General Baptist Association of California on November 1, 1906.

By 1908, Antioch's congregation had outgrown the little meeting place of 1893, and had begun to think about a larger one. Construction of a new building began soon as its plans were approved in June of that year. Between then and the new structure's dedication the third Sunday in September, serv-

RELIGION

ices were held in the hall of Pastime Club at 315 North Tenth Street.

The 1908 church, with a seating capacity of 150, served Antioch well for three decades, but the influx of new residents during World War II soon rendered its facilities inadequate. Once again the congregation pondered plans for a larger building. And on Easter Sunday, 1963, Ella Davis, the only surviving member of Antioch's original congregation, cut the ribbon of dedicatory entrance to a beautiful edifice that could seat 625 members.

By 1963, more than 500 members radiated Antioch's institutional health. Her edifice embraced all the facilities characteristic of a modern church—sanctuary, office, pastor's study, educational building, dining room, and kitchen. Her clergy and congregation, actively participating in community affairs, had made noteworthy contributions to public weal. The Reverend C. W. Washington, who took over the pastorate in 1946, set a record for others to emulate in this respect.

In 1948 he became the first man of his race to serve on the board of the Santa Clara Valley Red Cross, and in 1956 he was the first to be elected to the Santa Clara County Board of Education. He received double recognition in 1963, when he represented the Santa Clara County Board of Education at the National School Board Convention in Chicago, and was chosen one of San José's ten most distinguished citizens.

Mr. Washington continued as Antioch's pastor up to this recording of his career twenty-three years later. He had already surpassed Pastor Magette's nineteen-year record by four years and showed every indication of continuing. His unbroken record on the County School Board was similarly distinguished.

Antioch finished the first seventy-five years of its existence with no reverses that could shake the faith of its members. In deliverance from natural calamity and other heart-breaking misfortune, it had much in common with its sister A M E Zion Church. Providence had smiled upon both.

Grace Lutheran Church

Emerson said, "An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man," but San José's Grace Lutheran

Church went him one better. It was the lengthened shadow of two men—the Reverends W. E. and Clarence F. Crouser—father and son. Their combined services spanned fifty-seven of this church's seventy-six years of life down to 1969.

Grace church traced its origin back to May 1, 1891, when the Reverend George Victor Augustine Tressler arrived in San José specifically to found Santa Clara County's first English speaking Lutheran society.

Tressler's start was none too spectacular. It took him six months to find enough interested persons to make the venture. But finally, on January 3, 1892, he organized the Grace Lutheran Church with twenty-six charter members in the G.A.R. Hall at 58 South First Street.

The church was still meeting in this hall when it incorporated on January 31, 1895. Four days later, it entered into a deal to buy a large lot on the northeast corner of Second and Julian Streets from Dr. James Hummer for \$3,000.

Architect A. F. Wolfe drew up plans, the ground-breaking took place on July 4, and contractors Bacon & Woehl commenced construction almost immediately thereafter. Just four months and one day elapsed between laying of the cornerstone on July 28 and dedication of a beautiful edifice on December 5.

By December of the following year, adult membership had increased to 168, and that of Sunday School to 110. Though in no pressing need for funds, the church picked up a few extra dollars by renting the chapel to a Miss Leffler who conducted a class in "elocution for polite young ladies."

In July, 1898, Pastor Tressler resigned after finishing his work in San José. Grace Church's pulpit remained vacant for a year—perhaps as a result of the Spanish-American War then occupying the nation's attention. But in July, 1899, the Reverend William Fry took over for a year, and Arthur Bredenbeck followed him, also for a year in 1901.

Then came a quirk of events. Just as Bredenbeck was departing in October, 1902, Mrs. W. E. Crouser and her young son Clarence had a layover between trains in San José while on their way from Buffalo,

New York, to Santa Cruz, California. Because it was Sunday, they decided to pass the time by attending church, and Grace Church, of their persuasion, was only two blocks from the railroad station.

In course of the service, Mrs. Crouser learned that the pulpit was vacant. She immediately telegraphed her husband in Buffalo, suggesting that he apply for the position of pastor. He did so, and was accepted.

Crouser took charge on November 1, and served at a salary of \$1,000 a year until April 1, 1909. He then left San José to become pastor of the first English-speaking Lutheran church in San Francisco. Before leaving for San Francisco, however, Crouser experienced the 1906 earthquake, which did about \$1,200 damage to his San José edifice.

The Reverend John Hoick, who succeeded Crouser, served until October 1, 1915. During his pastorate, Grace Church got its first electric lights, and Julian Street was paved.

Crouser, recalled to Grace Church, commenced his second pastorate here on January 1, 1916, and kept it until his retirement twenty-eight years and six months later. During those years, he became one of San José's most beloved citizens. In addition to his church duties, he actively participated in civic, fraternal, and charity affairs. His Willow Glen neighbors along Lincoln Avenue long remembered his going about his family errands accompanied by a large friendly dog.

Crouser's successor, the Reverend Harold J. Lorimer, took charge on June 1, 1944. He welcomed a sizeable increase in membership when Bethel Lutheran Church merged with Grace Church.

Bethel, organized in 1902, had a neat edifice and parsonage at 215 Delmas Avenue, where the Reverend Emil Meyer long resided and served as pastor. Its early services were conducted in German, but, the same as San José's other German churches, eventually switched to English.

Under the Reverend Clarence F. Crouser, who succeeded Lorimer on October 1, 1948, Grace Church attained its maximum adult peak membership of 765, with children in proportion. The younger

Crouser also energetically participated in many praiseworthy civic activities. The contributions of father and son were so great that Mayor Joseph Pace officially declared the week of September 28 - October 4, 1964 "Crouser Week" for the entire city of San José.

In 1948, Grace Church was the only church of its synodical affiliation in Santa Clara County. In the course of the community's great growth following World War II, however, Grace Church members formed the nuclei of many other congregations throughout the area.

Crouser's retirement in May, 1967, ended an era in Grace Church's history. The congregation was in good financial condition, and the Second and Julian Streets real estate was worth many times the \$3,000 paid for it in 1895.

Yet, the Reverend Richard Froehlig, who succeeded Crouser, presently found himself confronted with a host of urban growth problems unknown to his predecessors. He had abundant reason to believe that the pastor of the future would have to be a city planner, environmentalist, seismologist, fireman, and safety code expert, with more than a touch of financial genius. Yet he assumed his responsibility with the energy and faith that had already brought his church through more than three quarters of a century.

Other Swedish Churches

The years between 1895 and 1905 also witnessed increased Swedish activity in San José's religious field. Two groups styling themselves Swedish Baptist Church and Swedish Christian Evangelical Mission Church came into existence.

The Baptists, who seemed in no hurry with a construction program, met in the "Bethel German Church" at San Carlos and Orchard Streets in 1895 and apparently elsewhere afterward as befitted their purpose. Finally, on December 13, 1912, the *Mercury* reported dedication of their own edifice at 88 East San Antonio Street.

The Christian Evangelical Mission congregation, founded in 1903, long met in a sizeable frame structure at 136 West San Carlos Street.

RELIGION

Christian Science Church

Meanwhile, Christian Science had begun to take hold. Miss Ella Sue Bradshaw introduced it into San José in 1886, and its adherents first met in private dwellings, particularly that of Allen H. Armstrong at 70 North Fifth Street. From there, they moved to the Odd Fellows' Hall on the southwest corner of Third and Santa Clara Streets, which they soon outgrew. By 1897 they met in a much larger hall in the Louise Building on the northwest corner of Second and San Fernando Streets. Here they remained until December 13, 1905, when they dedicated their own \$40,000 First Church of Christ Scientist at 39 East St. James Street.

The St. James Street edifice served all of First Church's needs until its fast growing membership necessitated another move almost half a century later. On June 28, 1953, its congregation gathered for the first time in its brand new \$350,000 building at 1807 The Alameda.

Before long, similar growth brought San José's Second Church of Christ Scientist at Cottle Avenue, and Malone Road and Third Church at 248 Kirk Avenue. Second Church served the Willow Glen area; Third Church, the Alum Rock District.

The Church of the Latter Day Saints

The Mormons, too, came forward with the new century. They represented two nationwide groups that went their separate ways in 1844. The larger, owing allegiance to Salt Lake City authority, bore the name of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The smaller became the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, with its seat of government in Independence, Missouri.

Saints of Salt Lake City affiliation apparently reached California's Santa Clara Valley well before their overland brethren got to the valley of the Great Salt Lake. Seven of them came with Elder Sam Brannan's Mormon colonists who debarked from the "Brooklyn" at Yerba Buena on July 13, 1846. In 1847 one, Joseph R. Fisher, built for Olivier Magnent a water-powered flour mill alongside the Guadalupe River just north of the present Montague Express-

way. Others settled in Alameda County's Washington Township, which belonged to Santa Clara County until 1853.

Not much is known of their early services, but the San José *City Directory* listed their meetings in the Druids' Hall at 58 South First Street in 1904. Erection of a chapel at 34 Cleaves Avenue followed in 1925, and the growth of local Mormonism thereafter was little short of phenomenal—especially after World War II. Stakes (dioceses) and wards (parishes) soon covered most of San José and its environs. Since 1958, the magnificent chapel erected at 1336 Cherry Avenue has been a first rank showplace of Santa Clara County.

Just when the first Reorganized Saints arrived here is uncertain. They, too, could boast no noteworthy congregation for some time to come. They were meeting in the A.O.U.W. Hall at 162 South First Street in 1895. By 1913, they had a small frame church of their own on the northeast corner of Spencer Avenue and Grant Street. From there, they moved to a spacious well designed structure on a nicely landscaped lot at 990 Meridian Avenue.

As late as 1969, the Meridian Avenue congregation was the only one of its persuasion in San José.

Other Churches

The Bethel Lutheran Church was organized in 1902, built in 1908 at 215 Delmas Avenue, where it remained until its previously mentioned merger with Grace Lutheran Church.

And 1903 brought an entirely different type of religious society to San José—the True Life Church—founded by Mrs. Mary Hayes-Chynoweth of the *Mercury's* publishing family.

Mrs. Hayes-Chynoweth, much given to religious and philosophical thought, gathered a modest congregation of like-minded persons and, for many years, held services in the Women's Club Hall at 43 South Third Street. Through the *Mercury's* pages, her thoughts became well-known throughout Central California. Their publication continued as long as the Hayes family owned the paper.

In 1908, San José got another church founded by a woman, the Reverend Mrs. Woodworth Etter, whose preaching had a lasting effect on the city's religious history.

As nearly as can be determined, Mrs. Etter held her first services in one of the long since razed buildings at the gore of First and Market Streets. On "coming to Pentecost" not long afterward, her congregation took the name "Penial Mission." It kept this name until 1920, when it moved to a hall on the upper floor of the McKagney Building at 50 West Santa Clara Street. Here it became the Upper Room Mission, with the Reverend Max Freimark as pastor.

Freimark, who served from 1918 to 1949, appears to have been a born preacher and organizer. During his service, the Upper Room Mission became a full-fledged church with plans for the future. In 1925 it joined an association known as the Fellowship of God. On outgrowing the upper room of the McKagney Building a few years later, it moved to its own brand new building at 201 South Fourth Street.

This new structure covered most, if not all, of a large corner lot. It stretched along the south side of San Antonio Street for half a block, abutting the Congregational Church structure, and was of a similar proportion on the Fourth Street side. It was a one-story affair, with all the floor space practicable devoted to seating a fast growing congregation.

Yet it kept the name Upper Room Mission for a long time thereafter—perhaps for sentimental and symbolic reasons.

On May 2, 1949, the Upper Room Mission—occasionally referred to as Upper Room Tabernacle—incorporated as the First Assembly of God. The congregation's old-timers, however, found themselves referring to their church as the Upper Room Mission years later. They also had the pleasure of seeing it become the mother church of a number of San José's later Assemblies of God.

The First Assembly of God remained at Fourth and San Antonio Streets until urban redevelopment in 1969 compelled it to ponder removal to a new location.

First Church of the Nazarene

Almost simultaneously with the beginning of Mrs. Etter's Penial Mission in 1908, a society called the Church of the Nazarene came into existence, with the Reverend Dr. Orton Wiley as pastor. It appears to have held its early meetings wherever convenient, but by 1910 had found a place in local annals as a completed organization.

In 1923, the Nazarene received little, if any, mention in the *City Directory*, but in 1926 it was listed at 152 East William Street. The following year found it at 69 South Third Street, the address of the south door of the old German Methodist church. The next move took it to the southeast corner of 21st and San Fernando Streets, where, for the first time, it met in a new edifice that it could call its own. And in 1962, it moved from there into a beautiful structure at 480 Alum Rock Avenue.

At that time, the First Nazarene had nothing approaching the large membership that characterized several of the city's pioneer churches, but it did set an example for the others to emulate. This happened during the great depression of the early 1930's when the Reverend E. E. Mieras was pastor.

One morning, when national conditions were at their worst, Mieras happened upon a couple of small youngsters rummaging through a garbage can in back of Jaca's Grocery Store at 21st and Santa Clara Streets. Noticing their emaciated bodies, he asked a question or two and discovered they were looking for something to eat. He took them home and discovered smaller children who were little short of starving.

Further investigation revealed many critically undernourished East San José children. This discovery started Mieras on a campaign that had lasting effect on every school in the city. Mrs. Esta McFerrin, a member of his church who helped him feed children and wash dishes, thus remembered it:

"He solicited food and funds for a hot meal at noon for the children of Olinder and Roosevelt Schools. We fed at times 100 children in the basement of the Church. The bakeries donated day old bread and rolls; canneries and wholesalers, vegetables (and) meats; and milk donated

RELIGION

from various sources; and Mr. Louis O'Neil (Oneal) donated butchered hogs and beef. P.T.A. paid for water and gas at the Church. It seemed everyone was willing to help. After the children were fed, the food and milk that was left was delivered to homes where there were preschoolers and old folks. Mr. Mieras wore out two cars before the school season was over. I believe this was the beginning of the hot school lunch program we have today."

Home of Truth

In 1900 a contemplative man named William Farwell developed a philosophy that he thought would help humanity. He therefore gathered a following and organized a society called Home of Truth, which first met in rented quarters in the Porter Building at Second and Santa Clara Streets.

From the Porter Building, Farwell and his flock moved to 275 North Third Street, and from there in 1910 to their own church structure at 144 North Fifth Street. But they soon outgrew this home and moved to a new one, erected at 72 North Fifth Street in 1923.

Meanwhile, they had changed their organization's name from Home of Truth to Christian Assembly, by which it was still known almost half a century later. They also branched out. The *Mercury* of April 18, 1930, reported the ground breaking ceremony for the Willow Glen Christian Assembly edifice at 1565 Lincoln Avenue.

College Park Methodist Episcopal Church

In 1893, the *City Directory* showed the just organized College Park Methodist Episcopal Church on the northwest corner of Elm and Emory Streets, across the way from University of the Pacific. It came into the city when that area was annexed to San José in 1925. But in 1927 it laid the cornerstone of a new church on the northwest corner of Morse Street and Naglee Avenue, where it has flourished ever since under the name of Calvary.

Spiritualists

The years 1892 and 1893 were also good ones for local Spiritualists and Theosophists. The First Spiritual Union met in the A.O.U.W. Hall at 162 South First Street; the Theosophists, in the Odd Fellows Hall at Third and Santa Clara Streets.

The Spiritualists, incidentally, showed great activity in 1910, when they built their \$35,000 Roberts Temple at 91 North Fifth Street. Among the various persons mentioned in charge were Rona Fabling and Mrs. Persis B. Moore, but within a few years their entire property passed to Seventh Day Adventist ownership.

Buddhist Church

Under leadership of the Reverend Honen Takahashi, a small group of devout Japanese organized San José's first Buddhist Church in August, 1902.

These people represented a faith centuries older than Christianity. Yet their local annals simply noted that their first meeting place was in the 500 block on North Sixth Street, from where they moved to 630 North Fifth Street in 1917.

Their Fifth Street quarters consisted mainly of a two-story frame building built along somewhat austere American lines with only a hint or two of Japanese to indicate its true purpose. Here the faithful held most of their services, including funerals and festivals for the next twenty years.

Next door, at 640, in 1936, the Japanese laid the cornerstone of San José's most beautiful place of worship. Intervention of World War II, however, prevented its full use and development until 1945.

The cornerstone identified the structure as "The Buddhist Church of San José"; and artistic sign over the entrance bore the words "San José Buddhist Church Betsuin." The adjacent, attractively designed office and administrative center shared the exotically landscaped ground in a manner that created a Mecca for countless worshippers, visitors, and photographers.

During the years between the two World Wars, San José's churches multiplied in proportion to—and sometimes beyond—the city's growth. And daughter churches of all denomination kept pace in outlying areas, most of which eventually came into the city by annexation.

As the *City Directory* devoted more space to churches, the telephone company did likewise, soon allotting more than five yellow pages to religious listings in addition to regular white page data. Thus Eastern Orthodox, Presbyterian, Chinese Church of Christ, Mennonite, Pentecostal, Jehovah's Witnesses, Methodist, Roman Catholic, Armenian Apostolic, and other denominations appeared in their own respective groupings.

For example, Roman Catholic listings for the area, together with attendant facilities and schedules of masses, required two and a half columns of yellow space. Baptists of various categories needed four columns; Methodists, two; Lutherans, three. The

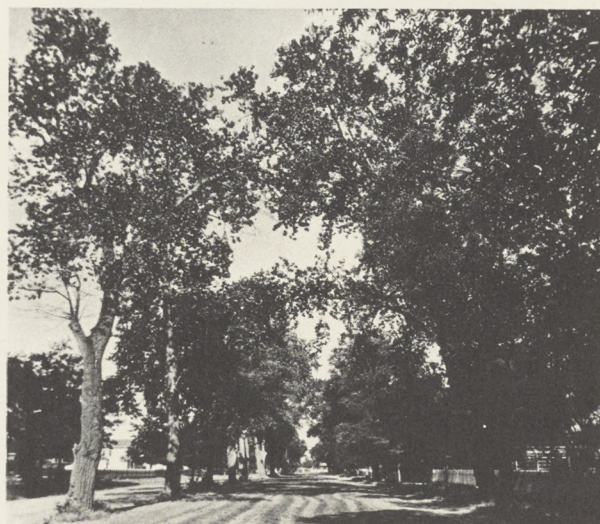
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints presently consumed a column and a half of tightly listed, rapidly multiplying stakes and wards. And allowing for a host of single, splinter, or unattached congregations, all other old-established denominations ranked in proportion to the leaders.

In an advertising sense, the larger churches with abundant office help and business machines had much in common with business institutions. They had come a long way from circuit riding, stump preachings, journal scribbling days. Their pastors no longer spent the night hours writing letters by hand to report district activities to distant bishops and superintendents. They no longer smelled of horse sweat when exhorting sinners to return to the path of righteousness. Their knee-length broadcloth coats, already turning green, and trousers threadbare in the seat were things of the past.

The millennium had not arrived, but the old order had changed.

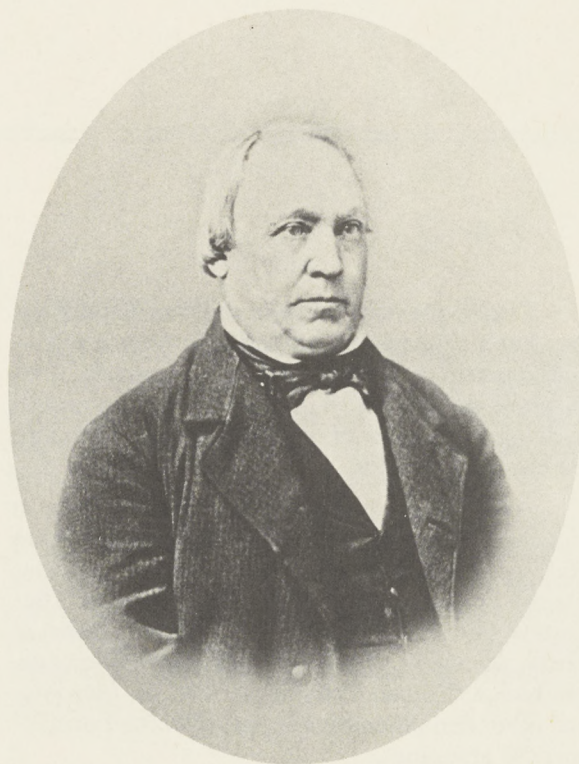


Junípero Serra (1713-1784), first *padre presidente* of California's Franciscan Missions, came to California with the Portolá Expedition in 1769. On July 16 of that year, he founded Mission San Diego de Alcalá, the first link in the chain of 21 missions extending from San Diego to Sonoma. Before his death in 1784, nine missions had come into existence under his authority. Santa Clara was one of them.

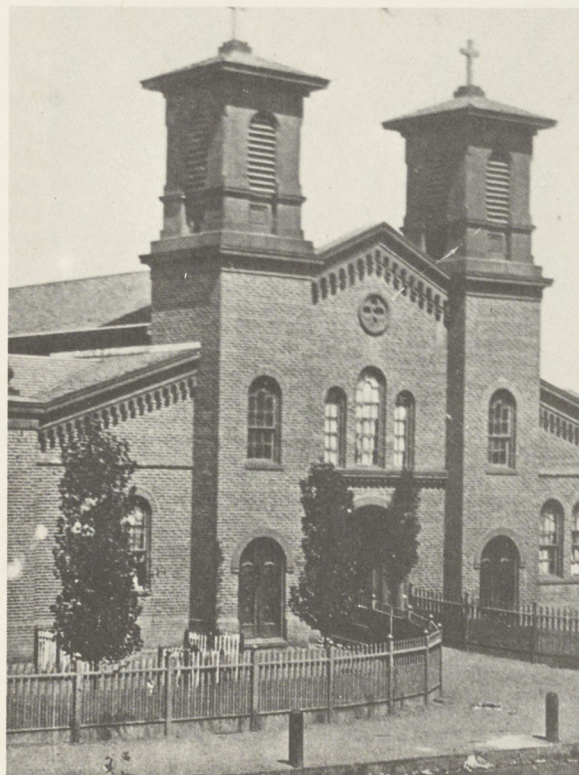


The Alameda was built by the Spaniards so that the people of the pueblo could go to mass at the Mission Santa Clara before the first St. Joseph's Church was built in San José. Willows were planted on both sides of The Alameda to protect the churchgoers from stray longhorn cattle. (photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)

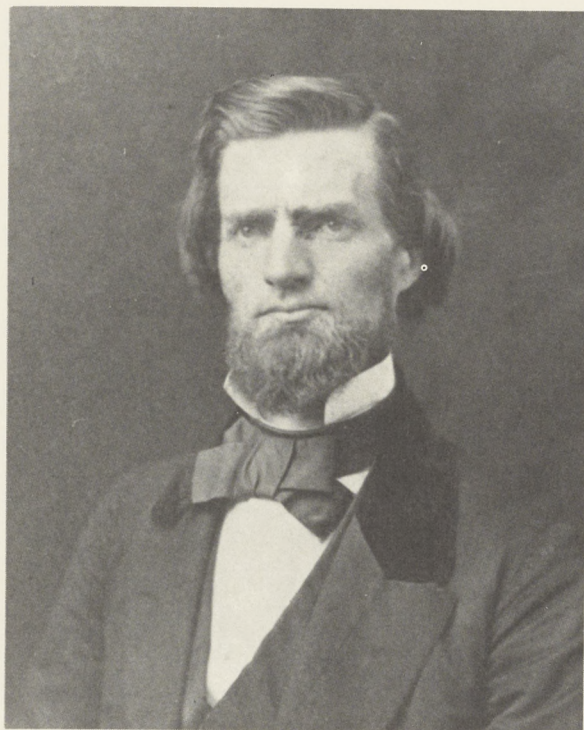
Thomas Kell, a native of England, came overland from Canada by way of Missouri to California in 1846. He and his wife, the former Margaret Murphy, established their home along the east side of Almadén just south of what is now Curtner Avenue. On September 22, 1870, they donated 25.48 acres of their land to Archbishop Joseph S. Alemany as a cemetery "for the use of the Catholic Congregation of the City of San José..." This cemetery formed a long rectangle dropping down a gentle northern slope of the San Juan Bautista Hills to the upper end of what is now Canoas Road. It was named Holy Cross.



Mrs. Margaret Kell married Thomas Kell in Canada before coming to the United States.



St. Joseph's Church, before it was destroyed by fire in 1875, stood on the site of the present St. Joseph's Church. There are grave markers in the foreground.



The Reverend Laurentine Hamilton (1827 - 1882), namesake of Mt. Hamilton and fourth pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of San José, served as pastor of the church from May, 1859, to October, 1864. During this time he also served as the city's superintendent of schools from 1862 to 1864. From San José, he moved to Oakland, where he died in the pulpit while preaching an Easter sermon.



The Second Presbyterian Church, shown in its original location on the west side of South Second Street between San Salvador and William, was relocated to the corner of The Alameda and Shasta Avenue where it is now known as Westminster Presbyterian Church.



Looking eastward from the south side of Santa Clara Street on June 21, 1891, the Ancient Order of Hibernians have just passed Orchard Street (now Almadén Avenue) while parading in commemoration of the tercentenary of St. Aloysius' death. The trees on the street are on the College of Notre Dame grounds.



This shows the interior of the First Methodist Episcopal Church at 19 North Second Street as it was before the 1906 earthquake.



The Methodist Episcopal Church South was dedicated on February 7, 1909. In 1934, it looked like this. In 1956, it was merged with Centella Methodist Church.



A major remodeling and strengthening of Trinity Church occurred in 1970. This is the oldest church building in continuous use in San José.
(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



Three churches and the State Normal School are pictured here. On the left is the First Baptist Church, then Temple Bikur Cholim, and, on the right, is the First Congregational Church. San José State Normal School is in the background of this 1876 picture.

Leo Sullivan, as a child, represented St. Aloysius in the Hibernian parade of 1891.



The cornerstone of the Unitarian Church was laid on September 23, 1891. The congregation still meets at the Third Street Church, between St. John and St. James Streets.



The First Congregational Church was located at the corner of Third and San Antonio Streets when this photo was taken in 1952. *(photo courtesy of Lester Family)*



M. E. Church College Park, San Jose, Cal.

The College Park Methodist Episcopal Church was located on the northwest corner of Emory and Elm Streets. This picture was taken in 1890.



Following destruction of its first edifice during the 1906 earthquake, the First Presbyterian Church was built a block away from the original, on North Third Street between Santa Clara and St. John Streets. This photo was taken in 1944.



Five Wounds Catholic Church is the Portugese National church. Founded in 1916, it still serves a large Portugese congregation. This picture was taken in 1939.



Saint Joseph's Catholic Church stands on the site of the first church in the Pueblo. This 1935 picture clearly shows it on Market Street and San Fernando.



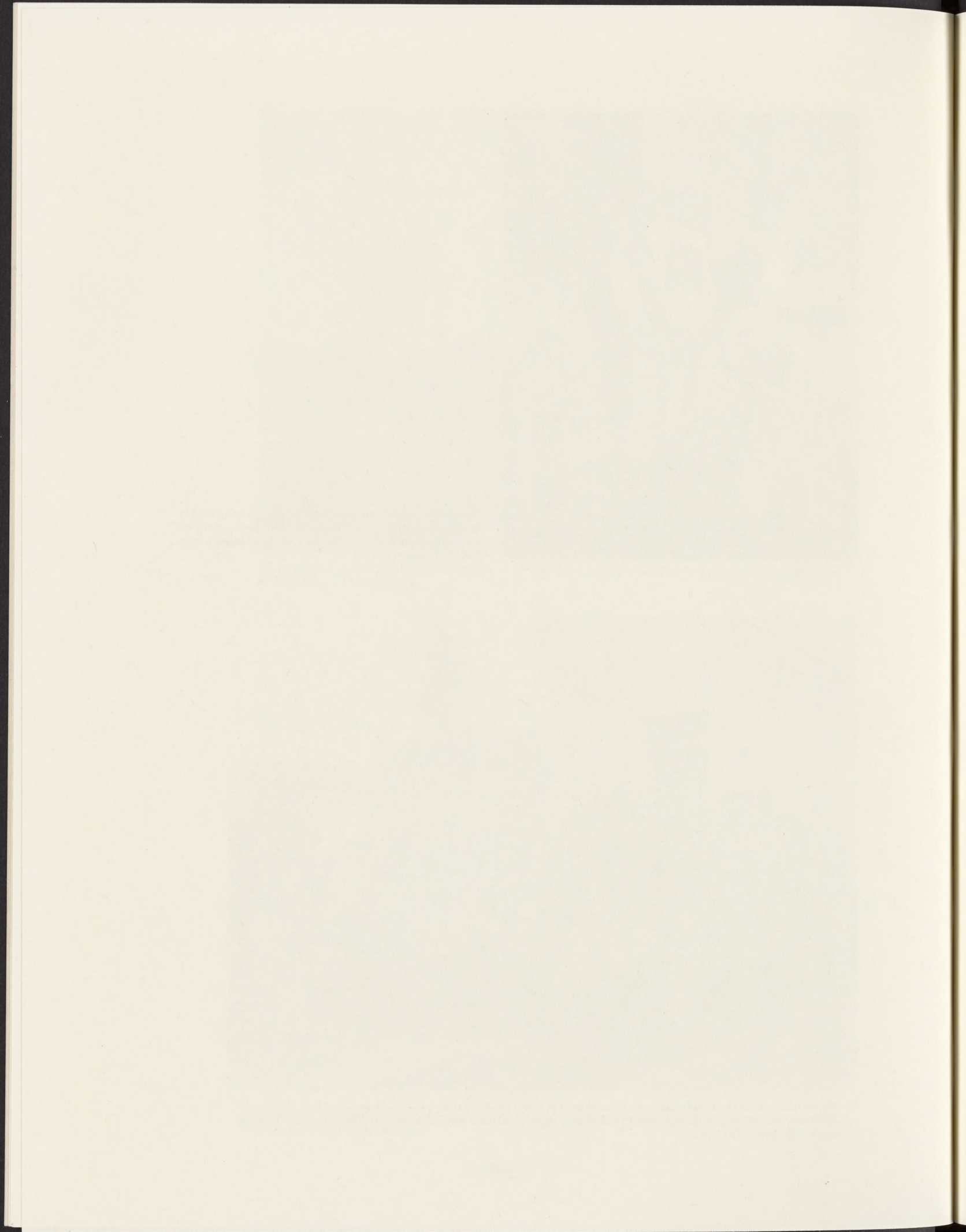
The San José Buddhist Temple on North Sixth Street is an architectural gem that adds variety to San José's many cultures. *(photo courtesy of Leonard McKay)*



Here, three generations, Rabbi Joseph Gitin, his son, David L., and grandson, Mark M., participate in the "rejoicing of the law" ceremony which symbolizes the transmission of Judaism from one generation to another.

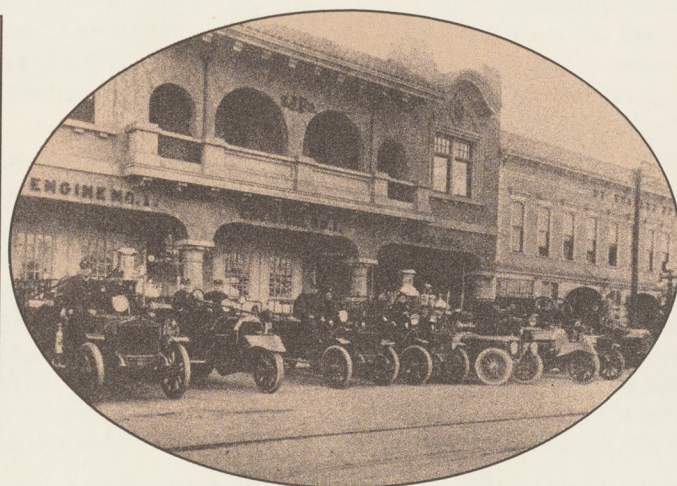


In 1955, members of the Quaker Persuasion gathered in front of their Friends Meeting house on Morse Street for a picture-taking session. The Meeting House was moved a few yards to the north to make way for Highway 17. This is the oldest meeting house of the Quakers in California.



13

FIRE FIGHTING



13

THE HISTORY



Though Spaniards early evolved the word "bombero" to denote a man who made a vocation of fire fighting, the term, if known, enjoyed no widespread use in Alta California. Pumpers, from which it derived, and other mechanical fire fighting apparatus were unknown. Organized fire fighting was nonexistent, and fires were too infrequent to engender a large vocabulary appertaining to the technique of extinguishing them.

Furthermore, most of California's public and private buildings were built of adobe brick, which, despite its straw and other vegetable binder, was noncombustible. A *ramada* (brush-thatched roof) could catch fire from wind-blown sparks, and after 1831 a shingled roof might do likewise. Flames could ignite furnishings, a ceiling, and such lintels as might span doorways and window openings. But the foundation and walls remained intact, ready for replacement of whatever the fire destroyed.

Though not intended for that purpose, dirt floors also did much to reduce fire hazard. So did candlelight and outdoor cooking. Candles seldom rested near anything more combustible than the tables and shelves that supported their sticks.

But if a house did catch fire, the occurrence was probably regarded as an act of God. Fighting it was practically impossible. Water had to come by *olla* or bucket from the *acéquia* or the Guadalupe, either of which could be 200 or more yards from the burning structure.

Except for a regulation or two against arson, plainly, the Spanish-Californian's attitude toward the "devouring flame" differed from that of his American successor. The Americans had hardly taken over San José when a committee composed of six Californios and six Americans framed a code for better government. This code, put into effect early in 1847, embodied the town's first fire regulations. Its eighth and last article ordained that "no house or edifice shall hereafter be erected with a cover of straw, grass, or flags, and all houses covered with said materials shall not be repaired after this date with the aforesaid materials." Within a few years, structures with thatched roofs had taken on more suitable covering or had disappeared altogether.

Also, American aversion to musty, flea-infested, dirt-floored adobe houses resulted in proliferation of sawmills in the Santa Cruz Mountains and the multiplying of frame houses and buildings in San José. Even the exorbitant cost of lumber—\$350 a thousand board feet f.o.b. the mill—proved no deterrent to construction. But concentration of so much combustible material in one small area increased fire hazards. In addition to cooking indoors and using oil lamps, Americans decorated the interiors of their dwellings with curtains, draperies, carpets, and other easily ignitable items.

Soon after San José became state capital in 1849, its population skyrocketed to 4,000, and social complexities multiplied accordingly. As always, this called for more official regulation of living conditions. On July 11, 1850, three and a half months after the City's incorporation, the Common Council approved the most comprehensive fire ordinance to date.

Section 1 of this ordinance established the city's fire limits in the following manner:

"Commencing at the intersection of Second street with St. James street, thence along the center of Second street to its junction of San Carlos street; thence along the center of said San Carlos street to its junction with the Acequia; thence along the said Acequia to a point that would intersect the prolongation of St. James street; thence along the said St. James street to the point of beginning."

Section 2 enlarged a bit on Article VIII of the 1847 code: by prohibiting "erection of edifices composed of canvas, willow, cotton cloth, tules, mustard, reeds, or other grassy substances under penalty of not less than twenty-five nor more than two hundred dollars." Section 3 prohibited, under the same penalty, the existence of haystacks within the fire limits "unless inclosed [sic] or suitably guarded," and Section 4 "Enjoined the immediate removal of these [sic] under the same forfeiture."

November 4, 1850, brought the organization of Fire Engine Company No. 1, and the Council instructed Alderman J. H. Garrison to inform the company that the City would furnish a fire engine "soon

13
FIVE EIGHTING



The next three members—Elliott Reed, Charles F. Willey, and Jackson Lewis—joined on the 14th; and Charles Moody and Frank Lightston on the 24th. By the end of the year, the company had a total of seventeen members, and exactly double that number at the end of 1860.

Organization of Hook and Ladder Company No. 1 apparently overshadowed the demise of earlier Eureka Fire Company—if it could properly be called a company. At best, Eureka was a loosely-formed outfit that seems to have gone its way unheralded, unsung, and unnoticed.

Hook and Ladder No. 1 was barely seven months old when San José got a real engine company, Empire No. 1. This company's roster opened on July 19, 1854² with Levi P. Peck, Daniel J. Porter, P. Reed, Abram S. Beaty, George M. Yoell, A. W. Stone, Francis Stock, and Levi Goodrich as founding members. At the end of December, it had an even dozen members, and forty by the end of the decade.

Though the Common Council had approved purchase of an engine for Eureka Company "soon as one could be obtained," Eureka appears to have continued engineless. Hook and Ladder's apparatus was composed only of hooks and ladders and the hand-drawn vehicle to carry them, almost all of which were home made. But Empire soon had an engine—a Hunneman hand pumper with sufficient hose and other equipment—purchased from the City of San Francisco for \$1,800. With sufficient hose and other accessories, the total cost came to \$2,546.25.

This engine was by no means brand new. It had served as "Old 41" of the New York Volunteer Fire Department as early as 1820, and as Engine 1 of San Francisco until just before it came to San José. Its acquisition gave San José a fire *department* in every sense of the term. As Richard Nailen observed in his *Guardians of the Garden City*, "By the middle of 1854 San José was ready for something better than tearing

down burning buildings to prevent the spread of flames."

In 1855 the Common Council approved a "board of delegates" composed of Fire Department members to govern departmental affairs with Council consent. The Department also got a chief engineer to direct actual fire fighting activities.

On May 31 of the same year, a man lost his life in a disastrous fire that swept several flimsy frame structures along the south side of El Dorado Street near Market. This pointed up the need of still more fire fighting equipment and efficient methods. It also spurred a former New York fireman, James Gourley, to buy a second-hand fire engine on his own for \$400.

Gourley offered to sell this engine to the City, and the City agreed to buy it if the citizenry would organize another company to man it. Gourley soon rounded up enough volunteers to organize Torrent Engine No. 2, which entered service in May, 1856.

Torrent's roster set May 19 as the membership date of its founders in the following manner: Adam Holloway, Lawrence Archer, Thomas Bodley, William Mathews, J. B. Manny, M. Stern, T. W. Dresser, J. Molinari, H. Label, Ralph Lowe, William Petry, Meyer Levy, T. E. Knoche, T. J. Ingersoll, J. D. Gunn, H. Malcolm, L. F. Sanderson, and J. Pillot.

By putting Holloway, a brewer, at the head of the list the company assured itself of refreshment. It also boasted three of the city's most distinguished lawyers—Archer, Bodley, and Mathews.

In absence of water mains and hydrants, San José had to depend on cisterns for a ready supply of water. Four were dug at strategic points in the business district and later increased in number to meet the demands of growth. Windmills and artesian wells kept them filled for all emergencies.

The use of cisterns continued for more than twenty years—long after incorporation of the San José Water Company. The *City Directory* listed six of them in 1874. One much photographed windmill still stood in Market Street at El Dorado in 1869.

The 325 Lightston Street firehouse creaked under the burden of sheltering all three fire companies

²Nailen indicates that Empire Company was organized on June 21; hence the quoting of the roster in this chapter.

FIRE FIGHTING

until 1869. To relieve this crowding, the City acquired a lot at 375 Second Street that year and commenced construction of a new home for the Hook and Ladder and Empire companies. In 1870, the first *City Directory* showed Torrent Engine still on Lightston Street, but the two older companies had moved to Second Street.

Though the new Second Street firehouse was a fine brick structure, its facilities must have been a bit snug at first, for the record mentions the renting of a store building "across the way" to accommodate the Hook and Ladder. The *City Directory*, however, listed both at 375 Second Street, which would be about 70 South Second Street under the present numbering system.

By this time, the organizing of volunteer fire companies had gathered momentum. Washington Hose No. 1 came into existence on November 1, 1871, with headquarters in a store on the southeast corner of First and St. John Streets. It was listed in the *City Directory* as late as 1874, when A. H. Brackenfield was foreman; T. Howani, assistant foreman; Fred Lightstone, [sic] secretary; N. L. Soto, treasurer. But lacking a superfluity of funds, and unable to obtain help from the City, it faded away soon afterward.

December 5, 1871, brought the organizing of Franklin Hose Company No. 3 to protect residence and business structures along and its laterals south of William Street. Satisfactory description of Franklin's original quarters seems unavailable. The 1874 *City Directory* simply listed it on the east side of First Street South of Reed, at what later became 620 South First Street.

Getting off to a good start, Franklin had sixty-five active members within three years of its founding. W. D. Brown was foreman in 1874; Cornelius Brown, first assistant; T. L. Cleal, second assistant; Joseph A. Lotz, secretary; Charles Wampach, treasurer. Through these men and their successors, Franklin remained on First Street until it moved to more commodious quarters built at Third and Martha Streets in 1955.

Franklin's first humble home, not much larger than necessary to hold a hose cart, gave way in 1889

to a fine two-story structure faced with sandstone. After the 1906 earthquake irreparably damaged this building, it was replaced in 1908 with another two-story structure of an architectural style characteristic of San José's outlying firehouses of that period.

Franklin Hose Company changed its name to Franklin Engine Company while it was still a volunteer outfit. In 1874, it "inherited" the old Hunneman hand pumper from Torrent Engine No. 2, which had just acquired a brand new \$5,000 Clapp & Jones steamer.

Six years elapsed, however, before Franklin reached full modern stature with a steamer of its own—an "ancient Silsby" bequeathed to it by Empire Company to replace the Hunneman, the last of San José's hand pumpers.

Meanwhile, a number of fires, including one that destroyed St. Joseph's Church on April 23, 1875, left fringe area residents wondering if the city had enough protection. As a result, residents around Eighth and Julian Streets organized the Eureka Hose Company six weeks after the church fire.

Eureka, which lasted longer than San José's first company to bear that name, moved during 1876 into its own newly-completed firehouse at what became 255 North Eighth Street. It remained at that location seventy-three years, long after acquiring the more modern status of Chemical Company No. 2.

By then, San José had come a long way. The City was free of the worrisome debt that had plagued its early years as a corporate community. A large number of public improvements evinced this freedom, particularly in the Fire Department. The steam-powered fire engine had arrived with Empire Company's two-ton machine, first pulled by hand and then by horses. In the fall of 1876, the Common Council decided to establish a paid—or professional—fire department. And at midnight, October 31, the volunteers solemnly rolled their rigs up to the front door of the City Hall, left them there, and went home.

This ceremony ended an era in the annals of San José fire fighting. It did not, however, end the organizing of other volunteer companies. Three more came into existence relatively soon after the department converted to paid status.

The first, Alert Hose Company, organized the following month, with headquarters in the City Stables on the corner of Santa Clara and Lightston Streets. Its finest piece of equipment was a \$900 hose cart bought from the Stockton Fire Department in 1879.

Alert's second home, occupied in 1889, was in Rick Donovan's stables at 56-64 West San Fernando Street. But shortly after moving there the company disbanded. Its entire existence had been little more than spark in the firmament of San José history.

The second company, Protection Hose No. 2, was organized in January, 1879, to protect in the vicinity of Eighth and San Salvador Streets. Its firehouse, on the northeast corner of that intersection, housed the erstwhile hose cart of the previously disbanded Washington Company.

Protection was barely a year old when it participated in fighting San José's greatest fire up to that time. On February 10, 1880, the magnificent \$285,000 four-story frame structure of the San José State Normal School caught fire from a defective ash chute.

An assistant janitor discovered the fire at 2:00 a.m. and, with the janitor, spread the alarm. The Fire Department responded at once, but owing to highly combustible structural materials, the building was gone by daybreak.

This building, opened to classes on July 7, 1872, was also San José's largest structure by far. It was a credit to any city, and its loss brought unsuccessful efforts of more covetous communities to snatch its successor from San José.

Protection's career thereafter was probably characterized more by extinguishing grass and shed fires than anything else. And even in this, its hose cart was overshadowed by the powerful equipment of Empire Engine Company whose territory it shared. In 1883 the little hose company at Eighth and San Salvador Streets unobtrusively passed into history.

Yet there was need for auxiliary service in that neighborhood. In June, 1885, Relief Hose No. 5 took over as the last volunteer company organized within

the original corporate limits of San José. Less than four years later, it joined the professional ranks.

The Common Council's fire committee twice recommended Relief Hose's removal to Park Avenue and River Street, but nothing came of either recommendation. In 1898, Relief moved to 386 South Eighth Street, a couple of doors to the north, to make way for a short-lived kindergarten on its old site.

Relief, later known as Chemical No. 3, remained at its second address for sixty years. It was San José's last fire company of volunteer lineage prior to the city's annexing areas beyond its corporate boundaries in 1911.

Vague reference to a firehouse in the Gardner District occurred from time to time in reminiscence and writing, but nothing seemed to locate the building definitely. Old timers have hazily remembered a small structure that could have housed a hosecart "just north of the Gardner School." The *Mercury* for August 8, 1909, reported combining of the Gardner and West End hosecart personnel for fire protection.³ Minutes of the Gardner Boosters' Club mention several meetings held in the "Fire House" [sic] between June 6, and November 22, 1910, but the secretary apparently felt that everyone knew the address of the "Fire House." The 1910 *City Directory*, however, located it on the southwest corner of William Street and Martin Avenue (this Martin Avenue later became Illinois Avenue south of William Street).

On March 8, 1911, after Gardner voted to annex to San José, the Gardner Annexation Club reorganized as the Fifth Ward Improvement Club. No mention of a firehouse appeared in the latter's minutes, but they did contain occasional comment on installation of a fire alarm system throughout the newly annexed territory.

³West End was that unincorporated area extending from San José's western city limits line, about midway between Delmas Avenue and Autumn Street, to the South Pacific Coast (now Southern Pacific) Railroad. It stretched southward from San Augustine Street to San Carlos Street, and was variously known as Crandallville and West San José.

FIRE FIGHTING

On the other hand, Crandallville, which came into San José as part of the Gardner annexation, did have an easily located firehouse. It stood on the north side of The Alameda, now West Santa Clara Street between the railroad tracks and Stockton Avenue. Its building was a red two-story structure resembling a rural tank house. In good weather, its open doors permitted street car passengers and other passersby to see the hosecart housed therein.

The Crandallville volunteers did their best for that neighborhood, but the area just west of the tracks had no real protection until after its annexation to San José.

On December 11, 1911, eight months after the Gardner annexation, San José annexed the incorporated town of East San José. This brought to the city another volunteer company—the East San José Fire Department whose hosecart firehouse stood on the east side of Jones Street (now Twenty-third) just south of Santa Clara.

Among the well-known members of this company were attorney William Biaggi, former police officer and bailiff Paul "Beans" Ganshirt, and Chief Joseph Cunan, son of Empire Engine's foreman of the 1880's.

Gardner and East San José had lost their original identities twenty-seven years before San José absorbed another volunteer outfit. When Willow Glen, also an incorporated community, annexed to San José on October 1, 1936, it brought along a firehouse and piece of somewhat superannuated automotive equipment. And its chief, Steven Mascovich, became an honorary battalion chief of the San José Department.

Since that time, the Willow Glen station has successively occupied larger quarters—1352 Lincoln Avenue, 1157 Minnesota Avenue, and the northeastern corner of Minnesota and Cherry Avenues.

The last volunteer company to enter San José up to this writing came with annexation of Alviso in January, 1968. But since many of this town's records had long since disappeared, little is known of its fire department history. It is enough to say that even while the annexation's legality was being determined by court action, San José initiated a number of public

improvements for the newly acquired area. The most notable was a modern fire station that provided the bayside community with its most efficient fire protection since the day of its incorporation on March 26, 1852.

During the 1920's and '30's, San José had a second fire department, a private one owned by James N. Hedburg, its chief. It consisted of only six or seven men and two or three pieces of venerable automotive apparatus, but it performed good service for people whose buildings stood half a street width outside the city limits.

By the end of the 1930's, Hedburg expanded his service deep into surrounding unincorporated areas, including Willow Glen south of Malone Road. His fee was a small one, barely enough to maintain his apparatus. As a machinist, inventor, and siren manufacturer, he derived most of his income from his siren factory on West Reed Street near Guadalupe River.

Hedburg's opinions of the San José Fire Department were hardly complimentary. He severely criticized San José authority for not permitting their fire rigs to go six inches beyond a city limits line. He accused the San José Department of standing with abundant equipment on one side of a street while watching a building on the opposite burn down because it was barely outside the city limits. For this and other caustic comment, he earned no abiding love from San José's Fire Chief Charles Plummer, who neither approved nor forgave him.

As time passed, however, San José's gradual annexation of these controversial areas, and establishment of the County's Central Fire District, eliminated the need for Hedburg's services.

Meanwhile, between 1876 and these latter events, San José's professional department had come a long way. Compared with its parade of progress, the overlapping career and demise of the volunteers passed almost unnoticed.

Under the new system, fire stations sprang up as needed over a wide area of the city. Old companies took on new names, duties, and locations. Facilities improved, and the men who handled the electric fire

alarm system were better trained. From six "close in" stations in 1901, the number jumped to eleven by 1933. Consolidation for efficiency reasons briefly reduced the number to eight in the following decade. But as the city's phenomenal growth gathered momentum after World War II, the total swelled to a total of sixteen by 1963, with five new ones planned for what had once been far-flung rural districts. Before the decade expired, twenty-three thoroughly modern stations were in service, and the end was not in sight.

The purchase of Empire Engine Company's \$6,215 Silsby steamer in 1867 ushered in a new era in firefighting for San José, and announced the decline of the Hunneman hand engines. As the use of steam power increased, one company's old engine might become the hand-me-down of another, a practice that more or less continued until seven steamers were in service. Photos of beautiful three-horse teams pulling these smoking giants became symbols of security and heroism as well as subjects for calendars and other printed advertising.

San José got its first automotive fire fighting vehicles—two light chemical engines—in 1912. The first motorized pumper came in 1914, by which time horses were on the way out. By the end of 1915, the last horses had departed with suitable farewells from the local press. Their passing virtually coincided with the ending of San Francisco's great world fair of that year.

For many years—either as volunteer or professional—there was hardly a time when the department did not have a few vexing problems. The more serious ones came during the latter period. They concerned such personnel infractions as drinking, using abusive language, showing up late for work, and insubordination. Also, company rivalries occasionally brought tempers to a boiling point inside the City Hall and out. And internal and external politics could shamefully subject personnel to the caprice and vengeance of dishonest officials.

But even when not victims of political machinations, the firemen have never been completely safe from critics who knew little, if anything, about fire fighting.

Reasonable citizens, especially in the primitive volunteer days, did not expect miracles in wholesale quantity. They knew a fire could gain much headway before the clanging of a distant bell and shout of "Fire" in the night summoned a volunteer from his bed and sent him rushing down the street, putting on his clothes as he ran.

Even the first electric alarm system, with five neighborhood boxes (or stations) in 1872, proved distressingly ineffective in facilitating control of a mounting blaze. Unqualified help and technical imperfections in those early systems could send two different companies in two different directions to two different places to fight the same fire. On such occasions, the newspapers unmercifully roasted the department. Criticism, under such headings as "More Bungling" lasted for weeks after the Opera House fire of 1881.

Yet the Department's history mentions many heartwarming episodes. In 1858, San Francisco staged a grand celebration to commemorate the recent laying of the Atlantic Cable. Major Samuel J. Hensley, San Joséan and President of the California Steam Navigation Company, invited the entire San José Fire Department to be his guests on that occasion—all expenses paid. And he sent one of his huge "floating palaces" down to Alviso to take them there and bring them home.

At its next regular meeting, the Common Council passed a resolution thanking Hensley for his monumental generosity—but no one even hinted at what could have happened to San José if a fire had broken out while its firemen were in San Francisco.

A year later, Judge William T. Wallace, son-in-law of former Governor Peter H. Burnett, gave \$1,000 to the Department for saving his beautiful First Street home. This money formed the nucleus of the Firemen's Charitable Association fund, later incorporated and augmented by other tokens of appreciation.

Accidental humor occasionally intruded into serious business. Fire Marshal Henry Lingua loved to recall one of these moments, which came during a fire in a women's clothing store, located on the

FIRE FIGHTING

second floor of a downtown building. One of Lingua's men, thinking a saleswoman was trapped in the smoke-filled establishment, rushed upstairs to save her. About the time his fellows thought they had better go upstairs to save him, he emerged from the smoke with a form in his arms. "It's all right, boys," he coughed, "it's all right. I've got her."

One glance at the beautiful lifelike mannequin he carried aroused departmental risibilities in a manner that instantly deflated his heroism.

During the depression years from 1930 to 1939—and in some respects to 1942—San José's Fire Department endured its longest seige of doldrums. Money was short; the future uncertain. Despite several big fires in downtown and industrial areas, the City bought only two pieces of firefighting equipment in eleven years. Morale sagged dangerously, and high ranking firemen, with many years of service, resigned.

Chief Plummer's dire warnings on what was happening to his department went unheeded. Finally, on May 22, 1944, a majority of the City Council demanded City Manager Clarence Goodwin's resignation, and got it. John J. Lynch, who immediately succeeded Goodwin, did the same with Chief Plummer the next day.

As Nailen observed, "Although obviously being made a scapegoat for years of municipal neglect, Plummer was getting old after 40 years of service, and was no longer disposed to fight for his job."

Lynch remained as City Manager only until 1946, not long enough to exert any great effect on the Fire Department. But since that time, the department's history has been one of laudable progress. Advanced facilities have been provided for the training of personnel, and recruits encouraged to seek promotion by way of merit. Highly efficient electrical

devices long ago replaced the giant bronze bell that hung in the tower behind Engine No. 1's quarters at 35 North Market Street. Acquisition of new equipment as needed became almost routine, hardly attracting public notice.

The twenty-five chiefs from C. E. Allen of 1854's volunteer days to Ronald B. LeBeau, incumbent at the beginning of this writing, form a roster of loyal, public-spirited men completely devoted to their calling. Outstanding among those prior to the 1876 conversion to professional status were Allen, John B. Hewson, James V. Tisdall, and J. Chris Gerdes. Tisdall remained in office for five years as the City's first paid fire chief. Notables holding the chief's position included William D. Brown, Richard Brown, Edward Haley, Herman W. Hobson, Charles Plummer, Lester A. O'Brien, Arthur J. Gilbert and Ronald LeBeau.

The number of fires that these men and their contemporaries fought since the founding of Hook and Ladder No. 1 would fill a large catalogue. They involved all kinds of property from grass and automobile to planing mill and church. They ranged from blazes that could have been put out with a saucepan of water to conflagrations that swept city blocks. On July 2, 1892, one of the largest consumed every building along the north side of San Fernando Street from First Street to midway between Third and Fourth. Another, which devoured the Chase Lumber Company's plant on August 19, 1913, covered most of the area bounded by Santa Clara, Autumn, Montgomery, and San Augustine Streets. Several took the lives of firemen fighting them.

But throughout all the years of its existence, the San José Fire Department's spirit and purpose have remained the same. The caliber of its personnel and constant improvement of apparatus, methods, and training will tend to fulfill the dreams of its founders who never forgot their mission to save.



One of the worst fires in San José history destroyed the Empire Fire House. Started when an unidentified boy threw a lighted cigarette into a Chinese merchant's stock of fireworks, the fire was soon out of control on Second Street. It spread to the firehouse itself and destroyed it. A full-size replica was rebuilt at the San José Historical Museum.



About suppertime, July 2, 1892, an unidentified hoodlum tossed a lighted cigarette into a Chinese fireworks stand on the north side of San Fernando St. between First and Second. In a matter of seconds, San José witnessed the greatest downtown fireworks display it had ever seen. Flames cleared the ground of practically everything northward to the Letitia Bldg. lateral and eastward almost to Fourth St. before they were put out by a Santa Clara Valley Mill & Lumber Co. crew. This photo, taken at the intersection of Second and San Fernando Streets, shows all that was left of the block where the fire started.

The earthquake of April 18th, 1906, is generally referred to as the San Francisco quake. San José was hit equally as hard but luckily San José's water supply remained intact and the fire department was eventually able to extinguish the burning buildings. Some of the pictures show a small amount of the devastation wreaked by the mighty temblor.

St. Patrick's Catholic Church on E. Santa Clara Street before the earthquake was an imposing brick edifice.



St. Patrick's Church after the earthquake was only a pile of brick rubble.



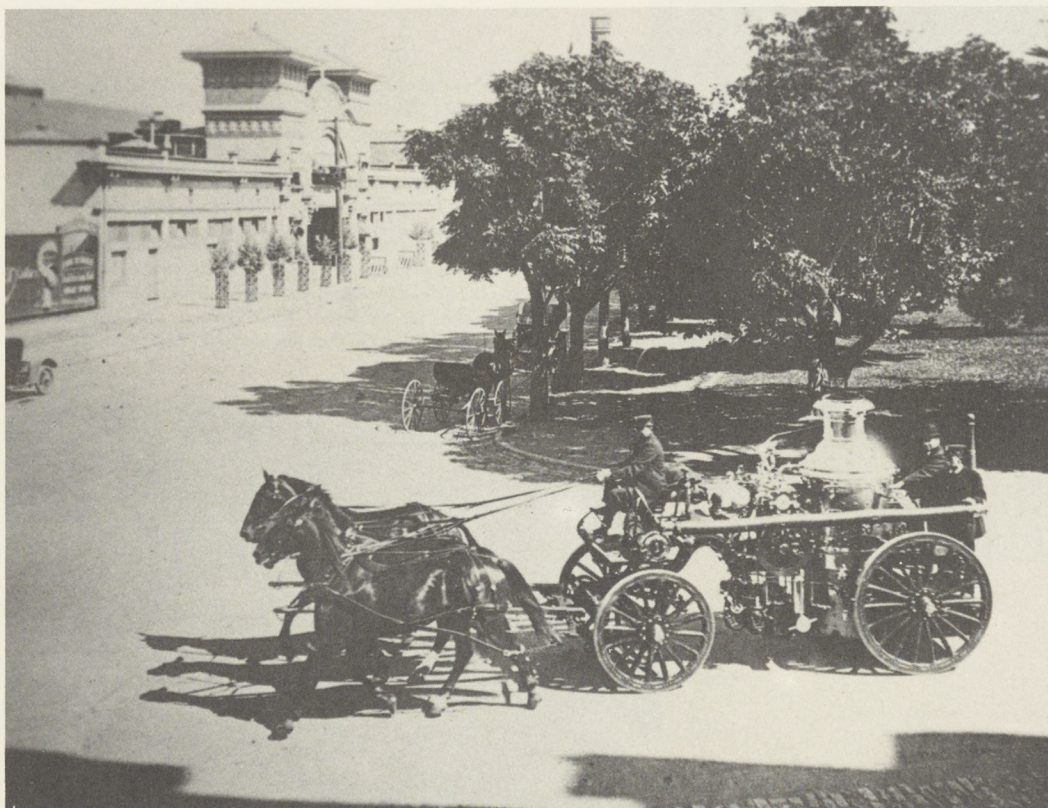
The Home Union, at the corner of Market and El Dorado Streets, sustained heavy damage during the quake. The facade tumbled to the street, leaving the interior completely exposed.



The San José Post Office received heavy but repairable damage from the quake. The original tower was never rebuilt.



One of the reasons for the heavy damage during the quake was the extensive use of brick as a building material. Here we see much of the brick rubble in front of the Auzeais Building on Santa Clara Street.



Engine #2 turned out with Mike Higgins driving this three-horse hitch around the City Hall about 1908. The new Metropolitan steam pumper needed three horses abreast, both to pull the heavy weight of the pumper and so it could be turned in a short space.



Engine #1, Chemical #1, and Truck #1 were all housed in the main fire station on North Market Street just off Santa Clara Street. This 1916 picture shows that the department became completely motorized, but the two steam pumpers were now pulled by three-wheeled Knox Martin tractors.



All of the station turned out to see Chief Richard Brown at the wheel of San José's first fire chief's car in 1908. Pictured here are from left to right, Arthur McQuaid, Jack Layton, John McGrath, Ed Weibel, Chief Brown, Joe McDonald, Fred Hanks, Araby Damonte, Harry Smith, Frank Whiteside, Dan Durkin, and Chris Shannon.



Firemen are always concerned about fire hazards and clean-up campaigns. In this 1926 photo, an inspection team of firemen Louis Volonte, Harry Dennis, and Harry Miller pose in front of their Hose #1 Federal truck while on an inspection.



During World War II, the Fire Department Auxiliary posed for their picture in front of the Civic Auditorium. Members of the auxiliary from local industry numbered nearly 800, and supplemented the local fire department.

The Santa Clara County Courthouse burned in May, 1931. The frugality of the San José City Council came to haunt the city, for the lack of expenditure for decent fire-fighting equipment endangered the city when this blaze ignited. As is evident in the picture, the hoses were only able to pump water to the steps because they leaked so badly. The fire totally gutted the building and that evening the Council met in extraordinary session to buy new equipment.



The Cheim Lumber Fire occurred on April 14th, 1955, at The Alameda and Lenzen Streets. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)

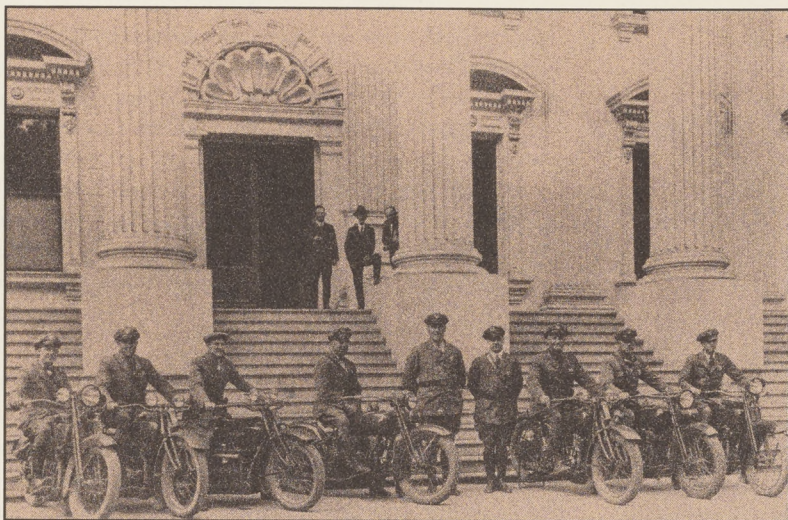


THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
TIME
BY
JOHN STOW.
1618.



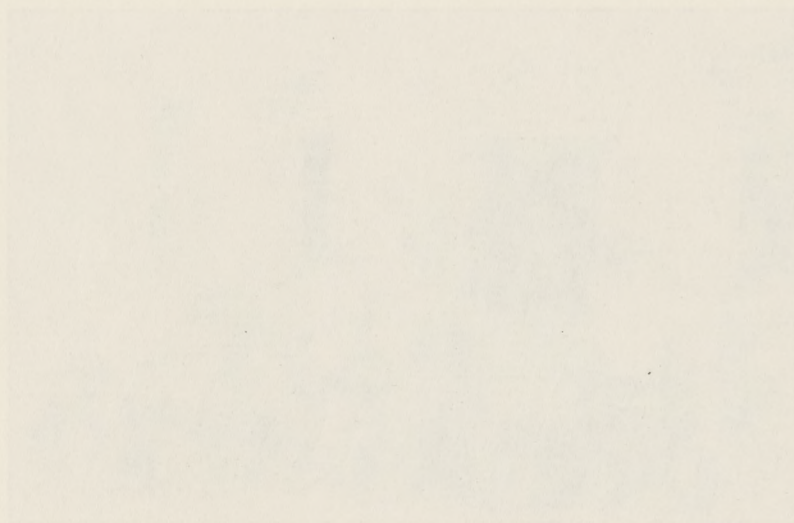
14

POLICE



14

POLICE



Old-time Americans, given to ancient sayings, often observed, "He who will not keep the law of his own accord must be compelled to keep it."

This injunction summed up their feelings toward incorrigible criminals, and was vigorously applied during periods of social self-defense. To enforce it, however, called for exertion of some form of police action. In pre-American California, *alcaldes*, *alguaciles*, and *jueces de paz*¹ constituted the enforcing agency against ordinary infractions. But if a whole community got out of line, as explained elsewhere, a governmental *comisionado* stepped in to rectify conditions.

After the American takeover, law enforcement officers operated under such titles as sheriff, marshal, constable, and police, with some borrowing from Spanish nomenclature. This was especially noticeable in San José, where Americans with strong Southern and Yankee accents served as *alcaldes* and *ayuntamiento* members during the four-year transition from Spanish-Méxican to American culture.

Officers of the Hispanic system were more tolerant of minor—and sometimes serious—offenses than their American counterparts with Puritan backgrounds. Consequently, California had no effective police organization, as Americans understood it, until after the conquest.

The first American move in the direction came on February 4, 1847, when Alcalde John Burton suggested creating a mounted company to end depredations of horse-stealing Indians. What appears to have been the first legal complaint filed against a miscreant was that of George W. Bellomy against an Indian named Victoriano on September 13 of the same year. Burton misspelled the names of both plaintiff and defendant, but got all that he considered necessary into the complaint, which still left it somewhat vague:

¹An *alcalde*, the chief municipal magistrate or mayor, had far-reaching powers, one of which was that of arrest. An *"alguacil"* was a constable; a *"juez de paz,"* a justice of the peace.

George W. Bellamy To the Constable of the Pueblo de San José de Guadalupe, Greeting.

vs.

Vicoriano, an Indian

You are hereby commanded to summons the defendant in this to appear immediately, to answer to complaint of George W. Bellamy, and fail not, under penalty of law.

Three days later, Constable James W. Weeks reported he had served this paper "by reading. Costs, \$1."

Other men arrested shortly thereafter included Lorenzo Pinero for not attending court when summoned; Guadalupe Mesa for selling beef that had apparently died of natural causes before sale; José Noriega for "abuse of the court and for swearing and stamping on the floor." Stealing and killing other people's cattle, a sure fire cause of arrest, seem to have kept the law's enforcers busy between other activities.

Weeks served as *alcalde* during January, 1848. The following November brought two new constables—William O'Connor and William S. Wood—each of whom was to receive a salary of \$180 a month, plus the usual fees, "to be paid in placer gold at the rate of sixteen dollars per ounce troy."

San José's biggest arrest up to that time occurred shortly after the appointments of O'Connor and Wood. It was made not by one or two intrepid constables or deputies, but by a group of "armed citizens" who rounded up three murderous highwaymen near Mission San José and brought them to San José, where they were tried and hanged within two days of arrest.

To cope with the influx of criminals during the Gold Rush of 1849, San José had a twelve man police force, a somewhat popular organization of questionable legal status, with James F. Reed as chief. If circumstances demanded, Reed had authority to appoint other citizens to his corps as needed.

During the first four months of 1850, the town had two marshals—Robert Cadden Keyes who re-

POLICE

signed in February, and E. J. Curtis who served until incorporation. Actually, Curtis held over a few days until the city could hold its first municipal election in April.

On April 13, 1850, George B. Montgomery, with 205 votes, became San José's first duly elected city marshal under incorporation. He held office, however, only until the election of 1851, when G. N. Whitman succeeded him.

After Whitman, seven other men held the office. They were: George Hale, 1852-1855; Thomas E. Soubllette, 1855-1859; Jasper D. Gunn, 1859-1862; W. S. Patterson, 1862-1863; J. C. Potter, 1863-1866; A. B. Hamilton, 1866-1869; William Sexton, 1869-1873; A. B. Hamilton, 1873-1874.

Hamilton's reelection in 1873 gave him the honor of being San José's last regularly elected city marshal before the office was abolished the following year to make way for a police department.

In the course of its first meeting, the Common Council considered the setting of bonds for the first City officials. Alderman James D. Curl moved that the bond of the marshal be \$20,000. He withdrew his motion, however, at the request of Alderman Benjamin Cory who successfully moved that the amount be reduced to \$10,000. A week later, at its second meeting, the Council dropped the marshal's bond to \$5,000, and those of all other officials to half or less than half of the original amounts.

Every marshal who served during the twenty-four year existence of the office "had his moments," but few, if any, found their duties unduly onerous. Creation of California's first twenty-seven counties in February, 1850, precluded that. Every county was divided into townships, and every township had two justices of the peace, each with a constable of his own to serve papers and aid in keeping the peace generally. The departure of the state capital from San José, taking with it a sizeable collection of questionable characters, also eased the work of law enforcement.

In addition to other duties, San José's marshal served as ex-officio sexton of the City-owned Oak Hill Cemetery, and one officer drew much of his pay in fees collected for burials, exhumations, and sale of

lots. Except for Jasper D. Gunn who absconded with thousands of dollars in City funds, most of the local marshals were reasonably honest—despite publisher Owen's opinion of them otherwise.

Perhaps the saddest incident in the department's history occurred during the incumbency of Marshal W. S. Patterson who replaced Gunn. Patterson received a skull-fracturing blow from a beer bottle in the hand of a man he was arresting. This injury forced his retirement a year later and, eventually, drove him insane. He passed his last days in the Stockton Insane Asylum.

For the first eleven years of its existence, the marshal's office was pretty much a one-man institution. The pay for such deputy assistance was little more than the prestige necessary to satisfy an authority complex. Not until July 11, 1861, did the *Mercury* report the City's assigning to the marshal a policeman whose chief duty appears to have been "restricting vile language on the streets."

The office attained maximum personnel with the marshal, two deputy marshals, and four policemen just before it was abolished by a new city charter on April 13, 1874, when San José got its first elective chief of police, James V. Tisdall.

The marshal's office had never been completely free of political taint, but the voters erred if they thought an elective chief of police would improve matters. Before long, every person wishing to hold a police, fireman, or other non-elective City job had to know the "right people," vote the "right way," and "kick in" to the "right group." Even kindergarten teachers had to contribute their mites.

In 1895, during the most corrupt period in the city's history, the chief of police drew a salary of only \$125 a month. This, as *Mercury* writer Daniel K. Stern observed in retrospect, "made a lot of things possible."

"An idea of the 1895 set-up," Stern said, "may be gained from the fact that two men on the police force got \$115 a month each, and each had to provide a team of horses at his own expense. All other officers got \$75 a month and had to furnish their own uniforms, clubs, handcuffs, etc. And (like firemen and

school teachers) they were appointed for only a year at a time."

Eventually, the situation became intolerable to E. A. and J. O. Hayes, wealthy residents of the Edenvale District. Accordingly they bought two San José newspapers—the *Herald* in 1900, and the *Mercury*—in 1901—for the express purpose of letting *all* the townsfolk know what was going on. Their action enabled the six-year old Good Government League to elect a reform mayor, George D. Worswick, in 1902.

The new administration accomplished much good during its first two years. City revenues increased, and better conditions prevailed for members of the police and fire departments. Yet that keen-witted political journalist, Franklin Hichborn, working for the *Herald*, remained skeptical. He felt that the Hayes brothers and their fellow Good Government Leaguers were amateurs in politics, and a little too trusting in thinking all was forgiven and that they could do business with defeated scoundrels. Also, the City government still contained a few cells of the "bossism" malignancy—one of them a holdover city treasurer who presently could not account for a \$9,823 deficit.

Neither policemen nor firemen had yet reached their fair and happy Canaan. A change of administration in 1908 resulted in their wholesale firing and humiliation. But this time, as stated elsewhere, they successfully fought back in court.

Between 1850 and 1900, San José framed five charters—accepting four and rejecting one—each time with an eye toward municipal improvement. For the same reason, it also amended certain of its charters almost out of countenance.

The last of these 19th Century documents, framed in 1897 and put into effect on July 1 of the following year, provided for a police and fire Commission to handle affairs of both services. Further improvement came with creation of a civil service commission provided by the 1916 Charter, which changed the city's whole governmental structure. Finally, organization of a police union in 1954, assured every dutiful officer on the force that he could go to

sleep at night knowing that his job would be waiting for him in the morning. No one could deprive him of it without due process and fair trial.

The idea of unionizing the Police Department apparently originated with the Keith Kelly Club, organized during World War II in honor of the first San José police officer killed in that conflict. This club, made up of San José police officers, dedicated itself to enhancing the welfare of their fellows and protecting their rights as officers and citizens.

Fifty-six years after Chief Tisdall took office in 1874, the San José department witnessed its most radical break with tradition. On September 22, 1930, San José State Teachers College offered a regular program for training police officers, the first of its kind in the United States. It started as a junior college course leading to an A.A. degree, but later expanded into a four-year college course leading to a B.A. The City of San José took quick advantage of it, and all local policemen thereafter had to be college men.

In Tisdall's day and for several decades thereafter, an applicant's chief qualifications for police work were a bulky physique, a strong arm, a stout club, and an unhesitating willingness to enforce the law by force. Illustrative of the application of this force was Patrolman Thomas Hughs. When making an arrest, old-timers recalled, it made little difference to Hughs whether the offender was drunk or sober. Hughs ordered him to "come along" just once. If the man demurred or resisted, Hugh's club slammed upon the side of his head. The recipient might have to be carried, but he "came along."

Though it seemed for a while that teamsters "had the edge," the old-time chiefs got their personnel from all walks of life. And many of them left rich legacies of anecdote.

Half a century after he left the force, *septuagenarians* remembered that Nemesis of juvenile wrongdoers, Mitchell Bellew, whom everyone called "Mitch Bel-loó."

Bellew, tradition says, went through most of his life "hitchin' up his pants." His rough manner and booming voice returned many an incipient brat to the right path. All a mother had to do if her firstborn

got too "smart" was say, "You behave yourself, young man, or I'll tell Mitch Bel-loó on you." "Mitch" was indeed the stake that kept the sapling straight until the sapling was strong enough to keep itself straight.

Matthew "Matt" Coschina, a Hughes contemporary, was also involved in youth movements. If "Matt" espied a youngster on fours in the act of slipping under the flap of a circus tent, a swift boot in the rear enabled the entrant to complete his mission unsurreptitiously. Decades later, highly respected County Recorder Charles A. Payne wryly recollected "Matt's" similarly helping a small boy sneaking through a hole in the fence to see a show at Live Oak Park.

These men regarded themselves as peace officers, and they meant to keep the peace by whatever methods suited their personalities. Christopher Shannon, for example, could use force if necessary, but he preferred a gentler way. With no psychologist to confuse him, he used a brand of common sense that made him the most fondly remembered man on the force—a tradition long after his death.

If someone living on Chris' beat drank too much on a Saturday evening and showed signs of making a nuisance of himself, Chris did not rush him to the "cooler." He simply took the man by the arm and escorted him home with unmistakable advice to sleep it off. If the man lived too far away for that, Chris simply sent him home in a hack, sometimes paying the fare out of his own pocket. Michael Guerin and Frank Rafferty of later years always sized up a situation and used the same good sense.

The coming of automobile traffic after the turn of the century called for a new type of law enforcement—traffic officers—on foot and motorcycle.

San José had framed traffic ordinances of sorts as early as 1850, and strengthened and added to them from time to time afterward. They concerned the racing of saddle and buggy horses through the streets. But no one paid much attention to them until the late 1860's, when a series of serious buggy accidents caused by recklessness brought a stern editorial warning from the *Mercury*. "This sort of thing," wrote editor Owen, "must stop!"

And a new type of offender made his debut about the same time. On August 8, 1869, the *Mercury* reported that transit magnate Samuel A. Bishop's daughter Virginia had been struck by a hit-run driver.

Until 1900 or a little later, all moving accidents were no faster than the speed of horse flesh, and parking problems were unheard of. By 1910, the sound and odor of the internal combustion engine were no longer startling. By 1914, however, Henry Ford's Model T "Flivver" had definitely breeched the bastion of the horse and buggy, and San Francisco's World Fair of 1915 popularized the "jitney bus" through out the Bay Area. Youngsters everywhere were soon singing:

Gus, Gus, Gasoline Gus,
Gasoline Gus and his Jitney bus.
He rode them on the fenders,
And he rode them on the hood,
He rode them by the dozens,
And the other dozen stood.

But well before this, the city fathers realized that motorists dashing around town at such break-neck speeds as twenty and twenty-five miles an hour were becoming a menace to life and limb. To cope with the situation, they appointed Albert Shelton Margason the City's first motorcycle-riding traffic officer in June, 1910.

Margason, affectionately known as "Sunny Jim," experienced no difficulty in keeping busy. Then as now, many motorists chose to "push the limit" at every opportunity, a bad gamble if Margason happened to be in the neighborhood. They almost invariably wound up in the Police Court at City Hall.

Traffic congestion became the next automobile age problem. Old-time photographs from horse and buggy days show all kinds of horse-drawn vehicles all over the streets, traveling in directions counter to one another with no regard for right or left side. Curbside hitching posts accommodated teams tethered with equal disregard for direction and at all angles to the sidewalk. But with the automobile, the old disorder faded. Right of way became important, particularly at intersections.

To maintain an orderly flow of traffic at such points other than by a helmeted, long-coated patrolman waving his arms on a hot day, the city got its first traffic signals in 1917. On September 19, the *Mercury* ran a story and illustration of this signal—a hand-operated “Stop-and-Go” semaphore—dead center in the intersection of First and Santa Clara Streets. It was operated variously by Patrolmen Benjamin Kelley, Michael Guerin, and William J. Jackson.

Of the three officers, Jackson was generally remembered as the most colorful. He was a big, heavy-mustachioed, florid-faced, no-nonsense man somewhat resembling the early movie comedian Mack Swain.

Jackson's great girth and position on the street almost proved his undoing. They formed an irresistible target for fire engine driver Tim Sullivan when responding to any alarm summoning his vehicle across the intersection of First and Santa Clara Streets. Sullivan invariably drove as close as possible to Jackson without hitting him. On one occasion, the engine's wheels grazed the sole tips of the officer's shoes, causing him to jump back and emit a roar of profanity that still reverberates along the hallway of time. Jackson left the police force not long after that to return to his former less nerve-wracking occupation of streetcar motorman.

The next mechanical improvement in traffic policing came on December 18, 1928, when electrolier-mounted traffic lights designed by City Electrician Harry Snedaker went into service. Though these lights were eventually replaced by more aesthetic and efficient ones on their own standards, police officers remained at busy downtown intersections for many years. They did so not only to patrol the surrounding areas, but also, as the public suspected, to tag motorists disobeying the signals. And after introduction of the parking meter on April 1, 1946, they assisted motorcycle officers in issuing citations to overtime parkers.

Between the 1917 semaphore and the 1928 traffic lights, the matter of right of way took on importance equivalent to an article of faith. A new breed of offender—the “right of way hog”—had arrived. Neither motorist, pedestrian, nor anyone else could deny

him his priority in crossing an intersection. His discourtesy at the wheel endangered everyone on the street, especially school children in residential areas.

Because there were not enough policemen to patrol several intersections around every elementary school in San José, Chief of Police J. N. Black and Superintendent of Schools Walter L. Bachrodt hit upon the idea of junior traffic police. A lengthy article in the *Mercury* of March 18, 1926, explained this plan for the public.

Black assigned traffic officer William J. Emig to work out the details. Emig, cooperating with principals and teachers, selected his junior police from the older pupils of each school on the basis of scholarship. If a youngster did well enough in his studies to permit his taking a few minutes from them during the school's opening, lunch, and closing periods, he was assigned to regulate traffic at a nearby intersection or middle of the block crosswalk.

Each of these young officers wore distinctive garb marked in identifiable manner—usually a Sam Brown belt, brightly colored jacket, and overseas cap. Each carried a lightweight “Stop Sign” mounted to a pole about an inch and three quarters thick and seven feet long. To regulate traffic, he stood out a few steps from the curb, holding the sign at about a sixty-five degree angle with the lower end of the pole braced against his foot. This stopped all vehicular traffic until he picked up his sign and returned to the sidewalk. The junior obtained the license number of any vehicle not stopping for the sign, and the law took over from there.

Despite these precautions, traffic accidents on two major thoroughfares claimed the lives of three children in front of two schools within a space of four years. These tragedies resulted in construction of a subway under each of those two thoroughfares. The first, under The Alameda at Hester Avenue, was dedicated in 1928 to the memory of Hester School pupils Virginia A. Frazer and Charles Loring Sykes. The second, commemorating John Marshall Knight of Horace Mann School, opened in 1932. It passed under Santa Clara Street midway between Sixth and Seventh.

POLICE

Both have been described as policing in structural form. They not only removed the need for pedestrian surface crossing at nearby intersections, but also eliminated junior traffic police at those points.

By this time, the entire police department had experienced innovations and changes on an ever widening front. But save for early Police Matron Irene Frost and perhaps a stenographer or two, the department had remained a masculine stronghold until well into the 20th Century. Male officers considered the handling of drunks and arresting dangerous criminals no business for a woman.

This attitude changed with time, however. On August 2, 1945, Mrs. Ida May Waalkes became the city's first regularly appointed feminine police officer, and others followed in the same category. "Meter Maids" on motorized vehicles eventually relieved patrolmen and regular traffic officers of parking meter responsibilities. Badge-wearing women in uniform ceased to be unusual at City Hall.

By 1969 the quality of local police personnel had improved beyond anything deemed possible seventy years earlier. In addition to college education, many officers had taken FBI courses in the latest methods of crime detection and law enforcement. They had also absorbed a good deal of the law itself, and only circumstances over which they had no control could prevent their enforcing it to the ultimate degree.

Leadership had likewise improved since the day of elective chiefs. Political subserviency and ability to get votes no longer qualified a man for the highest position on the force.

The elective chiefs may have been competent in their private vocations, but most of them had little or no experience in police work prior to taking office. To confirm this, one has only to elaborate slightly on the following chronological list supplied by the Police Department:

James Vincent Tisdall, 1874-1878
Daniel Noyes Haskell, 1878-1882
William Bensley Shoemaker, 1882-1884
William Daley Brown, 1884-1888
Richard Stewart, 1888-1892

Hugh Alphonso De Lacy, 1892-1895
James Arthur Kidward, 1895-1901
Thomas William Carroll, 1901-1908
Edward Haley, 1908-1910
George Sylvester Kidder, 1910-1912
Frank Harris Ross, 1912-1914
F. Roy Hayward, 1914-1915
David W. Campbell, 1915-1916
Benjamin Fuller, 1916-1916.

These men came from various walks of life, and several continued in some form of police work after leaving the municipal department.

Tisdall, former chief engineer of the volunteer fire department, was a railroad agent, and secretary of the Catarina Coal Company at the time of his election as chief of police. After leaving the office of chief, he returned to railroading, but soon switched to the searching of records.

Haskell worked as a blacksmith almost up to the moment of assuming his police duties. At the end of his fourth year as chief, he returned to his trade surrendering the chief's title to Shoemaker, a miller.

Brown, farmer and naturalized Australian who succeeded Shoemaker, was first of the line with enough police experience to acquaint him with the duties of chief. The *Great Register* listed him as a policeman in 1880. And he became a deputy sheriff after leaving the police department.

Brown's successor, Richard Stewart, was a naturalized Irishman. He, too, appeared as a policeman in the *Great Register* of 1880, indicating he knew something about that calling before becoming a chief.

The next chief, Hugh De Lacy, stood unique among his fellows. He easily made up in color and versatility anything he may have lacked in administrative technique. By mid-career, he had assured himself of a prominent place in San José history.

Highly intelligent and capable, De Lacy came to California at the age of seventeen in 1862. As an octogenarian in the 1920's, could recall his success as a stationary engineer, journalist, police chief, farmer,

and holder of several deputyships under as many different sheriffs.

In 1883, as a journalist, he founded the *City Item*, which became the *San José Evening News* two years later. Until he sold this paper in 1890, he was a terrifying gadfly to all local bureaucrats and crooked politicians. The chief targets of his editorial wrath were the Common Council in general and Mayor C. T. Settle in particular. He doubted the intelligence and honesty of both, calling the mayor "Czar Settlesky."

Half a decade after leaving the police department, De Lacy joined the *Mercury* staff for several years, but no matter what he did or where he went thereafter, he never lost his love for the press or his ability to sting wrongdoers in high places.

De Lacy's immediate successor, "Jim" Kidward, appears to have qualified for police chief via the deputy constable and deputy sheriff route, either of which was enough to sharpen a desire for authority. A laudatory biographical sketch in A. M. Guinn's *History of Coast Counties California* credits him with being "a natural politician," a talent that enabled him to hold office until the last days of the "McKenzie Machine."

Chief Carroll, who took over from Kidward, apparently had approval of the reform administration elected by the Good Government League of 1902. Not much is known of his early qualifications, but he remained in office seven years, surviving an election or two along the way. The 1918 *City Directory* listed him as still living in San José and operating a private detective agency in the Porter Building at Second and Santa Clara Streets.

Except for the last two decades of his life, Edward Haley devoted all of his adulthood to serving the City of San José. A native of this city, he had the distinction of becoming both its police and firechief.² He left City service in 1918 to assume management of the American Dairy Company, which responsibility he discharged until a few weeks before his death at the age of eighty-two in 1940.

George S. Kidder had the honor of being the second native of Santa Clara County to hold the office

of San José's police chief. Born of pioneer stock in 1874, he served with the United States Army in the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. He was a man of considerable experience before entering the army, having worked in the Southern Pacific Railroad's Sacramento shops and in various other occupations. After the war, his interests lay largely in farming and the transfer and storage business. He got his first experience as a San José police officer when he was deputized to patrol the devastated area of the city immediately after the earthquake of 1906. He was permanently appointed two years later.

Where Chief Kidward entered the livery business as a sideline two years before leaving office, Frank H. Ross went from the livery business into police work. Ross, of Vendome Stables and Mt. Hamilton Stage Company, had established a family corporation to control both enterprises. As local agent for Cook's Tours, he supplied Hotel Vendome guests and travelers in general with everything from pony carts and surreys to stagecoaches and carry-alls.

The next—and twelfth—chief, F. Roy Hayward, had gained enough business experience as a salesman, insurance agent, and real estate dealer to make him a realistic man. But being police chief somehow failed to fit into his natural pattern of life. He left at the end of his first year.

In the sixty-four year old Virginia born "Dave" Campbell, the department got a chief with long experience in general law enforcement and police work. A career man from the start, he had served as a constable of San José Township as early as 1892, and had risen to the rank of captain of police. Old-timers respectfully referred to him as "a man who knew his business." Yet, he returned to the rank of captain after only one year as chief.

²Nailen lists Haley as police chief "in 1901-02, and again in 1907-10." This does not agree with the list of chiefs furnished to the San José Public Library by the Police Department, which mentions no interim services of "acting chiefs" necessitated by resignation, death, or removal of politically elected chiefs.

The era of elective chiefs had all but ended when Benjamin Fuller took over from Campbell for several months in 1916. Fuller, who probably weighed 250 pounds, always wore a Texas cattleman's sombrero and could be described as a "colorful character." He was no stranger to law enforcement or politics, having dabbled a bit as deputy sheriff. But the business he knew best was dried fruit and the management of its packing houses. After his brief stint as San José's last elective chief of police, he contentedly returned to his "cots and prunes."

City Managers and Appointed Chiefs

To eradicate the pernicious bossism that had somehow managed to survive the reform elections of 1902 and 1904, San José adopted a new charter on July 1, 1916. This document superseded the 1897 charter and gave the city an entirely new form of government. The Common Council became the City Council. Elected mayors, chiefs of police, and all other officials elected on partisan tickets were out.

The new administration, variously known as a "commission" or "council-manager" type of government would henceforth choose most of the top City officials on the basis of merit. In casting about for the best qualified man for chief of police, it did not go abroad. It chose a native San Joséan instead—fifty-one year old John Newton Black, son of a prominent early San José lawyer.

Black was a born law enforcer. Educated in San José's public schools and University of the Pacific, he engaged in an oil business from 1893 to 1895, holding at the same time a special deputyship under Sheriff George Y. Bollinger. He next became chief jailer under Bollinger's successor, James F. Lyndon, and followed that as constable on San José's Chinatown beat.

Black joined the San José Police Force in July, 1902. Here he not only demonstrated his ability as an officer, but soon had opportunity to prove himself a fighter. When Mayor Charles W. Davison staged a mass political firing of police and firemen in 1908, Black and others felt they had been accused and unjustly treated, and they fought back, carrying the

case all the way to the Supreme Court, where he won in 1913. He not only recovered his job and back pay, but also ended up with the rank of captain.

Knowing what had happened, and what could happen, Black was understandably cautious when the City offered him the rank of chief three years later. He took ample time to think it over, but finally accepted on November 28, 1916, with an understanding that he could retain his civil service status.

Over the years, when he could obtain funds from the City Council for that purpose, Black strove to improve his department. Among his numerous innovations and improvements were an up-to-date fingerprint identification bureau, a special school for officers, and a series of lectures given by judges and other authorities on law.

San José had about 33,000 inhabitants when Black took office in 1916, and an estimated 76,500 when he resigned at the age of seventy-three in 1944. Police problems had multiplied in proportion to the city's growth, yet he left the force a better all-around organization, with higher morale and efficiency, than he found it almost three decades earlier.

William C. Brown, who followed Black, had two decades of police work behind him when he became chief. He proved himself an intelligent, energetic officer worthy of promotion as the occasion arose. During World War II he organized the city's auxiliary police, a civilian group trained to handle police work in wartime emergencies.

Because his policies differed little from Black's, Brown kept the force on an even keel and did nothing to disturb morale. On reaching retirement eligibility in 1947, he surrendered his post and modestly faded from view, which left his contemporaries wondering whether he really wished the responsibility of chief in the first place.

To John Raymond Blackmore, who had "grown up" under Black, went the distinction of being the last chief up to this writing (1969). Blackmore joined the force as patrolman in April, 1929. He became sergeant of detectives in 1938, and chief of that division in 1943. On March 1, 1947, he rose to Chief of

Police, an honor he still held twenty-two years later with the promise of more.

Ray, as Blackmore's friends called him, was also born in San José. He not only became interested in law enforcement early in life, but also participated in almost every kind of civic activity imaginable. A single-spaced type written list compiled after he became chief, showed him belonging to fourteen professional organizations, serving on seventeen boards of directors, receiving citations and awards from twenty-eight civic and patriotic organizations, recipient of nine award plaques, participating in twenty-one campaigns to raise money for public and private improvement purposes, and serving as chairman of at least a dozen of those organizations. The same source stresses his taking courses at the F.B.I. National Academy and doing everything in his power to increase the quality and efficiency of the department of which he was chief.

When thinking of a police force, nine out of ten persons think first of the force's most visible representatives—the uniformed officers who cover beats on foot or by automobile and motorcycles. Detectives, the plainly dressed officers who work as unobtrusively as possible, are often overlooked at first glance except by avid readers of detective stories. Yet, they lay their lives upon the line every time they investigate the activities of a dangerous criminal. Indeed, the very first San José police officer of any category to be murdered in the line of duty was Detective Van Dyke "Van" Hubbard who was investigating a disturbance at 278 East Julian Street on July 12, 1924.

San José's early police records were by no means overloaded with mention of detectives. The *City Directory* listed them simply as policemen. Santa Clara County's *Great Register* was a little more meticulous but just as skimpy. The 1906 issue, for example, listed James Francis Prindiville as "Police Detective," and George Emory Pickering as "Detective." Local newspapers reserved most of their praise—and criticism—for city marshals and chiefs of police, with

only occasional commendation for a subordinate of one rank or the other.

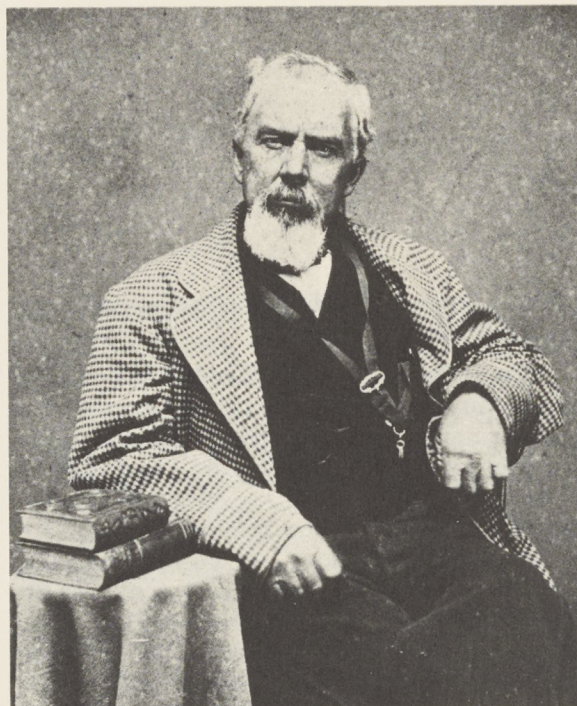
Even a detective of such statewide importance as James B. Hume of Wells, Fargo & Co. did not receive suitable recognition until sixty-five years after his death.

Though no great amount of biographical material on San José detectives had been compiled in time for this work, the meager available evidence reveals the names of several highly competent officers. Among them were such old-timers as Van Hubbard, Ray Starbird, Charles Hertell, and the more recent Barton L. Collins.

Collins, a born police officer, was the San José Police Department's first college graduate. He came onto the force in 1935, fresh from San José State. He was the type of man who deeply felt that crime ought to be against the law and that the way of the transgressor should not be made easy. In addition to attending the F.B.I. National Academy, he availed himself of every other opportunity to improve his work. As a result, he became Chief of San José's Detective Division in 1947, and still held that rank at the time this account was written.

The foregoing officers from Marshal George Montgomery to Chief of Detectives Barton L. Collins symbolized law and order in San José for 119 years. According to modern standards, the methods they used for more than fifty years were somewhat primitive. And the officers themselves were not always the city's most brilliant and perceptive men. A few had a hard time distinguishing City property from their own, and a noteworthy number of them owed their jobs to boss or machine political connections. But over the long pull, the majority of them balanced certain human frailties with more admirable qualities. They all realized that though the law they were obligated to enforce did not always seem clear or fair to the persons concerned, it still represented the will of the people who wished to keep San José a decent place to live.

William McCutchen, Sheriff of Santa Clara County, 1853 - 1855, came overland to California in 1846 as one of the "big three" of the Donner Party. Save for his short fling in politics, he was better known as an early San José business man and, later, a farmer.



San José's chief of Police, Hugh A. De Lacy, who also served as Under Sheriff for many years, had a long record in law enforcement. His greatest claim to fame, however, was established in a far different field in 1883, when he founded the *City Item*, which became the *San José Evening News* a couple of years later.

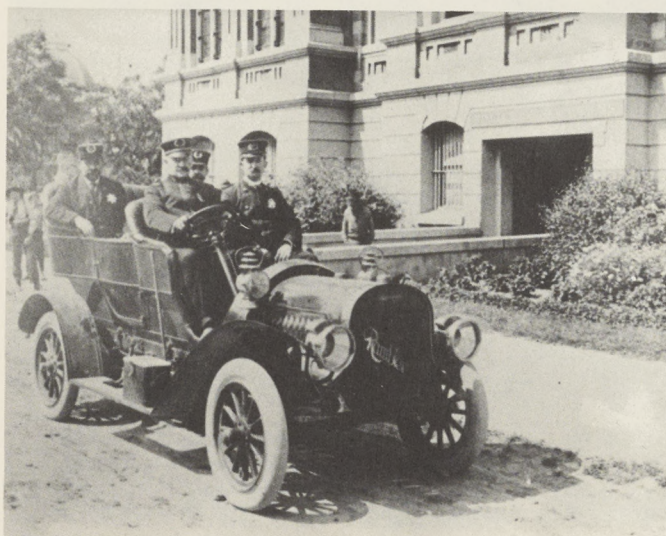


The San José Police Department march on South Market Street during the 1899 State Jubilee parade. Here they pass in front of St. Joseph's Church with the Electric Tower in the background. (photo courtesy of Robert J. Butcher)



San José Police parade during 1910 Rose Carnival, with Chief Edward Haley in the saddle. Despite their being on foot, the patrolmen looked their finest as they smartly stepped along the First Street side of St. James Park.

Officer Ben Kelly keeps traffic untangled at First and Santa Clara Streets in 1917. This semaphore represented San José's first attempt to control traffic at this intersection by more effective means than waving arms and a police whistle.

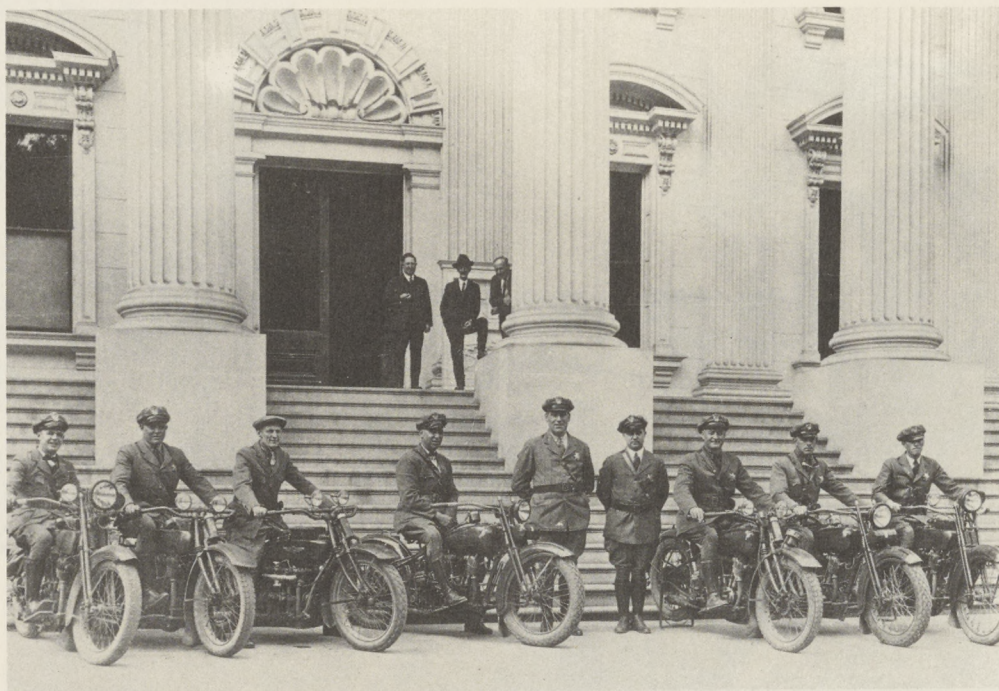


Four of San José's "finest"—Officers Prindiville, Black, Pfau, and Benjamin—welcome motorization of the city's police department. This photo, taken about 1907, shows the west end of the "tunnel" through which the police patrol wagon passed under the building from one side of the building to the other.

Howard M. Buffington's public service record shows him as a deputy sheriff, sealer of weights and measures, and a police chief and fire chief of the City of Willow Glen. This photo was probably taken while he was deputy sheriff in 1916.



Sergeant Lloyd Buffington is photographed in uniform, but not on duty.



This photo of motorcycle policemen was taken in front of the Courthouse around 1930. On the steps in the back: County employees Frank Hogan, Jack Dermody; left to right: Earl Rice, Edward Tressler, William Baird, Warren McGrury, Capt. John Pacheco, John Sansone, A. S. Margason, Robert Byers, and Gus Mariotte. In 1924, motorcycle policemen became part of the Santa Clara County Traffic Squad, and, on August 14, 1929, all county squads became part of the California Highway Patrol.



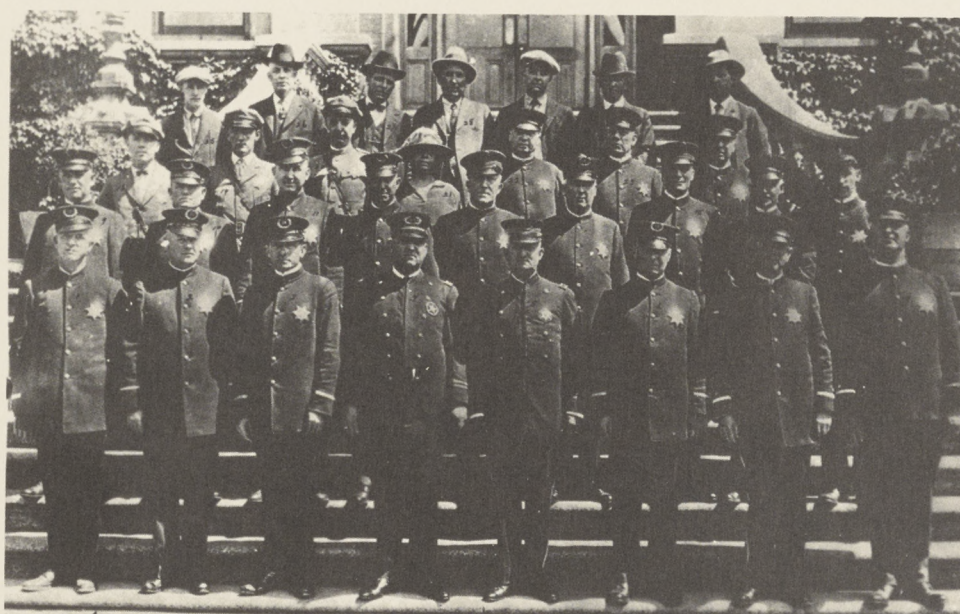
The downtown merchants called John J. Murphy a fine officer. And though their numbers are thinning, when genuine old-time San Joséans discuss the San José police force, they invariably remember Murphy.



Oda D. McCliman came onto the force in the "good old days" and stayed on into the new to become a detective long before retiring.



Officer Kenneth G. "Bill" Morss who joined the San José police force in 1926 and, before his retirement, witnessed many changes in the life of a San José policeman. As indicated by this photo taken about 1930, he saw the old, shapeless, almost hermetically-sealed collar type of uniform give way to the new open collar type set off by neat lapels, dressy shirt, and necktie. He also saw the coming of college-trained police officers when San José State established the Nation's first college level "pre-employment" police training school.



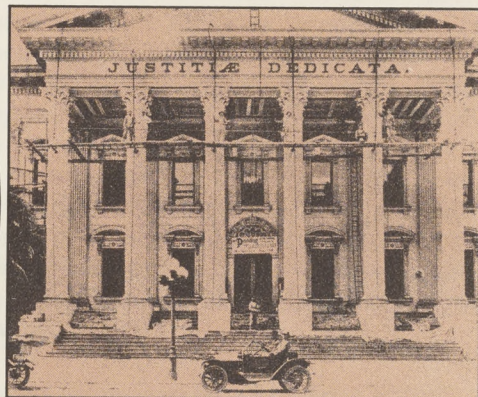
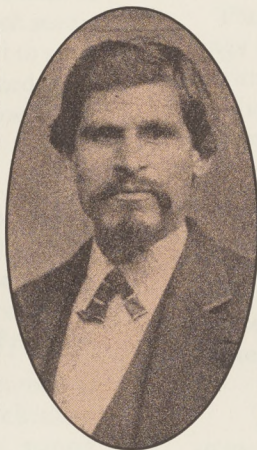
1 Roy Farley 8 James Healy 15 Al Leedrich 22 Gordon Ingram 29 Harold Schumacher
2 Martin Harris 9 M. Hillman 16 G. J. Cannon 23 Lloyd Washington 30 G. Keefe
3 Patrick Murphy 10 Frank Rappley 17 Frank Karsch 24 Lewis Schuchardt 31 Ed. Wolford
4 Captain Hedges 11 Thomas Rapp 18 W. R. Rapp 25 Kenneth Jordan
5 Chief Black 12 Herman Schwandt 19 R. A. Hedges 26 H. L. Stedman
6 O. D. McCliman 13 Lewis Rosal 20 Louis Wilson 27 H. L. Stedman
San José Police Dept. 1924
Photo by J. H. Hedges

The entire San José Police Force stood on the north steps of the 1887 City Hall to have their picture taken in 1924.



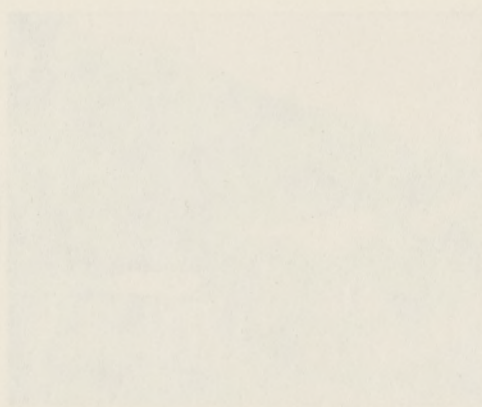
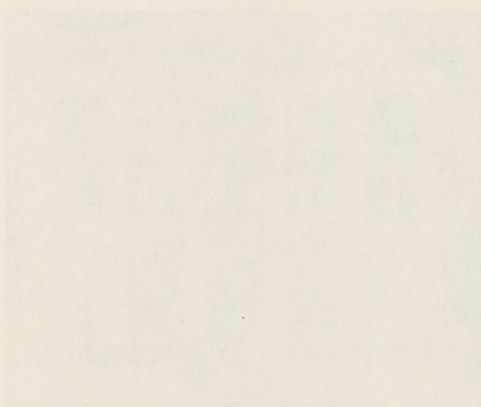
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CRIME



12

CRIME



Crime, as civilized humanity defines it, arrived in California with civilization. It existed throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods and, at times, seems to have flourished, particularly in San José. More than once, a Spanish governor had to send a *comisionado* here to rectify intolerable conditions. In 1785, one of the town's original landholders, Sebastián Alvitre, was expelled for "bad conduct," which seems to have involved everything from petty theft to rape. In 1790 the corporal of the guard received orders to keep a sharp eye on the pueblo's weapons, tools, and livestock, and to punish anyone who stole, sold, or "ruined them by neglect."

Nor was arson unknown. A regulation published in 1800 cited the numerous fires in San José as a reason for requiring the *regidor* to make the rounds with the night patrol. Anyone caught abroad after 11:00 p.m. without good reason risked a stiff penalty.

That same year the town received governmental instructions on how to control social derelictions with big strong stocks, "with a long, thick, strong hinge and three staples for the padlock." All offenders were to be locked into this instrument and exposed to public scorn.

Some time drifted by, however, before these stocks became a reality. As late as 1802, *ad interim* Governor Arrillaga advised the townsfolk to "build a jail on one corner of the Plaza, with double walls and a strong door and lock. Also build stocks inside the jail . . . and they are to have locks." He suggested that the town officials defray the cost of the project by selling "the forge which you have there." In closing, he further suggested that they take every precaution to obtain the best results.

And long before this, San José had been receiving from the provincial authorities at Monterey a large monthly supply of paper for recording offenses that did not have to be referred directly to the governor.

Yet the community's undesirable moral tone persisted. Drunkenness, political crimes, sexual offenses, and murders found much space in official records. In 1804 an ordinance intended to reduce the number of knifings prohibited the carrying of daggers on belts or in boots. An offender named Higuera was

sentenced to the stocks in 1807, first by the head for eight days, and then by the feet until ordered released. The following year, another named Gomez got similar treatment for drunken threats to all and sundry until an enraged townsman almost killed him in self defense.

Plainly, the *Californio* possessed as many human failings as a native of any other country. Yet it is sometimes hard to put him into correct perspective for either the Spanish or Mexican period. What might appear a heinous crime to a devotee of English common law could be less seriously regarded by a pre-American Californian. For example, the Spaniards, having no desire to support loafers, practically made crimes of laziness and idleness. Illustrative of this is a letter that Secretary of State Hermenegildo Sal wrote to *Comisionado* Gabriel Moraga of San José on September 29, 1791:

The Citizen, Juan Francisco Arias, wishes to move to your Town and he will be accompanied by his nephew, Albino Tobar.

About this person, the Señor Governor recommends that if within fifteen days, he does not go to Church and does not dedicate himself to work, return him to Monterey in shackles.

You understand that the Governor wishes all inhabitants to have work and not try to live in idleness.

May God give you long life.

Before the end of the decade, Sal probably forgot how many letters he wrote on sloth and drink. On October 25, 1800, he addressed the following classic to another San José *comisionado*, Macario Castro:

The Chief Miguel Espinoza is officially turning over to you a person by the name of Antonio Hernandez, with his wife and children, which I am showing in the enclosed report.

The individual is sentenced on drunk charges but he is obliged to support his family, who go with him and should be permitted to do so.

And he is not to be permitted to enjoy other liberties which are included in the ordinances.

As for a trade, all that he can do is common labor. On his arrival there, tell him that in event he is found drunk again, he will pay for his abuses with fifty lashes on his back which should force him to stop drinking and committing other scandals.

Keep him watched from the first day of his arrival there.

God be with you.

But owing to Spain's restrictions on entry of foreigners, neutral observations from outsiders were few and far between for half a century.

Explorer Jean Francois Galaup de la Perouse, first to arrive, anchored the French frigate *Astrolabe* in San Francisco Bay on July 4, 1786, and soon afterward touched at Monterey. The next important visitor was Captain George Vancouver of the British ship *Discovery* who landed at San Francisco on November 14, 1792, for the first of three visits to California in a period of two years. Russians Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov and Otto von Kotzebue respectively came in 1806 and 1816. But save for Vancouver who, much to the governor's displeasure, journeyed on horseback to Mission Santa Clara six days after his first arrival, none got beyond earshot of the surf. Moreover, if anyone of them witnessed a noteworthy volume of crime, he left no spine-tingling account of it.

After México took over from Spain in 1822, however, California's ports and boundaries opened up, and foreigners poured into the department by both land and sea. Within a decade, sharpeyed observers of a half dozen different nationalities had seen about everything of importance between San Diego and Oregon. Yankee seafarers such as John Meek and John Paty soon knew every bay and inlet along the coast. Jedediah Smith breached the overland barrier in 1826 by leading a company of American trappers southwestward across Utah and Nevada to Mission San Gabriel. Others came via New México and Arizona, while Hudson's Bay Company men trickled in from the north.

Many of these early arrivals were literate. They kept journals and left other realistic written accounts of what they saw here. To them the *Californio* was neither an emasculated saint nor the innocent, child-like person portrayed by Helen Hunt Jackson and her romantic successors. In addition to other weaknesses, he lacked complete aversion to adultery and, on occasion, could turn to banditry.

Three Americans in particular—James Ohio Pattie (1828), Alfred Robinson (1829), and Richard Henry Dana (1835)—had a good deal to say about native customs and manners. All three excoriated California men, but only Dana expanded his criticism to include the women.

"The cowardly and worthless," Pattie said of the men, "are naturally cruel." He accused them of lacking courage except when they could kill in the dark with no danger to themselves. Robinson's accounts were probably somewhat modified by his marrying into a native family and becoming a Roman Catholic. Yet he condemned the department's males as "generally indolent, addicted to many vices, [and] caring little for the welfare of their children, who, like themselves, grow up unworthy members of society."

According to Dana, "The fondness for dress among the women is excessive and is sometimes their ruin. A present of a fine mantle, or of a necklace or a pair of earrings gains the favor of the greater part. Nothing is more common than to see a woman living in a house of only two rooms with the ground for a floor, dressed in spangled satin shoes, silk gown, high comb, and gilt, if not gold, earrings and necklace. If their husbands do not dress them well enough, they will soon receive presents from others."

Yet this entire trio rhapsodized over the "finess of voices and the beauty of intonation of both sexes." Native pride and cultivated grace were too much for Yankee rigidity, and posterity therefore got a not altogether accurate concept of California life prior to American occupation.

Other Americans, however, were not so easily charmed. In 1836 Faxon Dean Atherton blasted *Californios* as a "villainous set of scoundrels," and showed no sign of changing his opinion a year later. Josiah Belden liked the country better than the people who

lived in it, "for many of them are great rogues." Few had any praise for Juan C. Galindo who sold to Zeri Hamilton and other Americans land that did not belong to him. José Yves Limantour almost upset every land title in San Francisco with a spurious claim based on forgery, and his five *Californiano* witnesses were proven perjurers.

John Bidwell severely censured the *Californiano* upper class for shamelessly defrauding the Indians. He noted that missions closed by secularization "distributed cattle and horses among the Indians, after reserving a large share for the priests..." Then the *gente de razon* (people of reason) took advantage of this situation by buying this livestock from the Indians "for a small quantity of ardent spirits or some trifling articles, leaving them (Indians) destitute."

After México lost possession of California, many natives adopted American customs and procedures while retaining their former mores and sense of values. In doing so, they picked up ideas that left many an American critic wondering if they possessed the vices of both races and the virtues of neither.

Shortly after the United States Land Commission came into existence in 1851, it received a striking number of fraudulent claims from *Californios* who probably thought they had found a new way to riches. The most vexing of these claims derived from grants allegedly made during times of political disturbance such as the Micheltorena administration and the last days of Governor Pio Pico's incumbency.

A New Order

After the American takeover in 1846, court actions multiplied in amazing fashion, with a strange mixture of Spanish codes and English common law prevailing. An American functioning as an *alcalde*, *juez de paz*, or *juez de primera instancia* was something to behold. Judges, illiterate in both Spanish and American jurisprudence, might—and frequently did—hand down startling decisions.

At first, most actions took place in courts of justice and first instance, but in 1850 complex cases shifted to newly-created county and district courts. The following year the United States Land Commis-

sion "to ascertain and settle private land claims in California" opened a field of law requiring highly skilled talent. *Californios* or assignees and purchasers holding under *Californiano* titles might appeal Commission decisions all the way to the Supreme Court of the United States. Moreover, anywhere from half a dozen to twenty or more members of the same family might contend as heirs or devisees for the land grant.

Even under the best of conditions, neither the Commission nor the courts could set speed records, especially when there were only three commissioners and two Federal judges to do the work. Every litigant demanded his day in court, that he have his say either personally or through his attorney, and that the deposition of each of his many witnesses be read.

The transition from one form of government to another often confused native Californians who innocently found themselves afoul of the law. But they soon discovered in the new system a number of basic offenses prohibited by both Hispanic and American custom—not the least of which was homicide.

During the turbulent Gold Rush days and for some years thereafter, San José and its environs could match killing for killing with any mining camp or cow town of the old West. The law against such offenses, however, was not always enforced with the greatest efficiency. Such entries as "the deceased came to his death at the hands of persons unknown," "the killer eluded pursuing officers," and the murderer "escaped jail and disappeared" often found their way into the record. Also, the killer occasionally got away with the time-honored plea of self-defense, attested by his cronies.

Yet when officers apprehended the right criminal, and the evidence against him was conclusive, he almost invariably "got what was coming to him." San José got off to a flying start in this respect by staging the public execution of David A. Davis, Mathew Freer, and William Campbell¹ in the Plaza on December 18, 1848.

¹No relation to the founder of what is now the City of Campbell.

CRIME

These men had held up and robbed two German miners of some \$8,000 in gold dust near Mission San José a day or two earlier. They murdered one of their victims, but the other escaped to spread the alarm in San José.

An armed posse quickly rounded up the killers and brought them to San José for trial in Alcalde Kimball Dimmick's court on Saturday the 16th. A jury composed of James L. Ord (foreman), Thomas Campbell, James F. Reed, Isaac Branham, F. T. West, Josiah Belden, James Stokes, R. C. Keyes, Samuel C. Young, Thomas M. West, Julian Hanks, and John Cross found all three guilty of murder as charged. And the court promptly sentenced them to be hanged by the neck until dead the following Monday "between the hours of ten and two."

At the appointed time the murderers were placed upon a wagon under a gallows from whose beam three noosed ropes dangled. The nooses were slipped around the prisoners' necks, the horses started, and the wagon moved away. Three days later, the condemned's property was ordered sold to defray costs of trial and execution, which included a bill of \$85 from Pierre Sainsevain for erecting the gallows and making three coffins.

The aftermath of this event took on what, a century later, became a national characteristic. Lacking money to pay the jurors, Alcalde Dimmick sought Federal aid from Colonel R. B. Mason, military governor of California. Mason responded with a long sympathetic letter recognizing the necessity of executing the murderers. He also noted the absence of jails and prisons, which he thought responsible for an alarming increase in crime. But he was mindful that California had neither statehood nor territorial status at that time, and he, an army officer, had no authority to disburse public money for a purpose "not strictly legal."

The day after the hanging, John W. Cotton and two companions named Woollard and Lee, suspected accomplices of the murderers, were punished in proportion to the enormity of their crimes. For the charges filed against him, Woollard got a total of seventy lashes with a rawhide whip on the bare back;

Lee got fifty-eight. Cotton's sentence was a public reprimand by the judge, fifty lashes, and a month in irons with only bread and water for food. And even then, the jury felt that he got off with a "mild sentence."

Except for Benjamin Cory and James Mathers, the jury determining Woollard and Lee's guilt consisted of the same men who voted to hang Davis, Freer, and Campbell. Only James F. Reed and F. T. West were absent from the one deciding Cotton's fate.

The men thus punished were too early to be vanguard of the host of criminals who flooded into California during the great Gold Rush of 1849 and '50. Yet they were of the same breed and soon discovered that respectable people would not tolerate them. In a land of rich opportunity for all, the townsfolk suffered no guilt complex that could hypnotize them into believing themselves to blame for crime.

Before the year was out, another murder stemmed from far different circumstances. Young Edward Gant Pyle, Jr., son of an overland pioneer of 1846, rode out to Rancho Yerba Buena to compete in a horsemanship contest with several native Californians. During the contest, a native named Antonio Valencia accidentally injured Pyle's horse so badly that Pyle had to borrow a horse to ride home.

After Pyle left, Valencia's companions taunted him regarding his awkwardness, which would force his mother to pay for Pyle's horse. Valencia stood their taunts long as possible. Then, without a word, he swung into his saddle and started down the trail after Pyle. On catching up with the American, Valencia lassoed him, jerked him from the saddle, and dragged him along the ground far enough to kill an ordinary man. On pausing to look back, however, he saw Pyle struggling to his knees, his tongue hanging out.

One account has Pyle painfully begging Valencia to spare his life, promising never to tell anyone what happened. But Valencia, remembering the taunts of his fellow Californians, felt that he had already gone too far to back out. He accordingly stabbed Pyle to death on the spot, then hid the body in a brushy gully.

Shortly afterward, Valencia confided to his uncle, Anastacio Chabolla, what he had done. The uncle, fearing discovery, went with him to the gully to make sure the body was well hidden—and to make doubly sure, they buried it. Except for a few suspicions to the contrary, Pyle had ridden “right off the earth,” leaving his family and young wife, the former Mary Graves of the Donner Party, to mourn him.

Then one day in 1849, while a friend of Pyle’s family was visiting in the San Joaquín Valley, he accidentally overheard Pyle’s name mentioned knowingly in a conversation between two native Californians. On determining the speaker’s identity, the friend got word to San José soon as possible. Presently, a brother of the slain man arrived to question the talkative *Californio* who had difficulty remembering any mention of the matter until a loaded pistol, pressed hard against his sternum, refreshed his memory.

Back in San José the authorities promptly seized Valencia, who guided them to the place where he and his uncle buried the body. With such conclusive evidence against him, the killer was thereupon tried in Judge Dimmick’s court and sentenced to be hanged.

In keeping with the characteristic *Californiano* horror of hanging, Valencia’s uncle implored the court to shoot the prisoner or execute him in any manner other than hanging—but to no avail. Once again a crowd, including women and children, filled The Plaza to see the gallows at work. The condemned man sat astride a horse with his arms bound to his body while an officer slipped the noose over his head. A startling slap on the rump sent the horse lunging forward, and Valencia “made his transition into eternity.”

As the Gold Rush gathered momentum, California got not only the cream of society, but also more than her share of the dregs. Murder of an unidentified Mexican and three Americans named E. G. Baker, Digby B. Smith, and a Mr. Wood supplied conversation material for the remainder of 1849 and part of 1850. Throughout 1850 and 1851 murder-punctuated crime continued unabated. Thomas Pyle, highly respected San José rancher, died on August 1,

1853, murdered by a discharged employee named Wilson Whitlock.

Testimony taken by a coroner’s jury indicated that Whitlock, a loose-tongued man, had been spreading indecent stories about Pyle’s wife and daughter. Mrs. Pyle, on hearing of these stories, told her husband and cautioned him against anything rash. She bundled up Whitlock’s clothes, went out to where he was working in the field, and requested him to leave at once. Knowing her husband was hot tempered, she feared what would happen if the two confronted each other.

Instead, Whitlock started for the house, remarking that though he would just as soon put a bullet through Pyle’s heart, there would “be no difficulty.” It was then noontime and, inside the house, he encountered Pyle who upbraided and ordered him off the property forthwith. Whitlock, drawing a pistol, challenged Pyle, saying that if he were “a man of honor he would come outside and fight.”

Whitlock then left the room, and Pyle went to get a pistol. Just as Pyle reached the doorway with Mrs. Pyle hanging onto his arm and begging him not to go, Whitlock fired, dropping Pyle on the spot. He then stepped over and fired two more bullets into the unfortunate husband’s body before walking away into historical obscurity.

Even in 1854, when the townsfolk began to wonder if burglars, highwaymen, and arsonists had made San José an operational center, homicides held the spotlight. By 1872, when the city was struggling toward a population of 10,000, Santa Clara County had recorded more than sixty known killings. San José, as county seat and trial place, figured directly or indirectly in the outcome of all of them. Her newspapers seldom had to wait long for targets of editorial wrath.

To put prevailing conditions into proper perspective, one must at least glance at a little of what was happening elsewhere in the valley. New Almadén, an early hotbed of fatal knifings and other murders, soon earned an unsavory reputation, but “quieted down” after Samuel F. Butterworth took over management of the mine in 1864. From 1859 to 1872,

property disputes and personality clashes accounted for the violent deaths of seven residents of the Mountain View-Mayfield area. Alviso, scene of two stabbing fatalities in 1849, reported three more gruesome deaths between 1857 and 1862. Gilroy lost four of her citizens through murderous violence between 1855 and 1870, and in 1863 the body of a man who had been lassoed, stabbed, and beaten was found in nearby Pacheco Pass.

As the 19th Century entered its last decade, the number of homicides remained a topic of discussion. On November 11, 1892, San José buzzed with gossip over the mysterious murder of Henry Planz, bookkeeper for the Fredericksburg Brewery. A man on his way to work early that morning discovered Planz's body hanging from a tree limb near the Guadalupe bridge on West Julian Street. Though evidence indicated that "parties unknown had dragged Planz to the place of hanging," no one found out who hanged him.

According to rumor, Planz, a bachelor, was "a great man with the women"—married and unmarried. More than one suspicious contemporary felt that some enraged husband could have explained the "execution" in detail.

The foregoing entries by no means comprise a complete list of homicidal crimes in San José and its surroundings for either the 18th or 19th Centuries. Too many inhabitants of this idyllic setting regarded their fellow creatures with insufficient love and understanding. Also, even the worst of their crimes were soon forgotten. Even when being committed, they were completely overshadowed by the deeds of Tiburcio Vasquez, the most spectacular criminal in Santa Clara County history.

When put into perspective, every crime committed in this county for three quarters of a century after Vasquez could be regarded as anti-climactic or momentary. His murder-punctuated career of banditry and seduction extended over a period of more than twenty years.

Despite all protests to the contrary by his apologists, Vasquez did nothing during that time to earn the respect of decent citizens. If he did not *personally*

kill anyone, as his defenders say, he certainly did nothing to stay the bloody hands of the gang he commanded. And this, if nothing else, cost his life on the gallows of the Santa Clara County Jail.

Born in Monterey in 1835, Vasquez began to travel with "hard company" at the age of sixteen. His formal entry into a criminal career involved the killing of Constable William Hardmount of Monterey in 1852. Though Vasquez was never formally charged with this killing, he prudently put 300 miles between himself and Monterey when he learned he was being sought for questioning. One of his pals in the Hardmount affair had already been lynched, and another would soon suffer the same fate.

Vasquez accordingly devoted his talents to robbery and horse and cattle stealing, but was somewhat slow in attaining proficiency. He was thrice arrested and thrice sentenced to the State Prison at San Quentin, with one escape on his record and no perceptible improvement in character. But as he advanced in his profession, he ranged the state from Sonoma to Los Angeles. Terrified settlers in remote areas drew their curtains soon after sundown and refused to open their doors to unidentified persons after dark. No innkeeper, storekeeper, stagecoach driver or even a lowly wayfarer could feel safe from their depredations.

After his final release from San Quentin on June 4, 1870, Vasquez promptly returned to his old haunts and associates. He recruited a new gang that occasionally varied in size but remained fixed in purpose. Its personnel included such "worthies" as Romulo Gonzales, Teodoro Moreno, Clodoveo Chavez, Abdon Leiva, and a Frenchman named Auguste de Bert.

Gonzales and Moreno took to banditry instinctively, but showed little finesse beyond superb horsemanship. Chavez, cruel in every fiber of his makeup, was perhaps the most dangerous of all. Whether de Bert tired of his occupation is uncertain, but he parted company with the gang at Elizabeth Lake in 1873 and headed for Mexico. Leiva, who worshipped Vasquez as a puppy worships its master, eventually came to his senses and proved the undoing of the whole outfit.

Under the leadership of Tiburcio Vasquez, these men were never bored. Two profitable stagecoach holdups, a successful cattle rustling venture, and numerous robberies of individuals in 1871 kept their "treasury" in flourishing condition. In 1873, however, they literally became the "scourge of the state"—always, it seemed, only a jump or two ahead of a sheriff. Sometimes they were not even a full jump ahead as proved by an occasional exchange of shots with pursuers.

In May of that year, Vasquez somehow learned that cattle king Henry Miller would arrive on a certain day at Firebaugh's Ferry, on the San Joaquín River, with a \$30,000 cash payroll for his employees on "the West Side." Vasquez, Chavez, Moreno, de Bert, Gonzales, and Leiva made sure of being there at the appointed time, but much to their disgust, a change of plans postponed Miller's arrival indefinitely. Therefore, rather than depart empty-handed, the bandits relieved the local citizenry of all ready money, plus watches, jewelry, and everything else that could be easily converted into money.

Vasquez next conceived the grandest scheme of his entire career—a train robbery. With Chavez, Moreno, and a recent recruit named Bicuna, he set out for Twenty-one Mile House, between the present Morgan Hill and San Martín. His plan called for tearing up a nearby stretch of Southern Pacific track to ditch the railroad's specie-carrying pay car train when it came through on the night of August 1. But once again, plans went awry. Before his men could pull a single spike, Vasquez learned that some one in San Juan Bautista had "tipped off" S. P. officials.

Only a quick change of strategy kept the night from becoming a total loss. The robbers reasoned that since the Twenty-one Mile House was so near at hand, they would hold it up—a venture that netted \$200, not counting watches and jewelry. And on their way to this job, they relieved a pedestrian wayfarer of his valuables and left him tied hand and foot in a neighboring field.

After the Twenty-one Mile House raid, Vasquez and his companions returned to their hideout in the Arroyo Cantua country. Inactivity, however, proved

unendurable to the leader, and within two weeks he hit upon the idea of holding up Andrew Snyder's store at Tres Pinos.² This venture, set for August 26, included not only robbery of the store, but also of the New Idria Stage.

Vasquez and Moreno would attend to the stage while Leiva, Chavez, and Gonzales went on to the store, where all would later join forces. Vasquez called off the stage holdup when he discovered a friend, Superintendent Thomas Williams of the New Idria Mine, was on board. The two bandits rode on to the store, arriving just as Leiva, Chavez, and Gonzales were tying up the clerk and several others who had the misfortune to be present.

The bandit chief had ordered his men to shoot to kill if necessary, but events so far had proceeded in an orderly manner. There were no complications until the arrival of a non-English speaking Portuguese sheep herder and a hard-of-hearing American teamster. When both did not instantly obey the bandits' order to lie down, they were shot to death.

Leander Davidson, who operated a hotel next door, became the next victim. He was outdoors when the trouble started, and ran for safety to his own establishment. Just as he closed the door behind him, a bullet from Vasquez' rifle killed him on the spot. With three dead men, a looted store, and a shot-up settlement behind them, the bandits headed toward Arroyo Cantua, congratulating themselves on putting in a good day. Tres Pinos marked the high point of their entire career.

Before the year was out, they were back on the road. Holding up a store at Millerton netted them \$600, and two stores at Kingston yielded \$2,000.

²The original Tres Pinos, now known as Paicines, appeared on state maps at least eleven years before it got a post office on January 24, 1871. It changed its name to Grogan on August 4, 1874, and to Paicines on October 19 of the same year. The present Tres Pinos got its name when the Southern Pacific's Hollister branch line established a rail-head there on August 12, 1873. Its post office opened on August 10, 1874, almost a year later to the day.

The gang generally operated as—or close to—a full organization, but a couple of its members might occasionally go on a little foray of their own. Shortly after the Tres Pinos affair, for example, Chavez and a newcomer identified only as Androcio, murdered a Cholame Valley sheepherder for a mere \$200. They dragged their victim from his cabin, shot him three times, and cut his throat from ear to ear. Chavez then added a *coup de grace* by cutting a deep cross on the poor fellow's forehead and pulling the skin down over his face.

By then, Vasquez had become the most hunted man in California. The original gubernatorial reward of \$1,000 for his capture was raised to \$3,000 alive and \$2,000 dead. It soon jumped to \$8,000 alive and \$6,000 dead.

This price on his head proved no deterrent to Vasquez. On February 26, 1874, he and Chavez held up the Coyote Holes stage station and the Los Angeles-Owens River stage in one operation, taking a large amount of money and other loot. Next day, they robbed the Los Angeles stage and its passengers of \$300 at Mill Station. And to these they added an attempted robbery of Alexander Repetto at his home near Los Angeles. The last holdup was frustrated by the arrival of a well-armed sheriff's posse, but Vasquez and his companions escaped into the mountains. Yet, even with the law hot on their trail, they took time out to hold up four men riding in a buggy along the road.

About March 1, word got around that Vasquez had disguised himself and fled to México by ship. A little later, a Mexican arrived in Los Angeles with news that he had seen the bandit in Guaymas. Many persons were "taken in" by this story, but Sheriffs Adams and Morse, who had kept in close touch with Sheriff W. R. Rowland of Los Angeles, knew differently.

Vasquez had committed a fatal error. As a "ladies' man," he had enjoyed a number of "love them and leave them" affairs. But when he seduced the wife of his faithful lieutenant Abdón Leiva, and had her as a bed companion for almost a year, he took on one affair too many. Leiva did not "catch on" at first, but once he comprehended the magnitude of his cuck-

olding, he considered it a strain on the bonds of friendship. He went straight to the law, gave himself up, and turned state's evidence. Through his knowledge and connections, the three sheriffs followed Vasquez' trail with the tenacity of Javert.

Meanwhile, Vasquez sensing the precariousness of the situation, demonstrated his gallantry. He left his lady love, already great with child by him, standing alone on the ground in the wilderness while he rode off to save his own skin. It was only after days of pain and miles of walking that she found the house of a friendly farmer.

As the trail shortened, the rope came closer. On the evening of May 13, 1874, Sheriff Rowland got word of Vasquez' latest hideout, in the hills about eight miles northeast of Los Angeles. It was a public house of sorts owned, or at least occupied, by a man named Allen who bore the appellation of "Greek George."

How to get a sheriff's posse out of town unobserved called for shrewd planning, but Rowland managed to do it. Because he could not leave his office without arousing the suspicion of Vasquez's "agents," he assigned Undersheriff Albert Johnson to command the expedition. In due time, Johnson started down the street alone as if on a routine neighborhood errand. Seven deputies did likewise one by one, each in a different direction from the others, and all with instructions to meet at a certain place at an appointed time. From there they rode toward Greek George's place under cover of night, halting early next morning at a hidden spot a safe distance from their destination.

While determining their strategy, they commandeered an empty, deep-boxed wood wagon driven by two Mexicans. All of them but two, who were scouting a nearby canyon, lay down "like sardines" inside the box of this vehicle to conceal themselves. Then they ordered the teamster, under pain of death, to drive them to Greek George's establishment.

Vasquez, eating lunch at the time, saw the wagon approach, but paid little attention to it. He knew it and the two Mexicans. He discovered too late that the law had arrived and surrounded the house. He made a break for his horse picketed nearby, but a

blast from the shotgun of Deputy George Beers, a San Francisco *Chronicle* reporter, brought him down.

The bandit's handling thereafter was perfunctory—but not without its "moments." Though critically wounded, he survived and was taken to Los Angeles in the same Trojan Horse vehicle used by his captors to stalk him. As soon as his condition permitted, he left Los Angeles in custody of Sheriff Rowland, bound for the Monterey County Jail in Salinas.

The trip there was one of varied novelty for Vasquez. Since Los Angeles of that day had no rail connection with the outside world, Rowland and his now distinguished prisoner boarded the steamer *Senator* at San Pedro. They touched briefly at Monterey, but did not debark until they reached San Francisco, where Sheriffs Adams of Santa Clara County and J. B. Smith of Monterey County met them.

Except for a few minutes while having his picture taken in Bradley & Rulofson's Photograph Gallery, Vasquez stayed in the San Francisco City Jail until time to board the train for Salinas. He left San Francisco at 8:40 a.m., May 28, and arrived at Salinas at 2:45 in the afternoon.

Vasquez remained in the Salinas jail until District Judge David Belden opened court on July 26 in Hollister, seat of the newly-created San Benito County. Here, in the county of the Tres Pinos killings, public feeling ran exceedingly high against the prisoner. The court therefore transferred the case to Santa Clara County. And since Hollister lacked a secure jail, Vasquez was taken back to the Monterey County Jail to await his trial, scheduled to open in San José on January 5, 1875.

In San José, Vasquez came again before Judge Belden of the 20th Judicial District Court, which served Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Monterey, and San Benito Counties. State Attorney General John Lord Love, District Attorney Tomas Bodley of San José, and District Attorney N. C. Briggs and W. E. Lovet of Hollister represented the prosecution. The defense consisted of attorneys Pleasant Briton Tully of Gilroy and William Henry Collins and Joseph Addison Moultrie of San José.

Though including a number of businessmen and craftsmen, the jury was "heavy" with farmers. It was composed of Tyler Brundage, Lambert Dornberger,³ George Cox Fitzgerald, Frank Hamilton, Morris Lubliner, John Milton Morehead, Hugh O'Rourke, Noah Parr, George Washington Reynolds (Foreman), M. Tobin, Calvin Servetus Towle, and Stephen T. Woodson.

Collins had to carry the major burden of defense. His speech used more than 6,000 words, not counting interspersions of verse. He probably sought to wear down all opposition before saddling the jury with the responsibility of saving Vasquez' life. His technique had a decidedly modern ring—heart-tugging, "tear-jerking," and blaming society for what Vasquez had done.

On the other hand, the far less rhetorical prosecution kept to cold facts, holding with Attorney General Love who insisted that the bandit was "guilty of murder in the first degree or guilty of nothing." The case went to the jury at 4:45 p.m. on the fourth day of the trial, Saturday, January 9. At 5:15 p.m., with the jury still out, Judge Belden recessed the court until seven o'clock that evening.

On returning to the jury box at 8:03, the jury faced a packed courtroom, where women constituted nine-tenths of the spectators in the galleries. Following routine preliminaries, the judge asked, "Gentlemen of the Jury, have you agreed upon a verdict?" "We have," replied Foreman Reynolds, directing a folded slip of paper to the Judge. The Judge read what was on the paper and, in turn, handed it to the clerk, Edgar Pomeroy, with instructions to read it to all present.

³Owing to what appears to have been a combination of hurried reporting and poor spelling, this juror's name has appeared as "M. Dornberger" and "L. Bomberger." Neither the "Great Register of Santa Clara County" nor any directory for the period in question lists these names as reported in the press and subsequent accounts of the Vasquez trial. The only Dornberger in all Santa Clara County at that time was Lambert Dornberger of Fremont Township, and there was no Bomberger at all.

CRIME

Pomeroy's voice carried clearly to every corner of the hushed courtroom:

We, the jury, find the defendant guilty of Murder in the First Degree, and affix the Death penalty.

The court then set January 23, at 10:00 a.m., as the day and hour of sentencing. On that day the court informed the bandit of the indictment against him and asked if he had any legal cause to show why judgment should not be pronounced. Whereupon counsel for the defense, presenting a bill of exceptions, unsuccessfully moved for a new trial.

Ordering Vasquez to stand up, Judge Belden then delivered a scathing denunciation of the prisoner's lawless life, closing with:

"The judgment is—death. That you be taken hence, and securely kept by the Sheriff of Santa Clara County, until Friday, the 19th day of March, 1875. That upon that day, between the hours of 9 o'clock in the morning, and four in the afternoon, you will be by him hanged by the neck until you are dead. And may the Lord have mercy on your soul."

To Sheriff Adams the court issued the following order:

Now Therefore, You the said Sheriff, are hereby commanded that on Friday, March the nineteenth A. D. 1875, between the hours of nine o'clock in the morning, and four o'clock in the afternoon of said day, that you convey, the said Tiburcio Vasquez to the accustomed place of execution in your County and that you cause the aforesaid judgment to be executed upon the said Tiburcio Vasquez in all things according to said judgment.

Witness my hand and the Seal of the said District Court this 30th day of January A. D. 1875.

D. Belden
District Judge
Twentieth Judicial District

Attest.
C. Finley
County Clerk

During the weeks that followed, the Supreme Court of California rejected Vasquez' appeal from the judgment of the District Court, and Governor Romualdo Pacheco, himself a native Californian, refused a reprieve.

Perhaps no other criminal in California history came to his end with more attention and ceremony than that accorded to Vasquez. The gallows, borrowed from Sacramento County, was on the ground Thursday afternoon, March 18, and ready for use by noon the next day. During its assembly in the southwestern corner of the jail yard, hundreds of visitors looked it over, many opining that the thick new hemp rope would be strong enough "to do the job."

Sheriff Adams had issued printed RSVP invitations to prominent law enforcement officers throughout the West. Among those accepting these invitations were United States Marshal E. P. Marcellus and Chief Detectives Samuel Deal of the Central Pacific Railroad and James B. Hume of Wells, Fargo & Co. Sheriffs and under-sheriffs from almost every county in northern California helped to swell the crowd, with a generous sprinkling of similar officers from Montana and Nevada. One woman, a Miss Mittilier, came from Canada, and many Eastern newspapers sent topnotch reporters to cover the event. All would follow strict protocol in the final proceedings.

By noon of the 19th, all preparations for the execution were complete, including the prisoner's farewell to relatives and his final confession to the Reverend Lawrence Serda of St. Patrick's Church. A huge crowd that had gathered around the building by 12:30 made it almost impossible for anyone on official business to leave or reach the jail entrance. One o'clock found some 400 invited persons, mostly law enforcers, assembled in the jail yard. Other spectators stood on housetops and crowded the windows of surrounding buildings.

At 1:25 Vasquez started down the corridor toward the jail yard, accompanied by Father Serda. He interrupted his journey only long enough to kneel before a chair and gaze at a crucifix while Under-sheriff Theodore C. Winchell read aloud to him the death sentence.

The prisoner's reply, written on a slip of paper, indicated he was ready to die. Jailer H. H. Curtis then led the way to the gallows, followed by Vasquez, Serda, officers, and court and newspaper reporters in that order.

According to the *Mercury*, "The bandit ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and with perfect calmness took up his position on the drop. The priest then read a prayer which was repeated by Vasquez, during which time his legs and arms were bound by Winchell and (Deputy Sheriff Adolph) Sellman, the bandit himself doing all he could to facilitate their work. He himself removed his coat, neck-tie and collar, and threw his head back that the rope might be more easily adjusted by Capt. Winchell, after the white gown was placed upon him. The rope was quite tight about his neck and caused the blood to rush to his face, and he whispered to Capt. Winchell to make haste with his work. The black cap was then speedily placed over his head and Capt. Adams cutting the cord Tiburcio Vasquez was Ushered Into Eternity about 19 minutes before 2 o'clock, his body darting downward with the rapidity of a ball from a gun."

The bandit's neck was cleanly broken. Physicians pronounced him dead ten minutes later, but permitted his body to hang for another ten minutes, after which they ordered it to the jail's kitchen for pathological examination. The San José undertaking firm of Trueman & Woodrow then dressed and put it into a fine coffin before sending it to the home of the deceased's cousin, Mrs. Guadalupe Bee of Santa Clara.

Here, on the evening of the execution, reporter George Beers saw "the dead criminal lying in state as though he had died a martyr in a glorious cause." Vasquez took his last ride the next day at 2:00 p.m., when sorrowing relatives followed him to Santa Clara's Roman Catholic Cemetery. His case did not officially end, however, until October 18, seven months later. On that date Undersheriff Winchell filed the following certificate with Clerk Cornelius Finley of the District Court:

I hereby certify that I Executed the annexed Death Warrant and judgment of the Court in

the manner prescribed by Law. That I took therein named Defendant Tiburcio Vasquez to the place of Execution at the County jail yard in the City of San José, County of Santa Clara, State of California and then and there between the hours of nine o'clock in the morning and four o'clock in the afternoon of said day, to wit—at one o'clock thirty five minutes, p.m. of said day did hang the Defendant Tiburcio Vasquez neck until he was dead as commanded in said writ.

J. H. Adams, Sheriff
of Santa Clara County

Crime II

Though of considerable volume, San José's first 120 years of crime never reached tidal wave proportions. They more closely resembled individual enterprises in different times and places. They horrified the public, but produced no yawns.

An arsenic poisoning case involving a prominent physician named J. Milton Bowers shook the town in March, 1904. Nightwatchman George Whybark of Santa Clara became the first peace officer killed in line of duty over a long period when he attempted to arrest a burglar in 1910. That same year, the mysterious murder of rancher Oscar Withers of Blackbird Valley, northeast of Milpitas, added another name to Santa Clara County's list of perfect crimes. But in general, the area's homicides did not deviate far from the long established pattern.

A change for the worse came after World War I. An increasing number of assaults and murders prompted a suspicion of widespread social deterioration. Many apprehensive citizens wondered if young people had not lost their respect for human life in course of the war. Others blamed Prohibition for everything from drunkenness to gangsterism. After World War II, more than a few branded "popular psychology" as a vested interest dedicated to excusing wrong doing. "Smart lawyers who knew how to befuddle juries" also came in for a measure of criticism.

CRIME

Growing disrespect for law enforcement clearly manifested itself on Saturday, July 12, 1924. About five o'clock that afternoon, San José detective Van Hubbard was sent to investigate a call coming from Tenth and Julian streets. According to the caller, a man was forcing a girl eastward along Julian Street at the point of a pistol.

Setting out by auto to the scene of trouble, Hubbard picked up patrolman John Murphy along the way. They caught up with the reported pair at Fifteenth and Julian Streets. Hubbard jumped from the car, stepped up behind the armed man, and tapped him on the shoulder. The man, later identified as Ed Mays, instantly turned and shot the officer through the stomach.

Hubbard, fatally wounded, dropped to the sidewalk and fired back, inflicting wounds from which Mays died that night in the County Hospital. Hubbard died the same evening on a hospital operating table while surgeons strove to save his life.

On February 27, 1933, while Hubbard's memory was still fresh in the public mind, officers John Buck and Clinton Moon stopped two ex-convicts, Joseph Matlock and Samuel Thomas, for questioning. Matlock whipped out a revolver and fatally shot Buck through the spine and lungs.

Moon dodged around the back of the police car to shoot it out with Matlock, hitting him five times. As Matlock fell onto the fender of Thomas' car, Thomas took off with the wounded man still on the fender. Their escape was short, however, for Officers Charles Murray and Lovell Guptill captured them that evening.

Seventeen years elapsed before San José lost another officer in line of duty. On November 15, 1950, Patrolman John Covalesk investigated the unlocked door of a finance company at 42 East San Fernando Street. As he stepped into the darkened office to look around, a volley of bullets from a burglar named Clifford Denham cut him down. Covalesk, fatally wounded, shot at the fleeing killer.

Evidently, one of the officer's bullets pierced a bundle of currency that Denham had taken from the finance company's safe. When the robber tried to

pass some of this perforated money in Oakland a short time later, he furnished the clues that led to his capture.

A casual survey of the contemporary crime pattern indicates increasing apprehensiveness among perceptive law officers. A mounting volume of thievery, often attributed to a "vehicle made popular by Henry Ford," accounted for countless "wanted bulletins" during the period just prior to police radio, radar, and other electronic devices for tracking criminals.

Homicides, of course, continued, with a few of them raising public emotion to the highest level. On May 30, 1933, Mrs. Allene Thorpe Lamson was found murdered in her Palo Alto home. Her husband, David Lamson, was suspected of the crime, and his trial in the Santa Clara County Superior Court made San José a focal point of national attention. He was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged, but the Supreme Court of California overturned the verdict and remanded the case to Santa Clara County for retrial.

Lamson was tried three more times. The second trial resulted in a hung jury; the third and fourth, in mistrial. When the prosecution finally dropped the case on April 3, 1936, Lamson went free.

Also in 1933, San José witnessed its first public lynching in many years. On November 9, young Brooke Hart, son of a prominent San José merchant disappeared after leaving his father's store about 6:00 p.m. Four and a half hours later, his parents learned that he had been kidnapped by persons demanding \$40,000 ransom. A telephone call from San Francisco warned them against informing the police if they wished him to live.

The police of the whole Bay Area had already been alerted to young Hart's disappearance. Chief of Police J. N. Black of San José and Sheriff William J. Emig had broadcasted the news at nine o'clock. And though the crime was apparently intrastate, the FBI, under Special Agent Reed Vetterli, also entered the search as observers.

Fortunately, the radio had become one of the most popular devices in American life by that time, and news got around fast. The first solid break in the

search came just after midnight. A Milpitas farmer who had been listening to reports, phoned Sheriff Emig to report that an automobile resembling Hart's had been standing as if abandoned, with its lights on, near his place on Evans Road since 6:30 in the evening. This confirmed the suspicion of kidnapping.

The next six days marked the most frantic man-hunt in Santa Clara County history. It extended to San Francisco and even to the ocean liner *Lurline*, far at sea, for Hart's wallet was found on the guard rail of a tanker that had fueled the liner just before its departure.

Meanwhile, the Hart family had received several impatient phone calls and notes from the kidnappers, still demanding ransom. Officers monitored every phone call and scrutinized every written communication for several days. Finally, on the evening of November 15, the monitoring paid off when a phone call to the Hart residence was traced in time to catch the caller.

Sheriff Emig and two deputies raced to a phone booth in a downtown garage, arriving an instant before the caller hung up the receiver. In a few seconds, Thomas Harold Thurmond was handcuffed and rushed to a nearby hotel suite for questioning.

Six hours of interrogation obtained Thurmond's confession and the name of his accomplice, John M. Holmes, who had masterminded the kidnapping. Together, they had killed Hart and tossed his body into the shallow water of San Francisco Bay's mudflats near the San Mateo-Hayward Bay Bridge.

Soon the officers had arrested Holmes in another hotel several blocks away, and they left for the scene of the murder. Taking Thurmond with them to insure their going to the right place, they began what was for several days an unsuccessful search for Hart's body. All they found was a chunk of concrete to which the body had been fastened with baling wire to hold it down. The body had evidently broken loose and floated away with the tidal movements.

The searchers had almost given up hope of finding Hart. Then, on the morning of the 26th, a couple of duck hunters reported finding a badly decomposed human body not far from where the

officers had been searching. Barely half an hour later, Sheriff Emig joined Sheriff M. B. Driver and Coroner Grant D. Miller of Alameda County at a Hayward mortuary to inspect the remains.

The body had lain in water seventeen days, and most of the flesh and clothing above the belt line had been torn away by fish and crabs. Yet it supplied all the evidence needed by the officers. The skull crushed by Holmes with a chunk of concrete, a laundry marked shirt collar, a chiropodists bandage on the right foot, and a pen knife in a pants pocket left no room for error in identification.

The news of this discovery had spread all over Santa Clara County before Emig got back to San José. A public, still shocked from the kidnap-murder of Colonel Charles Lindberg's young son, demanded death for the perpetrators of this latest outrage.

That evening, Holmes and Thurmond, heavily guarded in the Santa Clara County Jail, witnessed their last sunset. At nine o'clock a bombardment of bricks, stones, pipe fittings, and bottles pelted against the jail walls, crashing through the barred windows. A shouting, frenzied mob demanded the prisoners. The battle went on for two hours before a dozen or more rioters using a long, six-inch thick iron pipe as a ram crashed through the jail's heavy front door.

Once inside, the mob overpowered the sheriff and his deputies, a task made easy by the sheriff's disarming his men only a few minutes earlier. Several rioters knocked Deputy John Moore down and took the cell keys from his pocket. The seizure of Holmes and Thurmond in their second floor cells followed as fast as the mob could get to them. The two were all but stripped and torn to pieces as they were dragged along by a shouting, wild-eyed aggregation bent on lynching. Someone slipped a noosed rope around Holmes neck, and others dragged him down the stairway to the ground floor, "his head," as one observer put it, "banging on every step."

From the jail, both were dragged past the Courthouse and across First Street to St. James Park. The cry of "String them up!" came from 3000 maddened onlookers. Whereupon Thurmond, with the rope around his neck already over the limb of a venerable

mulberry tree, was jerked skyward. The limb of a great elm a few feet away served as Holmes' gallows a second or two later.

Except for two or three insinuating rumors that cropped a day or two later, most opinion of this event seemed confined to the remark that Holmes and Thurmond "got what was coming to them." Few, if any, in the crowd of witnesses seemed interested in identifying the lynchers who, themselves, were noticeably reticent. And the community in general preferred to forget.

But murder was not the only crime in this community. The foregoing cases simply point up a few of the most spectacular examples of it. The courts concurrently had enough to do in handling assault, robbery, burglary, embezzlement and fraud cases at a time when a thin thread of venality or larceny ran through the fabric of local officialdom.

The last mentioned item applied mostly to officials who handled public moneys. For example, County Treasurer William Aikenhead reported that he had been bludgeoned and robbed of his safe keys while working in his office on the night of January 8, 1853. The robbers, whose identity he said he was too dazed to get, made off with two bags containing \$12,000 in State and County funds.

No one else could prove anything to the contrary. But a skeptical few, supposedly acquainted with Aikenhead's circumstances, could not forget that he had lately been betting too often on the wrong card. Also, he left town not long after the "robbery."

Another county treasurer, Abijah McCall, far outdid Aikenhead. He embezzled \$23,762 in April, 1867, and took off for Nevada. He was arrested in Reno by Sheriff Adams, brought back to San Jose for trial, found guilty on July 23, and sentenced to prison.

McCall was not the last county official to achieve suspect status. During periods of political controversy, voters often sensed that more than one office holder would have looked better behind bars than in the Courthouse or Hall of records. On February 9, 1946, Sheriff William J. Emig was sentenced to sixteen months in the County Jail Farm and fined \$8,500 for conspiracy to evade gambling laws.

The City's experience in losing public funds to absconding officials more or less paralleled that of the County. The City marshal's office, in particular, proved a drawnout headache in this respect. As publisher Owen of the *Mercury* pointed out, it "did not always attract the best men."

For example, Jasper D. Gunn had a highly desirable political plum. As City Marshal and ex-officio sexton of the City-owned Oak Hill Cemetery, he drew a good salary and abundant fees for his services. But he unfortunately combined his love for gambling with charming looseness in conducting the affairs of his office. In June, 1862, he absconded with \$2,763.48 belonging to the City.

The City's procrastination in recovering this money enraged Owen who epitomized the matter with a few sarcastic paragraphs under the heading of "Explosion of a Gun(n)."

"Jasper D. Gunn, ex-city marshal of San José," Owen wrote, "went off one day last week, half-cocked, defrauding the City to the extent of about \$2,000, and leaving sundry little IOU's in the hands of his friends."

Owen knew it would be hard to prove anything, for Gunn had long refused to produce his books and records for inspection by the Mayor and Common Council. Even after his arrest at Gilroy on July 1, no one could find out who got what—where, when, why or how.

Months later, Owen wearily observed, "The case of J. D. Gunn still drags its slow length before the court. We hear it intimated that the jury will probably be unable to agree." Owen was right. By a quirk of law, Gunn escaped conviction, but his bondsmen had to make good.

Sharp-memored San Joséans still recalled the Gunn affair in the spring of 1879, when City Clerk and Assessor William N. Castle appropriated to his own use City funds "to the extent of \$1893."

Sensing that his defalcation had been discovered, Castle left town hurriedly by a somewhat roundabout route. On the evening of April 3, he slipped out to Santa Clara, where he boarded a train for San Francisco early next morning. In San Francisco, he bought

a steamer ticket for Portland, Oregon, hoping that he could there fade into anonymity. But for the first time in his life, he probably regretted having a host of friends and acquaintances.

On the train, he met John Riley of San José whom he knew well. In San Francisco, another San Joséan, George Blain, chanced to see him buy the steamer ticket and go aboard.

Neither Riley nor Blain knew of Castle's purpose in San Francisco, but soon as Blain got home and read the *Mercury*, he hastened to Chief of Police Daniel N. Haskell. The chief, in turn, telegraphed a description of Castle to the authorities in Astoria.

Castle was taken off the steamer at Astoria by two police officers who appear to have been somewhat careless in the discharge of their duties. Just as they led their man to the door of the jail he dropped back a pace, whipped a pistol from a "pocket or sleeve," put the muzzle to his right ear, and fired, killing himself instantly.

Castle was buried in Astoria after a hastily-convened coroner's jury declared him a suicide. Search of his effects revealed a note addressed to friends in Yolo County, California, beseeching them to take care

of his four children, two of whom were very young. He asked them to do this in memory of his beloved "first and only wife."

Meanwhile, San José's Common Council declared the Clerk's office vacant and appointed Charles Keane to fill Castle's unexpired term.

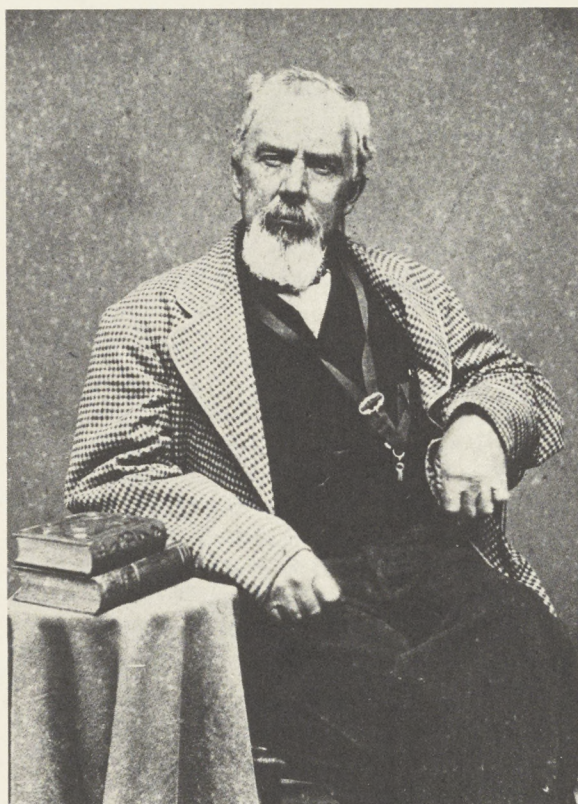
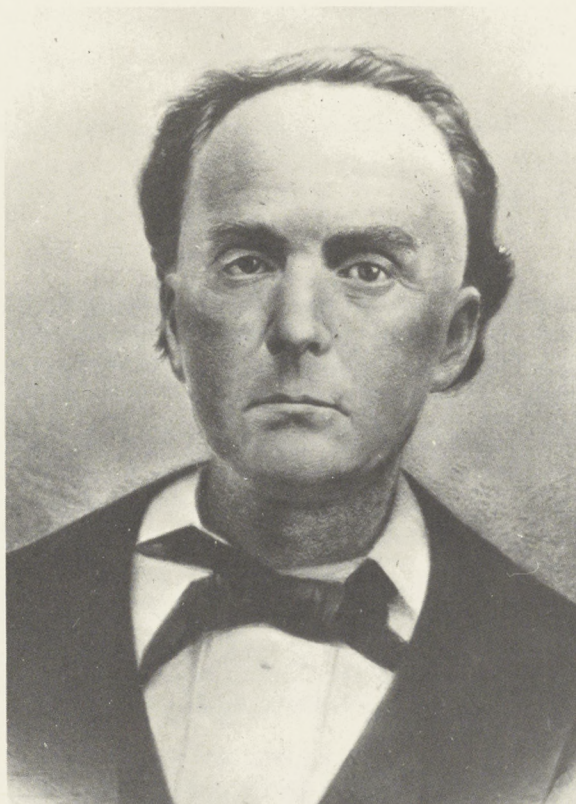
These "appropriations" of public money to private use were by no means restricted to the 19th Century. Just after the reform election of 1902, City Treasurer J. T. McGeoghegan, a hold-over from the immediately preceding "machine" administration, had to explain the disappearance of \$9,823.07 from the City Treasury. Sixty years later, Treasurer Robert D. Callison encountered similar difficulty with parking meter collections.

Ever since the County of Santa Clara and the City of San José became political entities, a microscopic percentage of money handling officials, as well as "sterling citizens" of no official connection, have collided with the laws governing money matters. Graft and conflict of interest have occurred in every generation. But no matter who strayed from the path of county and municipal rectitude, his actions made abundant copy for the newspapers—and thereby became integral to the community's history.

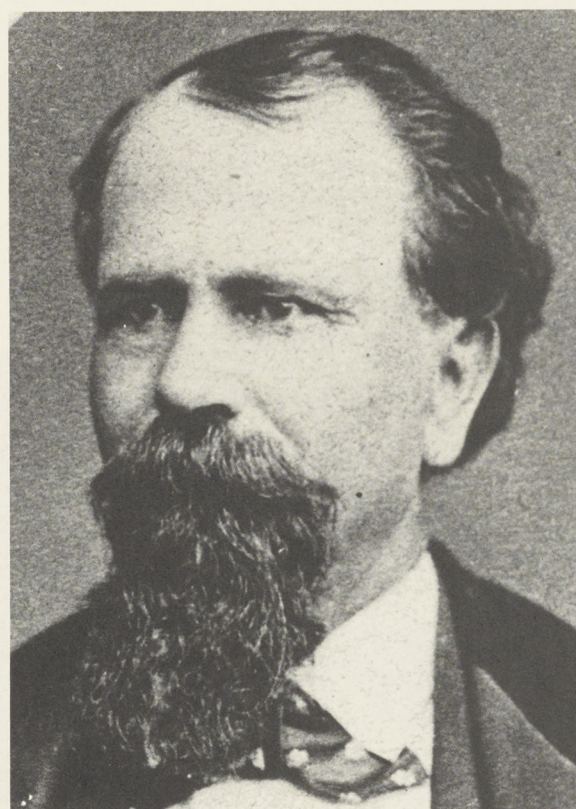


This is all that was left of the Alum Rock Park Jail in 1900. It was never advertised as escape-proof, but it did a good job of holding the "chain gang" that built the city's road into the park in the 1870's. San José's justices of the peace used to give drunks and other petty offenders a choice of "six dollars or six days." Thus, a culprit short of cash could work off his fine at the pick-and-shovel rate of \$1.00 a day.

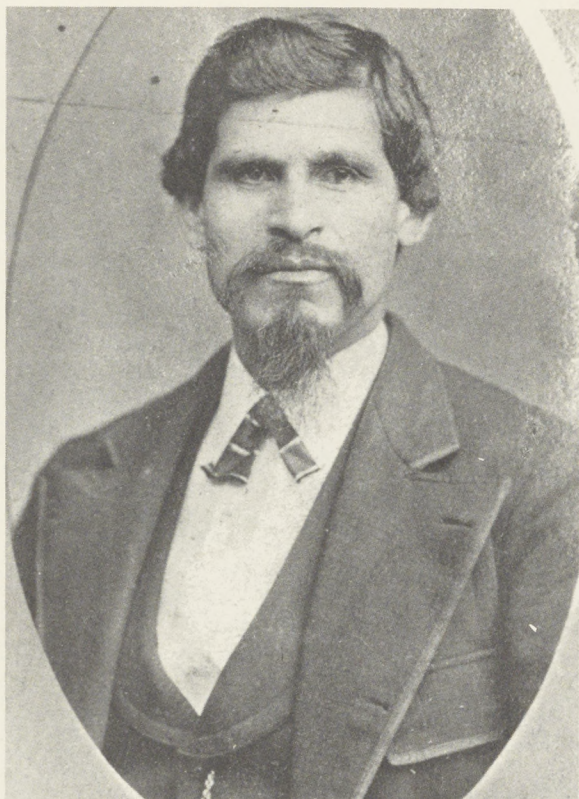
Born in Prince Edward County, Va., in 1808, William B. Almond was graduated from Hampden-Sydney College in 1829. Moving westward, he joined Sublette and Campbell's 1833 fur trapping expedition to the Rocky Mountains, after which he studied law in Missouri and was admitted to the bar. Almond came overland to California in the Gold Rush of 1849, but wasted no time in mining. That fall, he assumed his judicial duties in San Francisco to help Judge John W. Geary clear a congested calendar. On moving to San José in 1850, Almond invested heavily in local real estate, and became founding master of the first Masonic lodge between San Francisco and the Mexican border.



Santa Clara County's second sheriff was William (Big Bill) McCutchen.



Perhaps the most popular of all the Santa Clara County Sheriffs was John Hicks Adams who served from 1863 to 1876. He was later murdered in Arizona while prospecting.



The infamous Tiburcio Vasquez was the scourge of early California. He was hanged by Sheriff Adams in 1875.



Ah Lung was sentenced to six months in the County Jail in 1878 for the Federal crime of selling unstamped cigars. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*



George Swain was an "Old Con" when listed in the police department's mug book in 1876. He was sentenced to four years in prison for horse stealing—a major crime at that time. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*

A whole generation of San José lawyers and many of their posterity considered David Belden, pictured here, a "judge's judge." His decisions furnished legal precedent for many years to come. A native of Newton, Conn., Belden was bound out at the age of 16 by his lawyer father to learn the carpenter's trade, but omnivorous reading and an all-absorbing brain made him an exceedingly well-educated man. In 1869 he moved to San José, where in 1871 he became the first and only judge of the newly-created 20th Judicial District Court.



This photo shows, from left to right: the St. James Hotel, Santa Clara County Courthouse, and Santa Clara County Hall of Records. At the time of this writing, only the Courthouse remains, but it would hardly be recognized as the structure in this picture. After the fire of May 18, 1931, in which it lost its dome and portico, it was restored all out of countenance. The St. James Hotel gave way to a new Post Office Building, and the Hall of Records was replaced by landscaping.



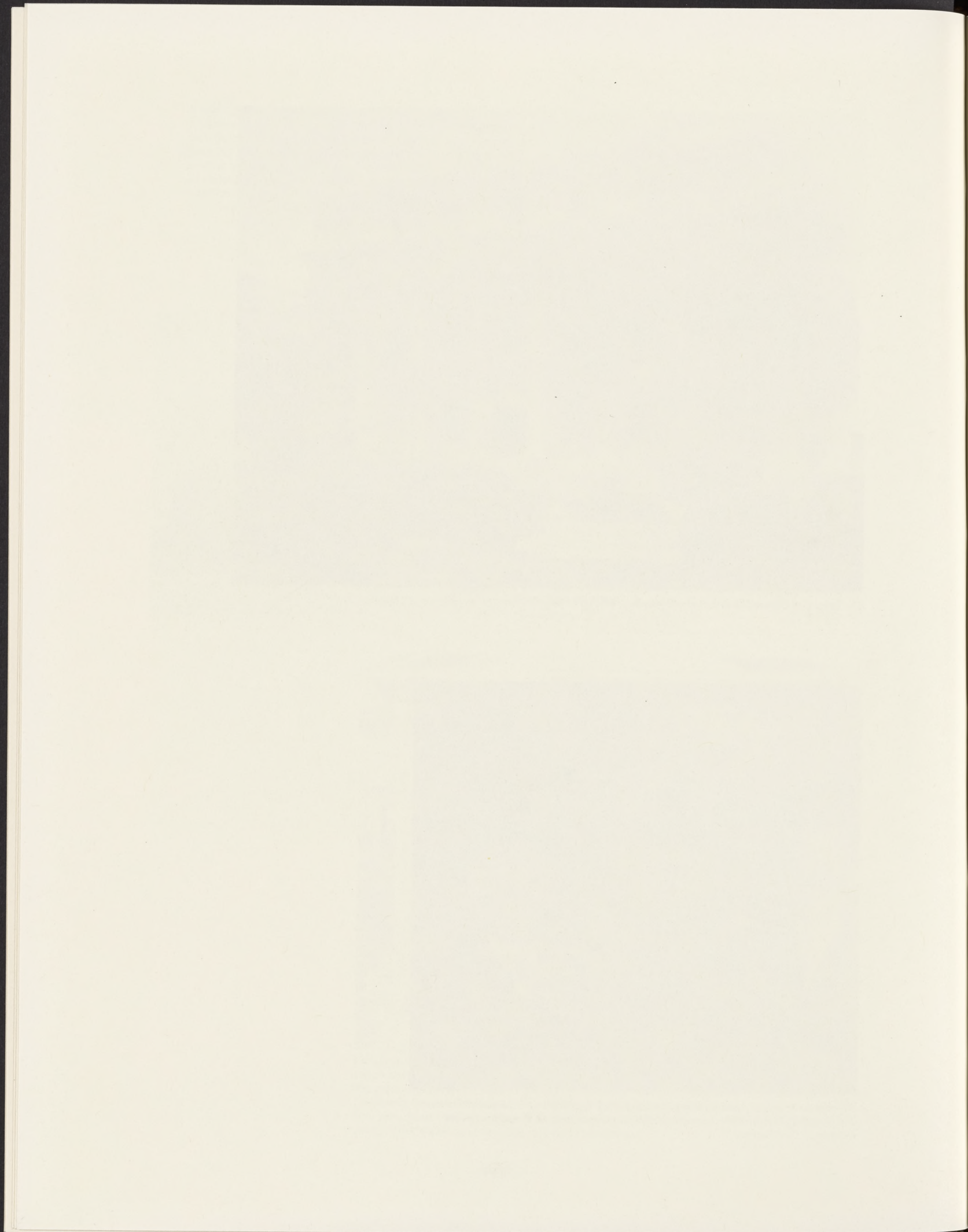
Paint went onto a surface one brush stroke at a time when W. M. Herman & Son of San José contracted in 1912 to paint the Santa Clara County Courthouse. The men shown on the scaffold in this photo, however, were equal to the task. Two of them—Nels Johnson, at the extreme left, and Lee Jensen, fourth from the left—literally left their marks on any number of San José structures in later years. Jensen left a special mark on this job when he shinnied up and painted the flagpole rising 70 feet above the courthouse's 115-foot high dome.



The Santa Clara County Courthouse was rebuilt in 1936, after the 1931 fire. (*photo courtesy of Dick Barrett*)

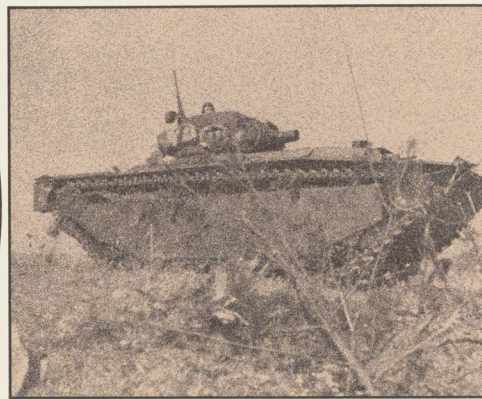
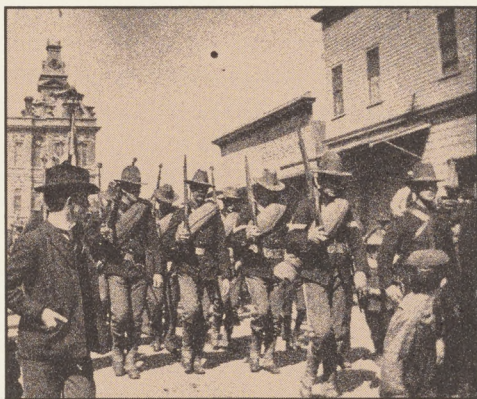


Superior court judges posed for this picture in 1930, Judge F.B. Brown, Judge P.F. Gosbey, and Judge J.R. Welch. With them in top left is attorney Samuel G. Tompkins. (*photo courtesy of Dick Barrett*)



16

WAR



10

10



Though he loved uniforms adorned with plume and braid, the *Californio* was not a warrior in the widely understood sense of the term. Save for such internal squabbles as the Victoriano, Gutierrez, and Micheltorena affairs, he confined most of his fighting to occasional Indian skirmishes and fiery orations. His closest brushes with international war prior to American occupation seem to have been keeping a wary eye on the Russians at Fort Ross and shouting curses at Bouchard's pirates in the Pacific.

In short, he was a fairly peaceable fellow. Thousands of miles of land and sea isolated him from the Napoleonic campaigns in Europe and early American pushes against Tecumseh and Black Hawk.

Even the raising of the American flag at Monterey in 1846 did not completely arouse him. The more astute among his leaders had long foreseen this event. Only those less resigned to invasion put up noteworthy resistance—mostly elsewhere in the department.

The only military hostilities taking place in what is now Santa Clara County occurred on the plain west of Santa Clara on January 2, 1847. This clash, variously known as the Battle of Santa Clara and later, the "Battle of the Mustard Stalks," has been referred to as the "last" and the "only" battle of the Mexican War in northern California. The troops on both sides were largely volunteer except for a small naval force from Yerba Buena in command of Captain Ward Marston of the United States Marine Corps. The main scene of action appears to have been the great triangle of territory now bounded by State Highway 82, the Lawrence Expressway, and the Southern Pacific Railroad, with Santa Clara at the easternmost point.

There was nothing reminiscent of Yorktown or Waterloo, however, about any feature of the engagement. Realistic writers have never described it as a great campaign. One considered it marching, counter-marching, and general confusion. Former Rocky Mountains trapper Grove Cook felt that both sides fought all day to keep from getting within two miles of each other.

It was not until after California's admission to statehood that national economics and politics began

to determine what moderns call a collision course—and an internal one at that. Santa Clara County was about evenly divided between staunch Northerners and adamant Southerners. The Southerners, however, were by no means unified. Many of them had no intention of letting disagreement with Northern policies push them into dismemberment of the nation.

Except for Democratic George O'Doherty's violently anti-administration *San José Tribune*, the local press was pro-Union, but with the bombardment of Fort Sumter, which opened the Civil War, rationality lost out. Southerners became suspect not because they committed crimes against the United States, but because they were Southerners.

All over the state, sectionalism disrupted churches, lodges, and other organizations presumably devoted to peace and the brotherhood of man. In San José, as elsewhere, members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had no easy time of it. Such terms as "Copperheads" and "Black Republicans" were used to the point of losing their meaning. Even the kindly James Jerome Owen's editorials in the *Mercury* were not above using the opprobrious term "Secesh."

Within a short time, practically every community in Santa Clara County boasted one or more military companies. Yet few contemporary San Joséans got closer than Texas to anything resembling Bull Run, Chickamauga, Shiloh, Donelson, Gettysburg or Richmond. Most of them were kept close to home for protection of the long, exposed California coast line, which might be visited by a far roving Confederate raider.

It was also hard to keep track of the number of enlistees from this area. Many local hotspurs rushed off to San Francisco at the outbreak of war because their home town's recruiting facilities were inadequate. As a result, they were credited to San Francisco or other counties.

The first San José force ready for service was an infantry outfit—Company C, first Regiment—organized in June, 1861. In the course of Indian fighting and keeping mail routes open through the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico, they marched more than 2,000 miles under Lieutenant DeWitt Clinton Vestal.

On their reorganization at Las Cruces, New México, in November, 1864, they were classified as veterans in every sense of the term.

The second regiment organized in Santa Clara County, also infantry, had San José men in it, but most of its personnel hailed from the Mountain View-Mayfield area. They, too, saw much of their service in Arizona. On the other hand, Companies D, E and G of the Third Infantry Regiment were made up of Santa Clara County men who served in Utah and Colorado.

All of the foregoing outfits saw field action of some kind, but the men of the Eighth Infantry Regiment, organized in San José in 1864, were more or less parade ground soldiers. They were stationed at San Francisco's Fort Point, only fifty miles from home.

In contrast to the men at Fort Point, San Joséans who enlisted in the First Battalion of Mountaineers, organized in 1862, got plenty of work—mostly against hostile Indians of Nevada and eastern California.

The first two cavalry outfits organized here likewise had their share of campaigning. Such San Joséans as did not get into Company E of the First Cavalry Regiment, organized in 1861, served in Companies I and L. They ranged throughout Arizona, New México, and Texas, keeping four major tribes of Indians under control.

San José's Company A of the 450-man First Battalion of Native (Spanish-speaking) Cavalry was organized under Captain J. R. Pico in 1861. Its chief field of action was Arizona and the desert country of Southern California.

Chosen for their expert horsemanship, the members of this battalion were all well armed and mounted. Yet, as Richard K. Orton's *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion* indicated, and Dr. Leo P. Kibby agreed in his *California's Role In The Civil War*, this battalion hardly covered itself with glory. According to Dr. Kibby, "This regiment was stationed in various parts of California and though its records are not very complete one characteristic does stand out—it had an unusually large number of desertions. Actually, thirty-seven percent of its 450 men deserted."

Saratoga's Co. E, 1st Cavalry Regiment, took the name Redwood Cavalry from the township in which it was stationed. It was composed of 60 men commanded by Major H. M. Leonard. E. Vandyne was First Lieutenant; D. J. Burnett, Senior Second Lieutenant and H. C. Morrill, Junior Second Lieutenant. There is no record of its engaging in battle, but it did make an impressive show when riding in parades, responding to the calls of Bugler George H. Groves.

Across the valley to the southeast, Captain J. R. Hall ranged the Coyote-Madrone-Uvas area of Burnett Township in command of the fifty-man Company I, Burnett Light Horse Guard. And just west of Hall's command, Captain Lewis Foster Parker led the forty men of the New Almadén Cavalry's Company K.

The next well scattered outfit was Colonel Abraham Jones Jackson's Fifth Regiment, Infantry. The geography of Jackson's command far exceeded that of the cavalry.

Captain Charles P. Crittenden's Company A, known as the Union Guard, boasted sixty men "armed with rifles." But except for parades in distant communities, they did not get far from San José and their commander's job as moulder in the San José Foundry.

All sixty of them, however, were exceedingly proud of their up-to-date arms. Most militia or reserve outfits of that day were using obsolete muskets or transitional arms known as "rifle muskets," whose efficiency was anything but commendable.

The eighty-man Company B of San José Zouaves, in command of Captain Archibald W. White, was the biggest and flashiest outfit in the regiment. Its fezzes, vests, and ballooning pantaloons, resembling uniforms of a modern Shrine band, added grand splashes of color to what might otherwise have been unspectacular performances.

Captain Thatcher F. Barnes' Company C, Alviso Rifles, mustered sixty members. It was made up largely of crack shots who styled themselves "The Nonpareil Company." Under W. A. Z. Edwards' captaincy in 1864 and 1865, they won the regimental gold medal for marksmanship.

With John M. Murphy as captain, an unattached company known as The Johnson Guard had a fine

supply of lieutenants—one first and two seconds of senior and junior grade. But the National Artillery of San José went them one better. It had four lieutenants—two firsts of senior and junior grade, and two seconds of the same grades.

For its captain, the National Artillery had the prominent San José lawyer Sherman Otis Houghton who came to California in 1847 as a sergeant in Colonel Jonathan Drake Stevenson's First Regiment, New York Volunteers.

Houghton married Mary Donner of the Donner Party in 1859, and in 1860, a year after her death, he married her cousin, Eliza P. Donner. He left San José in the mid-1880's to become an early developer of the city of Long Beach.

Among the small number of Santa Clara County recruits to reach the Eastern theatre of war was William H. Lawrence, son of the namesake of Lawrence Station and Lawrence Expressway.

Lawrence, who enlisted in 1863, was one of the 557 Californians who sailed from San Francisco to serve with the Second Massachusetts Cavalry in the Virginia Campaign. Besides campaigning with one of the last two great armies of the world "*to take aim and fire to kill*," he was taken prisoner in 1864 and did time in five Confederate prisons. Before getting back to his Northern comrades in 1865, he knew that war could be hell in more places than on the firing line.

Of the 557 men who had sailed from San Francisco, only 181 were mustered out. Still, according to Dr. Kibby's *California's Role in the Civil War*, "Fatalities for California troops were not high in comparison with the total Union and Confederate casualties." Union losses were set at twenty percent; Confederate, at thirty-three percent. California's 16,000 volunteers suffered only a three-and-a-half percent loss—and most of those resulted from arrows instead of bullets.

In any event, veterans from other states began to move westward right after Appomattox, and California soon had more ex-fighting men from both sides than she had supplied in the first place. Such of them as still liked to parade in uniform joined local militia outfits. Others contented themselves with

various veterans' organizations, most notable of which was the Grand Army of the Republic.

But the nation in general had experienced enough fighting to last until the late 1890's, when national attention focused upon alleged Spanish atrocities in Cuba. A crisis developed on February 15, 1898, when the United States battleship *Maine*, sent to the harbor of Havana to protect American lives and property, was blown up. The Navy Department convened a court of inquiry, which was "unable to obtain evidence fixing the responsibility . . . upon any person or persons." The Government urged the public to reserve judgment until all the evidence was in, but the jingoists and "Yellow Press" carried the day. On April 21, the United States was again at war.

Compared with the Civil War, the Spanish-American War was hardly more than a skirmish. Commodore (later Admiral) George Dewey destroyed Spain's whole Pacific fleet of ten vessels in the Battle of Manila Bay on May 1. Admiral William T. Sampson and Commodore Winfield S. Schley did the same to the Spanish Atlantic fleet of four cruisers and three destroyers off Santiago de Cuba on July 3. The first U. S. Army units to see any fighting did so at Santiago de Cuba to assist Sampson and Schley who had already blockaded the port.

This sudden turn of events left Spain in no condition to continue hostilities. The war was over on July 26 when she asked the United States for the terms of peace. The heroes of San José's Company B of the National Guard were thus deprived of an opportunity to distinguish themselves on the field of battle. They got no farther from home than San Francisco. Their regiment was mustered into wartime service on July 9, 1898, and mustered out from January 28 to February 6, 1899. Years later, when recalling their march to war, this outfit's men laughingly said that they almost met themselves coming home.

All together, the Spanish-American War cost the United States \$250,000,000 plus 5,462 men killed and 1,604 wounded. Of those killed, only 379 died in battle. All others, according to Walter Millis' *Martial Spirit*, succumbed to accidents, disease, and food poisoning (probably botulism).

But regardless of whether they came home early or late, San José's survivors of '98 and '99" probably refreshed their memories of those years at the meetings of Wheaton Camp No. 8 of Spanish War Veterans until time and age inevitably mustered them out.

Though surprisingly short, the Spanish-American war had an insidious effect on a large segment of the American public. The easy victory—and perhaps the opinions of naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan—generated a notion that the United States was ordained to regulate the affairs of the world.

This notion almost invariably characterized persons who knew little of world history, and ignored Jefferson's advice against embroiling the United States in the perpetual quarrels and fights of other nations. The attitude of such persons occasionally compromised the sincerity of American neutrality after nine European powers chose sides and declared war in 1914.

Trouble closer to home, however, was perhaps the only thing that prevented American entrance into that war before 1917. It was also first to affect San José.

México was going through a siege of bitter revolutionary turmoil. One of her several anti-government revolutionaries, Pancho Villa, was raiding settlements along both sides of the international boundary. He seemingly had no compunction about killing Americans on either side of the line. But in killing seventeen Americans when raiding Columbus, New México, on March 9, 1916, he went too far. He outraged President Wilson, both houses of Congress, and the War Department.

Washington immediately sent a punitive expedition of 15,000 United States regulars under General John J. Pershing into México in pursuit of the raiders. The President called out 150,000 national guardsmen and stationed them along the border—San José's Company B among them.

The expedition into México came to naught. The elusive Villa escaped, only to die at the hands of a fellow countryman seven years later. But pursuing him proved an excellent training course for American

soldiers who would soon be marching to a much different drum.

Up to this time, the war in Europe had confined itself to two great forces: The Allies, made up of England, France, Belgium, Italy, and Russia; and the Central Powers consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Neither side had much to recommend its cause, and the United States professed neutrality even as the fighting entered its third year.

But the Central Powers branded American neutrality a sham. The United States had involved itself in the Allies cause to a point of no withdrawal. German victories on land and unrestricted submarine warfare at sea frightened American bankers who had lent approximately two billion dollars to the Allies. Something had to be done.

In May, 1915, a German submarine sank the armed, munitions-carrying English Cunard liner *Lusitania* as it sailed through the war zone around the British Isles. This action cost the lives of 124 Americans who had been amply warned that they took passage on this vessel at their own risk. Submarine attacks diminished soon after that, but highly placed Americans were already talking "preparedness," and Congress received a "national defense plan" the following December.

Though the Government professed neutrality, preparedness became the order of the day in 1916. That same year, President Wilson was re-elected on the campaign slogan "he kept us out of war." Also, a popular song, "I Did Not Raise My Boy to be a Soldier," indicated public feeling as it swept the country. But on February 27, 1917, just before his inauguration for a second term, Wilson severed diplomatic relations with Germany. On April 6, the *Mercury Herald* announced that a resolution for war, already approved by the Senate, had cleared the House of Representatives by a vote of 373 to 50.

That afternoon, a bulletin pasted on the front window of the same paper's office at 30 West Santa Clara Street informed passersby that the President had signed the resolution and the United States was at war with Germany. Denouncing Germany's sub-

marine policy as a "war against humankind," he said, "The world must be made safe for democracy."

This news electrified San José and every other community in Santa Clara County. Volunteers poured in to help make up the first million men for the United States Army. The second million would be drafted, beginning in August. Company B, practically fresh from the Mexican border experience, was a "natural" ready to go.

Even before war was declared, Company B, under command of Lieutenant Leonard M. Farrell, had been awaiting orders while camped with Company M and a sanitary detachment, under Major Frank H. Paterson, in a deep vacant lot extending along the south side of Santa Clara Street from Sixth to Seventh. All three outfits departed under orders on April 2, and Farrell became a lieutenant colonel.

As everyone rushed to demonstrate his or her patriotism, the song "I Did Not Raise My Boy to be a Soldier" was, with a microscopically few exceptions, forgotten overnight. Such civilian organizations as the Council of Defense, Santa Clara County War Work Council, and Women's Mobilized Army multiplied into more than a hundred organizations, groups, and committees, each with its own specific duties.

The Council of Defense was primarily a State organization with local units throughout the state. State Senator Frank Benson of San José fathered the legislation that brought it into existence as a preparedness and defense measure on March 28, 1917. It concerned itself mainly with establishment of home guard. Governor William D. Stephens appointed all of the original members of the San José unit—Superior Judge Perley F. Gosbey, County Supervisor Henry M. Ayer, Sheriff Arthur B. Langford, and District Attorney Arthur M. Free.

The war spirit was whipped up by loyalty parades and every kind of demonstration and gathering conceivable. But with the outbreak of actual hostilities, it exceeded all bounds. Edith Daley's *War History of Santa Clara County*, compiled while the war was going on, noted that "Local regiments were forming." City Manager Thomas H. Reed took the lead in organizing the San José Home Guard, which

was to take the place of Companies B and M "while our boys are away." San José High School organized a uniformed cadet Corps.

Meanwhile, the Government urgently needed \$3,505,517,000 for the Army and Navy during the first year, and it was up to San José to help raise that amount. This was to be done all over the nation by staging Liberty Loan drives to sell Government securities known as Liberty Bonds.

At this point, the War Work Council and the Women's Mobilized Army swung into action, prepared to take care of every home front detail necessary to win the war. Dr. W. C. Bailey of San José served as chairman of the War Work Council, with A. D. Curtner as secretary, and E. H. Foster as executive secretary. Mrs. L. T. Smith and Mrs. D. A. Beattie of San José commanded the 14,000 member Women's Mobilized Army—Mrs. Smith as colonel, and Mrs. Beattie as lieutenant colonel.

Their main task was to stage four Liberty Loan drives, topped off by a Victory Loan campaign. The first two Liberty Loan drives took place in June and November, 1917; the last two, in May and October, 1918. The Victory Loan drive, staged for the purpose of "bringing the boys home," got under way in April, 1919. San José oversubscribed its quota in every one of them by a wide margin. But it was not always easy.

Just before the fourth Liberty Bond drive began, the 1918 prune crop was caught on the drying ground trays by an unseasonable storm that drenched the Santa Clara Valley with six inches of rain in three days. This disaster, causing a loss of millions of dollars, adversely affected every community in the county. Yet the Liberty Bond sales went over the top with flying colors. The Victory Loan drive, staged after the war's end, presented a different kind of problem. The directors feared that a sizable segment of the public felt that it was being "bond and fund 'drived" to death. The war is over—let's get on to the pursuits of peace."

This apprehension was unfounded. The consolidated reserve powers of the War Work Council and Women's Mobilized Army, plus the energy of their

Four Minute Speakers and the enthusiasm generated by a gigantic Victory parade, clinched the hoped-for oversubscription.

The Four Minute Speakers were specially effective speakers, capable of delivering their Victory Loan exhortations in four minutes. They showed up at theatres, public meetings of every kind, baseball games, lodges and clubs, and everywhere else they could obtain a "spot on the program." And because they stuck to four minutes, they received rousing support.

Concurrently with all the bond drives, the sale of War Thrift Stamps constituted another Government means of raising money. These stamps were printed in denominations small enough to permit children and persons of limited means to buy them and, at some future date, draw interest on their investment.

In conjunction with the foregoing bond campaigns and stamp sales, San José found time to stage Red Cross, Christmas Cheer, Knights of Columbus, Belgian Relief, Allied Relief, and "7 in 1" drives.

The "7 in 1" got its name from the following seven war work organizations: Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., National Catholic War Council, Knights of Columbus, War Camp Community Service, Jewish Welfare Board, Salvation Army, and American Library Association. Its sole purpose was to keep up morale by making life "more endurable" for "the boys at the front." Nationwide, it represented 15,000 uniformed workers who every week gathered and shipped 500 tons of supplies to the war zone.

Keeping up the morale at home as well as the war front was not overlooked in San José at any time between the beginning and end of the war. Band and drum corps practice could be heard at almost any hour of the day. Professor Samuel J. Mustol of the University of Santa Clara's Music Department took his fife and two drummer boys for parade practice along Bascom Avenue between Santa Clara's Poplar Street and San José's Naglee Avenue at every opportunity. War gardens for growing food supplies came in for a large amount of attention from the United States Food Administrator Herbert C. Hoover. "Food will win the war; don't waste it" was the slogan. The

Government urged the killing of ground squirrels and other crop destroying rodents as "agents of the enemy."

Printing also played an important part in keeping San José's war spirit at the highest pitch. The city was abundantly plastered with Government-printed posters of all sizes for every activity. They ranged from magnificent offering of highly competent artists to amateurish productions that had yet to attain the elements of poor cartooning. Considering their abundance, a contemporary observer might suspect the printer of reaping greater profits than those of the ship builder and munitions manufacturer.

Even the *San José City Directory* "caught the fever" as the war advanced. Though compiled in 1918 and published after the Armistice, the 1919 issue placed a tiny American flag after the name of every San Joséan and Santa Clara known to be in the armed forces at the time of compilation.

In common with all the wars in history, World War I now and then brought out the worst in people—in San José as well as elsewhere. More than one suspicious San Joséan let his zeal get the better of his judgment—unfortunately for anyone whose only offense was having a Germanic name. The situation could also be embarrassing for an overgrown youngster of fifteen or sixteen years, and for visitors from neutral countries. It was not unheard-of for some well-meaning patriot to demand of them, "How come you're not in the Army? What's the matter with you? Are you a slacker?"

Throughout the entire war, service flags constituted San José's most visible and sobering symbol of what was happening. One could see them multiplying all over town—in residential windows, in display windows of stores and other business establishments, in banks, in lodges and churches, in schools and other public buildings, in industrial plants, and in all other places where they could be properly displayed.

No matter whether large or small, these banners were all of the same pattern and proportion. Every one of them had a vertically rectangular white field enclosed by a wide, deep red border on all four sides. The number of blue stars in the white field denoted the number of a home or organization's members in

the armed forces. Gold stars, replacing the blue, indicated the ones who had made the Supreme Sacrifice.

By the summer of 1918, gold stars were replacing the blue ones on the flags of the City of San José and the County of Santa Clara with disturbing frequency. But both City and County unremittingly supported their 3,109 "boys" at the front to the fullest extent until long after the Armistice of November 11 ended hostilities.

World War II

Though long identified as World War I, that conflict could be better described as European with certain world side effects. Except for three or four widely separated naval engagements, practically all the fighting took place in Europe.

If Americans learned anything from this experience, their officialdom gave little indication of it—even after the greatest recipients of American aid evaded payment of their debts. Washington seemed reluctant to study world history. The few perceptive officials who later advised avoiding a two thousand year old "bear pit" were shouted down as isolationists. Looking far into the future, they felt that the harsh conditions imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty in 1919 contained the seeds of the next war.

Those conditions stripped Germany of all territorial possessions abroad, and of the Saar Basin, Alsace-Lorraine, Posen, and parts of Schleswig and Silesia at home. They were reminiscent of a remark attributed to Mark Twain: "Show me what the victor took, and I'll show you the cause of the war."

In any event, European conditions continued from bad to worse as the cautious ones had predicted. An entirely new anti-Western power, Soviet Russia, soon threatened everything between her western line and the English Channel, and there was little that England or France or their continental allies could do about it.

Germany, in dire economic straits of Allied fashioning, was in no position to serve as an effective buffer between eastern and western Europe. Almost

dismembered, she had all she could do to maintain anything even approaching a stable government. The way was open for any charlatan "saviour" who came along, and Adolph Hitler, an Austrian paperhanger, seized the role. Taking the title of Führer, he established himself as dictator with his own Nazi (National Socialist German Workers) Party in 1933. Restoring Germany to her former pre-eminent position in world affairs with himself as dictator became his goal.

Even though he published his plans in detail, it is doubtful if many western diplomats caught their full meaning or took them seriously until it was too late. Before the westerners really knew what was going on, he had a small but exceedingly well-trained army and was in a position to flout Versailles. In January, 1936, German troops reoccupied the Rhineland, and eleven months later, Germany, Japan, and Italy signed an "Anti-Comintern Pact" against Communism.

German annexation of Austria came in March, 1938. Sudeten, Bohemia, Moravia and Czecho-Slovakia quickly followed. Turning his attention eastward in the spring of 1939, Hitler seized Memel and made stiff demands on Poland regarding Danzig and the "Polish Corridor."

Meanwhile, an alarmed England had unsuccessfully sought to deal with Hitler through Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. President Franklin D. Roosevelt of the United States, likewise seeking a "peaceful solution" of the problem, had no better luck with either Hitler or Italy's fascist dictator Benito Mussolini.

On March 31, 1939, England and France, now thoroughly aroused, pledged aid not only to Poland if its independence was endangered, but also to Greece and Rumania. They little realized how soon they would have to keep that pledge. On April 7, Italy invaded Albania. This torch, though not yet applied to the rest of Europe, was a grim threat.

Again, President Roosevelt vainly sought a peaceful solution by appealing to President Moschiki of Poland and King Victor Emmanuel of Italy. Hitler restated German grievances, but denied war-like in-

tentions. The value of his word was demonstrated on May 22, when he signed a military pact with Italy. And on August 23, he signed a neutrality pact with Russia, guaranteeing non-intervention in event of either's being attacked by another power. Poland, thus threatened, decreed partial mobilization on August 31. The next day, Hitler's army, the most efficient war machine Europe had ever seen, sliced through that hapless country with startling speed.

All this maneuvering, though seemingly extraneous to America, had a profound effect on San José. France and England promptly declared war on Germany and Italy, and German wrath turned westward. A spearhead of Panzer tank divisions literally tore through Holland, Belgium, and France's antiquated border fortresses known as the Maginot Line. Air fleets, largely made up of Stuka dive bombers, let go with cloudbursts of death and destruction from the skies. France was beaten and out of the war before she really discovered what had happened. The English retreated from Dunkirk.

Had he pursued this advantage, Hitler could easily have crossed the channel to invade an unprepared England. But, for some unknown reason, he stopped at tidewater—his first tactical error. It gave the English an opportunity to rally their defenses.

By the end of 1940, Germany had seized Norway, invaded the Balkans, and signed a military pact with Italy and Japan, forming an alliance known as The Axis. England, seeking to aid Greece, landed forces in the eastern Mediterranean. Between November, 1940, and February, 1941, British forces defeated the Italian navy and took up strong positions in North Africa to face a counter offensive by Germany's General Erwin Rommel.

With Hitler's invasion of Russia in June, 1941, and Japan's conquest of Indo-China the following month, the war assumed a global scale, and the virus began to take hold in the United States. Simultaneously with Germany's failure to "soften" Britain by air bombardment in September, 1940, the United States passed its first peace time conscription act. This act, extended in 1941, required all Americans between the ages of 21 and 35 to register for military draft, intended to train 1,200,000 troops and 800,000

reserves. The nation had no intention of being caught short of men in event of a second large scale war.

While the United States had no reason to enter the European theatre of war, American relations with Japan, an Axis ally, steadily worsened. The crisis came on December 7, 1941, when a Japanese air fleet destroyed nineteen United States Navy ships lying at anchor in Honolulu's Pearl Harbor. The United States declared war on Japan the next day, and three days after that, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States. A *real* world war was under way.

San José became a center of military activity almost overnight. The war broke out at 10:05 a.m., PST, on Sunday, and five hours later, the city's defense council went into action. Guarding bridges, railroad yards, and key industrial plants got under way by early evening. By midnight, a telephone switchboard had been installed to establish communication between the city and the Army command. Nervous citizens swamped the authorities with reports of "strange" airplanes and "suspicious" looking persons.

In the course of its regular weekly meeting on Monday evening, the 8th, the City Council played to a packed house. One of the main items on the agenda was preservation of the community's Chinese Joss House as an historic landmark, but it lost out to the topic of the day. The Council was too busy receiving suggestions, official and otherwise, on how to run the war locally. A member of a local horsemen's group urged deputizing members of his cowboy-costumed organization as a posse to round up all Japanese wherever dispersed. A calmer citizen in the crowd observed, "The people were so jittery that if anyone had popped a paper bag, half the town would have broken their damned necks diving into the same manhole."

Sunnyvale's multimillion-dollar Moffett Field (United States Naval Air Station), which passed from Navy to Army command in 1935, witnessed its greatest activity to date. Four months after the outbreak of hostilities, it returned to Navy control, a change necessitated by the war in the Pacific.

Meanwhile, Major General Robert C. Richardson's Seventh Army had established headquarters in

San José, taking over the entire ten-story Commercial Building at 28 North First Street. Soldiers could be seen on almost every street in town. Besides those stationed here, they came from San Francisco Presidio, Moffett Field, Fort Ord, and other Central Coast posts. And as time passed, an increasing number of sailors and marines appeared among them.

The preponderance of these men were far from home with time on their hands. Even before the United States entered the war, San Joséans formed a United Service Organization (U.S.O.) to provide recreational facilities for them. Labor and materials were donated for construction of a reception and recreational center, doubled in size, in 1945 at the south end of The Plaza. There, under direction of Mrs. Mark Rifenbark, more than 1,000,000 service men received free sandwiches, coffee, milk, fruit, candy, cookies, and cakes from 102 different women's organizations between 1941 and 1946. Turkey, with "all the fixin's," was served each year at Thanksgiving and Christmas. More than half a ton of it was served in 1945 alone. Somewhere in town, a dance endorsed or sponsored by the U.S.O. took place every night of the week. About 1,500 of them were chaperoned by senior hostesses who donated some 20,000 hours of their time.

Free overnight lodgings were provided for 258,109 service men by private families, and such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., C.W.C., Salvation Army, and Jewish Community Center. Mrs. Raymond B. Leland, Miss Ella Holtz, and Miss Verda Brown, serving as full time U.S.O. hostesses, did their best to provide "the boys with a home away from home." David Bunker of the plumbers' union took care of all physical facilities of the U.S.O. House, making sure everything remained in good working order. Banker Fred Oehler served as treasurer to keep it "out of the red."

Registering and drafting men for the armed forces and the rationing of fuels, tires, and foodstuffs brought volunteer boards into existence all over the nation. San José's draft board was largely made up of former service men who knew all the excuses of draft evaders. This city therefore contributed its full share of the nation's first registration of 16,400,000 men.

Operators of automotive equipment of all kinds were subject to gasoline and tire rationing and, therefore, answerable to their local rationing boards. A farmer, operating a tractor or automobile in agricultural production, had no trouble getting all the gas he needed. A motorist engaged in defense work could also obtain a generous supply, and anyone in public service likewise fared well. But an ordinary motorist found himself severely restricted to a very few gallons. A stamp in the lower right corner of his windshield indicated how many gallons he could buy at a time. He had only so many coupons in his rationing book, and if he exceeded his quota, he was out of luck until the next issue.

Rainy days brought much sharp comment from ordinary motorists. It seemed to them that "every farmer in the country" came to town to drive up and down the streets for pleasure. "Why in the devil don't they stay home instead of burning up all that gas?" many a short-rationed town driver asked. "They ought to be repairing their equipment or doing other farm work that can be handled in bad weather."

Rationing of meat, butter, and sugar affected every household in the nation. Travel by train or bus was likewise subject to war conditions to provide space for service men. The American people learned the meaning of regulation.

Even mail service came under more than mere censorship. Parents, writing to sons or daughters overseas, addressed their letters to some domestic armed force post office (A.P.O.) instead of to some specific foreign point. Overseas mail from those same sons and daughters used the same system. As a result, no parent on this side of either ocean knew exactly where a son or daughter was stationed. Combatting enemy espionage was given as one reason for this type of mail service.

The burden of patrolling such sensitive installations as war industries, railroad facilities, water reservoirs, plus aiding in keeping the peace generally, called for organizing and training an auxiliary civilian police force. These men, uniformed and armed, remained on call "for duration."

Other civil defense features include installation of warning sirens in various parts of the city to signal

air raids and blackouts. The newspapers published many pages of instructions on what to do in event of either. They also published a full page map of San José, showing the city divided into some 140 precincts, each with the name and address of its captain. And the precincts, in turn, were divided into blocks, each with a block warden whose photo was published in the papers so residents of his block could know him.

On May 15, 1942, an Act of Congress enabled the armed forces to take on innovations that perhaps had their inspiration in the Yeomanettes, a non-combatant women's outfit attached to the Navy during World War I. The World War II Act permitted women to enlist for non-combatant duties in no less than five branches of the service. The best known were the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAACS) and the Women Appointed for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES). The Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS), *Semper Paratus* Always Ready Service (SPARS), and Women's Reserve of the Marine Corps did not match the first two in numbers, but each performed a much needed service.

Dissemination of news had also changed between World War I and World War II. All methods of communication had greatly improved during the interim. During World War I, San Joséans had to depend on newspapers, wireless and wired telegraphy, and published photographs for news. During the second conflict, they could see and hear what happened as it was happening—allowing, of course, for a certain amount of security censorship. Transcontinental telephoto arrived in 1925. Sound movies made their debut in 1926, and were old hat by 1930. Commercial television arrived in 1941, cutting into a field long monopolized by radio. Together, they did more than anything else to eliminate newspaper "extras" and the leather-lunged boys who sold them on the streets.

Financing the war, however, proceeded about the same as in 1917 and 1918. The first bond campaign, known as the Victory Pledge, got under way on April 23, 1942, with the motto of "Back Our Boys." Others followed in relatively quick succession. The *Mercury* of January 19, 1944, noted the fourth one. Meanwhile—early as July 1942—Boy Scouts actively participated in the war effort, carrying placards

urging the public to buy War Bonds and War Stamps.

It seemed for a while that there was no end of appeals to the citizenry's patriotism via the pocket-book. And the city always came through in fine fashion, but not without an occasional note of criticism. Economy-minded City Manager Clarence Goodwin was severely roasted because the first thirty days of war had almost exhausted the City's emergency fund, which had been provided by a pre-war budget.

Speaking to the San José Kiwanis Club on September 28, 1942, sociology professor Claude N. Settles of San José State College condemned the evacuation of Japanese from California's coastal area on August 30. He said it "violated the principles of American democracy." He was sure that Japanese-Americans were "just as loyal Americans as anybody could wish." "If military authorities," he continued, "have the right to move American citizens from one section of the country, the right conceivably might be extended to second or third generation Germans and Italians, even to members of minority political parties." His last statement caused a newswriter to ask, "How about the G.O.P.?", for at that time the Republicans, far outnumbered by the Democrats, were indeed a minority party.

Settles further rapped the manner in which California's Japanese citizens were wrongfully deprived of their lands and possessions and, if paid at all, received only from five to forty cents on the dollar. But by that time, the Japanese had been gone almost a month, and it is doubtful if many of his audience considered his talk any more than a mere point of view.

In the meantime, nothing was overlooked to keep the war at fever pitch. Defense literature confronted the reader everywhere. Newspapers instructed the public on the use of gas masks; housewives learned the nature of bombs and what to do in event of an air raid. Scrap metal drives accounted for huge piles of cans and other metal objects at designated collection points. It was even suggested that the public use horse-drawn vehicles to conserve gasoline for the war effort.

This last item inspired antique collector Lewis D. ("Trader Lew") Bohnett, Jr., to round up ten old

crowbait and five ancient two-horse hacks for the purpose of replacing gas-consuming taxicabs. Twenty years later, he still chuckled on thinking of his advantage over the cabs, afforded by a couple of antiquated ordinances still on the City books. "A business license for a one-horse hack," he said, "cost \$5.00; for a two-horse hack, \$7.50. On the other hand, a taxicab license cost \$300. The taxicab companies howled their heads off—but there was the ordinance."

The second ordinance, framed as horseless carriages were just coming into use, gave horse drawn vehicles the right of way under all conditions. This not only proved a timesaver for Bohnett at intersections, but also protected him in event of a collision with an automotive vehicle of any kind.

Bohnett's venture soon disappeared into the historical background as one of San José's "lighter moments" of the period. American participation in the war was approaching three-and-a-half years when electrifying news came. The Germans, surrounded and whipped on every front, surrendered on May 7, 1945, and twenty-four hours later, the United States celebrated V E Day.

In the Far East, however, the war continued. On August 6, the United States, waging a gigantic air offensive, dropped the world's first atomic bomb upon the Japanese military base and city of Hiroshima. A second bomb, dropped upon the great naval base at Nagasaki, hastened the war to an end. With most of her navy and other shipping at the bottom of the ocean, and her cities at the mercy of the most diabolical weapon ever invented by man, Japan gave up. On August 14, she accepted the Allies' terms of surrender. The next day was accordingly designated V J Day.

San Joséans watched interestedly as Soviet Russia declared war on Japan only six days before the big conflict ended—presumably for political and territorial advantage. But to all intent and purposes, the war was over. Clearing the wreckage and paying the bill were all that remained.

With a total of 12,466,000 men in her armed forces, the United States' losses came to 322,188 dead and 700,000 wounded. Of that total in all branches of service Santa Clara County contributed 2,949, more

than half of whom were from San José. And among those decorated for heroism and outstanding service beyond the call of duty was Carlos Ogden who received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

As an aftermath or inheritance of World War II, the United States got involved in two more Asian conflicts. The first came through American efforts to maintain peace and order in divided and strife-torn Korea, formerly occupied by the Japanese. The second occurred in the once French controlled Indo-China, later known as Vietnam. Neither found any great enthusiasm in the United States, and of the two, the Vietnam affair was by far the more unpopular. The American public had almost had its fill of war for some time to come.

Both Korea and Vietnam were about equally divided into pro- and anti-Communist factions. The southern halves of both countries were anti-Communist. The northern halves, aided by Soviet Russian and Communist China, were bent on "liberating" the southern halves. And the United States, as a member of the United Nations, entered the fight to discourage such wars of "liberation."

South and North Korea organized their respective governments in the summer of 1948. Two years later, the North Koreans, ignoring a United Nations order to cease fire, invaded South Korea, seizing Seoul, the capital. This brought the United States into a war that cost 22,556 American dead and 92,933 wounded by the end of 1952. It also got Communist China into the conflict and resulted in General Douglas MacArthur's recall for crossing into North Korean territory above the 38th parallel contrary to orders.

After the United Nations had repulsed and shoved the North Koreans back to their own country with heavy losses, both sides decided to "talk it over." Armistice negotiations, begun at Kaesong on July 10, 1951, were concluded on July 27, 1953. Save for an occasional disturbing but non-conflagrational incident, Chinese troops remained in North Korea long after the cease fire order, and Americans did likewise in South Korea.

Meanwhile, France, faced with the explosive Vietnam situation, had given up. In 1950, that coun-

WAR

try's monarchical southern half, became South Vietnam, a nation in its own right. In extending aid to this new country in 1954, the United States incurred the enmity of North Vietnam, and was presently engaged in a full-scale war under the most disadvantageous jungle conditions.

This war dragged on for years with little hope of a let-up. The year 1965 saw the United States carrying the major load of air and ground attack. Between

1961 and 1967 alone, 8,560 Americans died in battle, with the number of wounded and missing in action increasing daily.

The exact number of San Joséans who participated in the Korean and Vietnam conflicts by land and sea has yet to be determined. But an unsettling idea of the number of men who came home in flag-draped coffins may be obtained by a stroll through any San José or Santa Clara Cemetery.



The local militia company drills on San José's Market Street, just south of Santa Clara Street, about 1860. The uniforms were Mexican War vintage. The first building on the right appears to have been one of the several successively occupied by the San José *Telegraph*, predecessor of the *Mercury*. Next in line to the left, stood the Empire Market and, beyond it, H. Hyman's San Francisco Store, which dispensed wines and liquors.

Philip John Langensee, shown here, was one of San José's greatest wood carvers. He was born in Germany in 1834, studied wood carving in Switzerland, and came to New York at the age of 18 with his parents and five sisters. While living in New York, he joined the First Regiment of the New York State militia, and during the Civil War he attained the rank of second lieutenant in Co. H, 6th California Infantry. Because Langensee loved the soil, he acquired land in the Berryessa District in hope of becoming a wealthy farmer. But he was unquestionably a greater success as a wood carver.





San José's Co. B parades on its way to the Spanish-American War in 1899. Capt. Herbert L. Partridge, prominent San José lawyer, marches on the far right. Next to him is Sgt. Clarence M. Stout, San José letter carrier. After swinging around the south side of the 1887 San José City Hall (in the background), they marched via San Antonio Street to First Street, and thence to the Southern Pacific depot at First and Bassett Streets. Besides Partridge and Stout, Co. B included such other well-known San Joséans as Howell D. Melvin, Leonard M. Farrell, and Gary L. Holtum. Farrell later became a brigadier general.



This old photo shows San José furniture dealer William Davis Loudon (center, with grandson Roy on his knee) proudly posing with his family in about 1896. One glance at the ladies' sleeves reveals why many women of that era boasted of having "yards and yards of material" in their dresses. Neat mustaches and haircuts suggest the men's radical departure from the "bearded heroes" of a decade or two earlier. Loudon was a Civil War veteran who had been left partially crippled when his horse was shot out from under him during a battle charge. Apparently, the horse fell on top of him. Loudon and his family later moved to San José where he opened a first-class furniture store. He later turned to dealing in second-hand furniture, and became a monied businessman.

"It's a Long Way to Tipperary" was a popular song on both sides of the Atlantic during World War I. Americans sang it as enthusiastically as any Britisher.



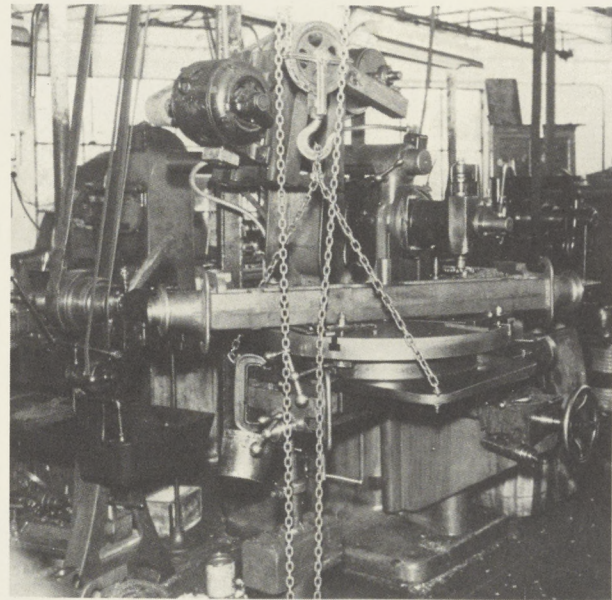
Native San Joséan Clifton C. Cottrell piloted an observation plane with the 91st Aero Squadron during World War I. Shot down three times, he escaped unwounded to return to San José. He became a State Assemblyman and a prominent attorney who distinguished himself as a leader of many civic and fraternal organizations.



O'Connor Hospital nurses march for returning World War I veterans in this "Welcome Home" parade in 1919.



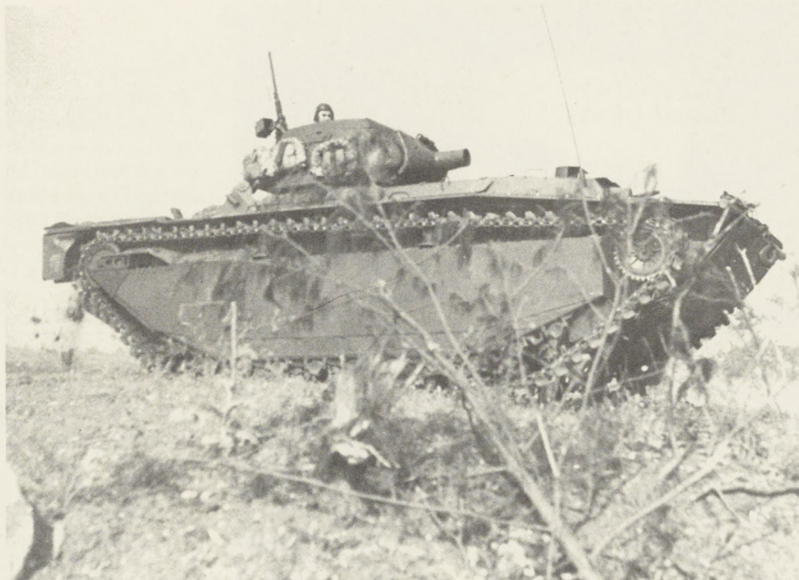
San José's Congressional Medal of Honor Winner, Carlos Odgen, received the nation's highest decoration for single-handedly knocking out a German 88mm gun and two machine guns while he himself was badly wounded. His heroic leadership and indomitable courage in alone silencing the enemy weapons inspired his men to greater effort and cleared the way for the company to continue the advance and reach its objectives. This occurred on the morning of June 25th, 1944, near Cherbourg, France.



Winning World War II was an all-out effort by all segments of society. The manufacturing community banded together to form an organization known as the San José Manufacturers. One of the contracts they received was to build gun carriages for the popular artillery gun, the one-o-five. Here in 1943, the shaft is being turned in the Oliver Johnson Machine Shop. *(photo courtesy of Oliver Johnson, a U. S. Signal Corps photo)*



The United States had hardly entered World War II in December, 1941, when San José became the Northern California headquarters for the Fourth Army, commanded by Major General Robert C. Richardson. Soldiers could be seen everywhere in town at almost any hour of the day or night, especially coming in and out of the Commercial Building on North First Street, which had been taken over by the Army. Here we see a bit of Army transportation participating in one of the numerous patriotic parades of the day. The men in the back seat are General Richardson and City Councilman Harry A. Young.



Troops advance and deliver fire in a FMC-produced AM track at Okinawa during World War II.



Capt. Francis Fox, U.S. Marine Corps flight instructor, served aboard the USS Guadalcanal during World War II. Fox later became San José's Airport Manager and popular City Manager.

SAN JOSE BUSINESS

IN THE VALLEY OF HEARTS DELIGHT

Published by the San Jose Chamber of Commerce

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JANUARY, 1944

San Jose, California

S. J. Manufacturers, Inc., Terminated

In Brief

Work Pile Plan Ready to Start

Local Contractors Complete Contract for War Department

Manager Russell E. Pettit is a firm believer in the axiom that it's the early bird who gets the worm. This month he appeared before the Mountain View Breakfast Club which meets at 7:30 a. m., told them an interesting story about Santa Clara county's industrial program, and left the early there well satisfied with the progress of the campaign today. Accompanying Pettit on his early morning jaunt was Francis Fox, head of that unit who has prepared the series of advertisements appearing in the national Business magazine.

Under the authority of the War Relocation Authority, the Chamber of Commerce, organized 15 months ago, is ready to step into a well coordinated campaign to provide work for returning service men and facilitate post-war business generally.

Do removal of the contract is contemplated and the company will value its building by March 1. Majority of the 60 men and women employed have already gone to other war jobs.

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A hot news item in *San José Business* for January, 1944, made interesting reading during World War II.



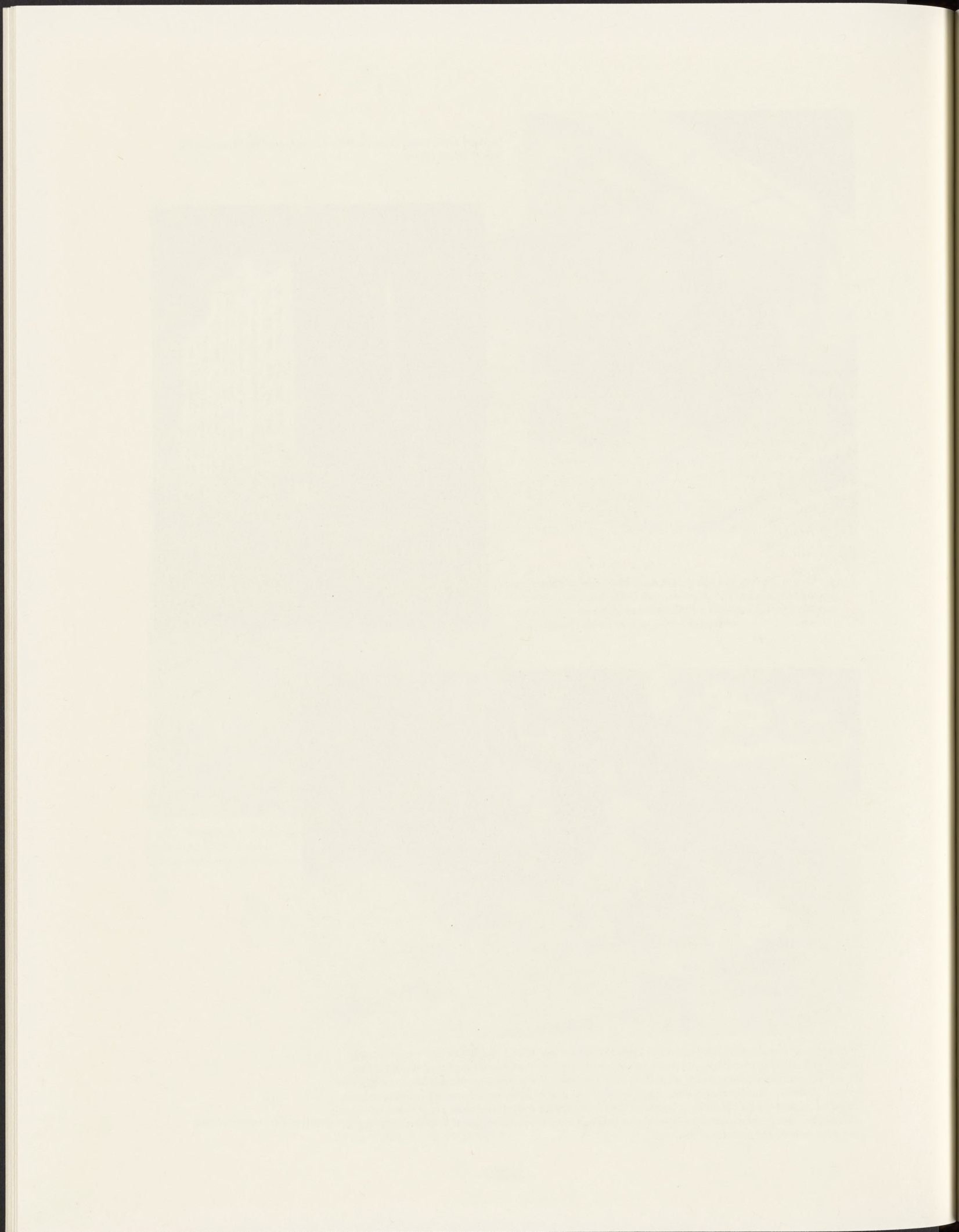
Leonard McKay was a Liaison Pilot for artillery observation during World War II (1944).



During the '30s and '40s the De Anza Hotel was one of the two leading hotels in San José. Shown in this 1949 picture is the exterior on West Santa Clara Street between Notre Dame and Santa Teresa Streets. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)

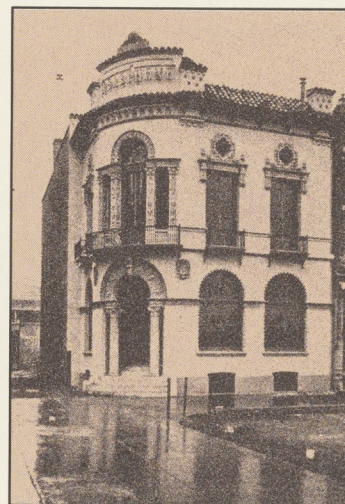


"A home away from home." Even before the United States got into World War II, San José was overrun by soldiers and sailors from military posts and naval bases throughout the Central Coast area. The USO Hut shown here was nearing completion when this photo was taken. It was built by volunteer labor working with donated materials, and operated by volunteer feminine help. Here, lonesome or homesick members of our armed forces could find a homelike atmosphere, obtain free snacks and refreshments, enjoy abundant reading material, post letters, and make arrangements for lodgings, entertainment programs, and dances as long as they were stationed or on leave in this area.



17

COMMUNICATION





Mail Communications

Common communication has taken several forms in the Santa Clara Valley. There is some question as to whether the Indians of this region used smoke signals as did those of the Great Plains. Likewise, little is known of their runner or messenger system, though they communicated and traded with distant tribes with whom they were friendly.

On the other hand, the Spaniards established a courier system almost the instant they settled in any particular locality. It was not the most efficient system in the world, but if the occasion demanded, it at least enabled missions and other outposts to keep in touch with central authority by something faster than infrequent arrivals of coastal ships. Thus in 1775, the fathers at Mission San Gabriel quickly learned of an Indian uprising at San Diego, more than a hundred miles away. In the same manner, those at Mission San Juan Capistrano learned of Junipero Serra's death at Carmel's Mission San Carlos Borromeo within a relatively few hours after it occurred. The priest in charge of each mission along the way carefully noted the courier's arrival and promptly jotted down the time the news was delivered.

This mail system was intended to be on something akin to a monthly basis, but occasionally six months would elapse between letters—as happened during the winter of 1812-13. Now and then, a courier would gallop all the way from México not, as one observer noted, from the urgency of the mail, but because that was the way to ride. It was tough on horseflesh, but California had a superabundance of horses, providing limitless fresh mounts.

Letters—by land or sea—remained the literate *Californio's* chief mode of communication with distant countrymen throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods. In 1826, during the latter period, San José mails passed through the hands of Antonio Suñol, often credited with being the pueblo's first postmaster.

San José did not get dependable mail service, however, until April, 1847, when Captain Joseph Libby Folsom, United States Army quartermaster chief, established a weekly run between San Francisco and

Monterey. Thirty-three year old Jacob D. Hoppe, native of Maryland and overland pioneer of 1846, acted as local postmaster under this system. His little frame store building, housing the firm of Hoppe, Hawkins & Co. at what is now 66-68 South Market Street, also housed the post office.

On November 8, 1849, the United States Post Office Department in Washington gave San José an official post office, with Hoppe as postmaster in fact. Hoppe accordingly erected a new building on the northeast corner of Santa Clara and Market Streets, using bricks from the *Juzgado* of 1798, sold to him by the Common Council. He moved the post office to a rear room of this structure and continued as postmaster, assisted by John R. Wilson, Solomon A. Clark, V. Staley, and Richard B. Buckner. It is said that Hoppe's new store, "an elegant edifice," determined San José's destiny as a business community. Before commencing construction, Hoppe tossed a coin to decide between San José and Santa Clara. "Heads, San José," he said, "tails, Santa Clara." The coin came down heads.

Pioneer associates said Hoppe was so popular that if the coin had come down tails, half of San José would have followed him to Santa Clara. His untimely death in the explosion of the steamboat *Jenny Lind* three years later was regarded as a public calamity.

On selling his store to John R. Wilson and William R. Bassham in the spring of 1851, Hoppe resigned the office of postmaster. Wilson forthwith became San José's second postmaster, receiving formal appointment from President Millard Fillmore the following August 7. Wilson promptly appointed the store's bookkeeper, Solomon A. Clark, deputy postmaster. Clark soon "inherited" so many postmaster's duties that he had little time for anything else. Indeed, many of the townsfolk regarded him as postmaster, and long afterward spoke of him as such.

Both Wilson and Clark, however, had other ambitions. Wilson resigned as postmaster late in 1852, when he moved to Alviso to enter the warehousing business. Clark, born in Boston did most of his wandering in his younger days. He was living in New York in 1850, when he started for California. In 1853 he entered business on his own in San José,

COMMUNICATION

opening a store on Market Street. Later that same year, he defeated John M. Murphy for the office of County Recorder by a vote of 982 to 915. He left that office in 1857 to devote the remainder of his active life to the grocery business.

Wilson's resignation brought Arthur Shearer into office as San José's third postmaster. Shearer served only about a year, but during that time he moved the post office from the Hoppe Building to what would now be 47 West Santa Clara Street, site of the old Auzerais House. His chief concern was the monthly overland mail and weekly mail between San Francisco and Monterey.

In November, 1853, President Franklin Pierce appointed Major John Patrick, native of Arkansas and veteran of the Mexican War, to succeed Shearer. The records are somewhat skimpy on Patrick's term, but they show that he, too, chose a different location for the post office, moving it to the east side of First Street, facing El Dorado.

The city's fifth postmaster, Charles Ewer Allen, was also a military man. At the time he received his appointment from President Pierce on July 15, 1856, he held the rank of brigadier general in the California Militia. Allen, lawyer by profession, came from Massachusetts to California in the Gold Rush of 1849. In 1850, he became the first assessor of Santa Clara County, and occasionally substituted or served *ad interim* in one of two other offices thereafter. He moved the post office twice—first to what is now 124 West Santa Clara Street, and second to Adolph Pfister's building on the southeast corner of First and Santa Clara Streets.

Allen declined reappointment by President James Buchanan in 1860, but remained in office until President Lincoln appointed his successor, Simon M. Cutler, in July, 1861. Cutler had the honor of being San José's first Republican postmaster, his appointment ending a long unbroken line of Democrats. But in another respect he differed little from his predecessors. He, too, moved the post office—to what later became 26 South Market Street.

A merchant by vocation, Cutler disposed of his business to take charge of the post office whose increasing volume of mail demanded all of his time

and energy. He served all of Lincoln's and most of Andrew Johnson's term as President. He died in office, in 1868, leaving his brother James M. Cutler, who had been serving as deputy postmaster in charge of the office until 1869.

The next man to take charge of San José's mail service was former Justice of the Peace Charles F. Thomas, a sixty-two year old Pennsylvanian who served under President Grant. Thomas more or less distinguished himself by moving the post office to what became 32 South First Street, future site of the Tiny Building. The move, he felt, was warranted by a volume of mail whose handling required more commodious quarters. Here he stayed for the remainder of his term of office, almost directly across First Street from his old courtroom.

Thomas, who came to California in 1851, had served United States Customs Service before coming to San José. He lived only a short time after turning the post office over to his successor, E. A. Clark, M.D., in May, 1873.

Clark, native of Ohio, came to California in 1850, settling in San José the same year. To his profession of medicine, Clark added the study and practice of law. Before assuming his duties as San José Postmaster, he had served as collector of Internal Revenue, deputy Santa Clara County Recorder, and superintendent of San José's schools. On leaving the post office in 1877, he moved to San Francisco to practice medicine for three years. He then returned to San José to enter the real estate business. As the years passed, his many articles in local papers marked him as a skillful writer. His last fling in politics found him as candidate for mayor of San José in 1894, an unsuccessful venture because death overtook him shortly before election day. Early in his career as San José's postmaster, Clark could not resist following the pattern of his predecessors. He moved the post office to Hensley Block on the northwest corner of Market and Santa Clara Streets, where it remained until 1888.

Thirty-three year old Deputy Postmaster S. Brockway "Brock" Anderson succeeded Clark as postmaster, receiving his appointment from President Hayes April 4, 1877. Anderson had served as

deputy postmaster for ten years, and his appointment was considered a well-deserved "recognition of his abilities as a postal official." Unfortunately, somewhere along the line, he had stepped upon the toes—or perhaps thwarted the plans—of several of San José's most influential politicians who set out to "get" him.

When the post office moved to the Hensley Block, well before Anderson's incumbency as postmaster, several merchants of the neighborhood subscribed enough money to pay the rent of its rooms. The Government appropriation covered clerk hire and rent. Anderson used it for clerk hire and improvement of the local mail service, which the townsfolk appreciated and considered much to his credit. The politicians, however, saw an opportunity in this technicality. Their representation of the "facts" to Washington resulted in Anderson's dismissal after only one year of service. Anderson neither wished nor attempted to remove the post office to another location, thus breaking what might be described as a long established custom.

Daniel C. Bailey, also appointed by Hayes, took over in April, 1878, and was reappointed by President Arthur on August 1, 1882. When he left office on June 1, 1886, he knew he had done more to facilitate local mail delivery than all of his predecessors together. His efforts started the city's first carrier service. To accomplish this, Bailey had to persuade the Common Council to abandon the City's antiquated street numbering system, established in 1850. Numbering of north and south streets began at Rosa (now Hedding) Street and proceeded southward to Alma Street. East and west streets began at the western city limits line and proceeded eastward, reaching their highest numeral at what is now Seventeenth Street. (Those in East San José had their own system, no better than that of San José.)

In July, 1883, Bailey hit upon the idea of making First and Santa Clara Streets the datum point for the whole city. Longitudinal streets south of Santa Clara Street thus became South this or that; those north of Santa Clara Street took the "North" designation in similar manner. Lateral streets west of First Street thus became West so-and-so; those east of First Street

accordingly had the word "East" affixed to their respective names.

Carrier service closely followed the City's adoption of the new numbering system in 1884. The original four carriers—William Clark, Gerhardus De Wit, George Scott, and Herbert R. Tripp had their ranks increased to seven.

These and six clerks eliminated the townsfolk's traipsing down to a peripatetic post office to pick up mail.

Bailey's success in this matter undoubtedly stemmed from his understanding of politics and wide experience in dealing with the public. Born in Maine in 1830, he received a good education before heading for California when he tried his luck for a year or two in the Yuba and American River gold diggings. In 1853 he came to the Santa Clara Valley for a year of ranching, followed by a period of steamboating on the Sacramento River and San Francisco Bay. He next took employment with San Francisco & San José Railroad, but restless as ever, he stayed with the railroad only three and a half years, then entered the grain business for a similar period.

Bailey's formal entry into active politics on the Republican ticket came in 1871 with his election to the office of County Recorder. He defeated his Democratic opponent John R. Wilson, and next won the office of County Treasurer in 1873. A two year term in each office was all he wished, however. During the half decade preceding his appointment as postmaster, he served as secretary of the Felton & Santa Cruz Railroad Co. and as manager of the Monterey branch of the San José Farmers' Union, tapering off with a venture into real estate. On leaving the post office, he reentered the real estate business. The Democrats returned to power with inauguration of President Grover Cleveland in March, 1886. Three months later, on June 1, Cleveland appointed Samuel Hopkins Wagener postmaster of San José.

Wagener, born in Penn Yan, New York, in 1832, came to California in 1855, where he tried his luck in the gold diggings before entering other pursuits. The year 1857 found him in Petaluma, as a druggist, and

COMMUNICATION

in 1864 he returned to Michigan to open a drug store in Muskegon.

Though Muskegon was a Republican stronghold, Wagener, a Democrat, became its city treasurer and, later, mayor. He could have remained in the latter office indefinitely, but the pull of California was irresistible. In 1877 he returned to the West Coast and opened a drug store at 89 North First Street in San José, where he resided the rest of his life.

Most San Joséans regarded Wagener's appointment as postmaster a disappointment to the politicians, but an excellent one for the service. He invariably appointed his clerks and carriers on the merit basis, thereby anticipating Civil Service. He did, however, move the post office to Maurice O'Brien's new building on the northeast corner of First and San Antonio Streets, its final location before moving into a genuine Government-owned post office building in 1895. Wagener's gregarious affability made him an exceedingly popular man. He actively participated in the affairs of several civic and fraternal organizations, finding time in his busy life to become Grand Commander of the Knights Templar of California.

The national political complexion changed again in 1888 with Benjamin Harrison's election to the presidency. On May 1, 1890, the president appointed a Republican physician, Thomas Kelley, postmaster of San José; and Kelley promptly appointed his son, A. M. Kelley, assistant postmaster.

Dr. Kelley, native of Illinois and Civil War veteran, came to Santa Clara County in 1871. During his term as postmaster, the San José office entered the first class category, with annual receipts exceeding \$40,000. Also, President Harrison extended Civil Service rules to the nation's free delivery offices in January, 1893, thereby shielding all employees from evils of the spoils system. For Kelley, Harrison's Civil Service rules were unnecessary. As did his more recent predecessors, he had neither hired nor fired personnel on the basis of political persuasion.

Kelley became the first San José postmaster to shoulder the burden of a construction project. Prior to his appointment, San José's post office had always occupied rented quarters. But when Thomas J. Clunie

was running for Congress in 1888, he promised the people of San José that if they elected him, he would get them a post office building of their own. Clunie kept his promise. On April 28, 1890, Congress approved an appropriation of \$200,000 for construction of a magnificent structure that would house not only the San José Post Office, but also other local agencies of the Government. Of this amount, \$39,454.67 went for the building site—a 137.84 by 138.31 foot lot on the southeast corner of Market and San Fernando Streets, purchased on December 24, 1890. The remaining \$160,545.33 covered construction and incidental costs.

In accordance with a contract let on May 9, 1892, construction commenced under supervision of Wiloughby J. Edbrooke, Treasury Department Architect. Completion of the preliminary work permitted laying of the cornerstone by the Masonic Lodge on November 16. Thereafter, great blocks of brown sandstone from the Goodrich Quarry (now called Greystone Quarry) eight miles south of town began to give the building its shape and color. A spired clock tower soon boasted a giant three-faced timepiece whose strike bell could be heard far beyond the city limits. The building was completed and occupied February 1, 1895. Its total cost, including land and furniture, came to \$178,306.88, leaving \$21,693.12 of the total appropriation of \$200,000.00 unspent.

Dr. Kelley, who served as Treasury disbursing agent for construction, did not have the honor of occupying the new edifice as postmaster. Shortly before completion, the political complexion of the nation again changed. Grover Cleveland returned to the presidency, and, on August 24, 1894, Democrat John W. Ryland became postmaster. Ryland, lawyer by profession, was the first native San Joséan to become postmaster of his home city. An alumnus of Santa Clara College (now University) and Hastings College of the Law, he understood politics and had twice run for high public office. Yet he reputedly had never solicited the office of postmaster.

With John L. Kelly as his assistant, Ryland assumed the task of completely reorganizing the San José office. Because the eight hour law governing carrier's time had never been strictly enforced, carriers

had been doing much of the office's clerical work. As a result, departmental orders stopping this practice taxed Ryland's resourcefulness to the utmost.

Within a short time, however, he had changed carrier routes and shifted clerical duties to where they belonged, making for an all around improvement in service. Among other things, his speeded up system, provided delivery of afternoon mail from San Francisco an hour earlier than in the past. Memory of this excellent service has since evoked severe criticism from old-timers who opposed the present one-delivery-a-day system.

Inauguration of Ohio's Republican William McKinley as president in 1897 brought another change of postmasters for San José. In February, 1899, he appointed Major William G. Hawley postmaster to succeed Ryland.

Born in Leicester, England, in 1846, Hawley came to the United States in 1861, and in 1864, he enlisted in the Union Army for Civil War service with a Wisconsin regiment. On leaving the army, Hawley went to work as a bookkeeper for the City of Milwaukee, and by 1872 he had shifted to real estate, which business he was following when he moved to Hanford, California, in 1883. He continued in the real estate business after moving to San José in 1886.

Hawley actively participated in veterans' affairs as long as he was able to get around, belonging to no less than four G.A.R. posts, holding high rank in most of them. And when not attending G.A.R. meetings, he had three other reasons for going out evenings. He belonged to San José Lodge No. 10, F.&A.M., and its concordant Howard Chapter and San José Commandery.

Though San José's population increased a few thousand between 1890 and 1900, Hawley hardly found his official duties overly arduous. Rebuilding portions of the Post Office after the great earthquake of 1906 probably constituted his most demanding emergency. President Theodore Roosevelt reappointed him in 1903, making it possible for him to remain in office until his death, September 4, 1912—well into the administration of Republican President William Howard Taft. John R. Chace, San José agent

for the Union Ice Co. and Associated Oil Co., then took over as postmaster for the remainder of 1912 and most of 1913.

Chace had hardly taken office, when the Washington tenure of the Republican Party ended. Woodrow Wilson, elected on the Democratic ticket in 1912, was inaugurated President in March, 1913. The following July, he replaced Chace with Byron Millard, local book and stationery dealer, who assumed his duties on August 1.

Millard held the office for nine years, his terms including the entire World War I period, when he concurrently served as Federal Fuel Administrator for the San José area. Always friendly and affable, he was generally described as "our popular postmaster." Had he held office a generation later, he would have been regarded as an excellent public relations man for the Government. He enthusiastically participated in civic affairs and, as noted elsewhere, accompanied the first pouch of air mail sent from the Santa Clara Valley. Millard's airmail venture won him the honor of being the nation's first "flying postmaster." He was four years ahead of a Michigan postmaster who erroneously claimed the honor on the basis of a flight made in 1924.

Another turn of the political wheel brought the Republicans back to power in 1920. Warren Gamaliel Harding, elected President that November, took office in March, 1921. On June 19, 1922, Millard returned the post office keys to John R. Chace from whom he had received them in 1913.

Chace's Democratic critics—and perhaps a few others—felt that he lacked the warm personality that characterized Millard. Certain of them regarded him as the "all-important type of business man." The really caustic ones believed he owed his appointment to his close friendship with Congressman Arthur M. Free. When Chace took office in 1922, San José had about 42,000 inhabitants. At the time of his death on September 2, 1931, the number had increased to 60,000. Though this growth did not match the highly accelerated pace of that following World War II, it had taxed the capacity of the 1892 Post Office building, which had already been enlarged. Also, a fast

COMMUNICATION

increasing number of delivery trucks demanded a bigger loading platform and more parking space.

Providing these sorely needed improvements meant an entirely new post office in a more spacious location. Chace's death in 1931 shifted this burden to his son, John Derrol Chace.

Derrol, as San Joséans knew the son, had long worked with his father in the business world. When the father was agent for the Associated Oil Co., Derrol was assistant agent. In the post office, he served under his father as assistant postmaster. He thus became San José's third postmaster to cope with the problems of a building program, which, incidentally took place during the Democratic administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

To clear the Department's newly acquired \$150,000 site for a \$308,000 structure on the northwest corner of First and St. John Streets, the big St. James Hotel and several small buildings to the south had to be razed in 1932. John R. Chace's downtown Associated Oil Co. office occupied one of the latter.

The new office, occupied in 1934, devoted its lower floor solely to post office use. The upper floor accommodated the Department of Internal Revenue, Agricultural Extension Service, F.B.I., various armed forces recruiting offices, and such other agencies as could find room there.

The new building's location on North First Street eliminated the need for the nearby branch post office—Station A—on the same street. The public could be better served in every respect by the main office. Postmaster Derrol Chace saw the new office's building program through to completion. Though a strong Republican, he stayed with the new establishment long enough to see it become a smooth running operation. Then, in January, 1937, he resigned.

If Chace had not forced the issue by resigning, he might have remained in office indefinitely because local Democrats could not agree on any one of several prospects to succeed him. He served all through President Franklin Roosevelt's first term and two months past that official's reelection in 1936. Under existing conditions, he therefore stood unique among San José postmasters.

The Democrats finally approved Joseph A. Chargin, Jr., son of a Dalmatian immigrant. Young Chargin, who took office in January, 1937, had acquired considerable experience in various fields. He probably learned something of the restaurant business from his father. He graduated from the University of Santa Clara with a degree in civil engineering, and attained the rank of first lieutenant in the United States Army during World War I. His preference for agriculture and horticulture, however, cut short his engineering career. At the time he was appointed postmaster, he was generally regarded as a rancher.

San José, boasting about 65,000 inhabitants when Chargin took office, still had not begun the phenomenal growth characteristic of more recent years. By 1940, its population had increased to only 68,457, which placed no great strain on local post office facilities. Even during the World War II years, the town's growth followed what might be termed a normal pattern—to 76,500 by 1944, and 95,044 by 1950. Then came its unprecedented doubling of population twice in two decades.

Chargin was in office when the number of inhabitants reached 100,000, but he had encountered rough going. The Republicans had returned to power under President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952. Adverse criticisms of San José's mail service caught governmental ears, and postal inspectors began to investigate the San José Office in 1953. On March 15, 1954, Chargin was discharged for dereliction of duty.

This turn of affairs brought Lionel J. Worden, a veteran postal employee, into office as acting postmaster the same day. The following August 20, he was appointed postmaster, and served as such until his retirement from service on August 31, 1959. Worden, who had followed his father Stephen Worden into postal service, enjoyed the distinction of becoming San José's first vocationally qualified postmaster. He had come up through the ranks, step by step, and knew every rule, regulation, and procedural article by heart. His long service as assistant postmaster merited his appointments as acting and permanent postmaster. Determination of local postal employees to have a qualified nonpolitical postmaster also played an important part in his rise to the top office.

Worden, always on the job, had no trouble keeping busy. San José had already spread over the valley floor in a manner never dreamed of by pioneer settlers. New delivery routes and branch offices came into existence; regulations changed. By the time of his retirement on pension, he had seen San José's population increase to 200,000.

On September 1, 1959, one day after Worden's retirement, Joseph Pizzo, another veteran employee, became acting postmaster. Pizzo served as such only fifteen months. He could have gone on to postmaster if he had been willing to change his residence from Campbell to San José. As a result, he passed up the final promotion, and the office of acting postmaster passed to John L. Serpa, also from the ranks.

Serpa assumed his duties on December 1, 1960, less than a month after John Fitzgerald Kennedy's election to the presidency of the United States. Kennedy had been in office only six months when Serpa was replaced by William H. Lawrence, a nephew of former postmaster Chargin. The fact that Serpa was a Democrat caused some speculation regarding his replacement. The only reason seems to have been that "he hadn't done enough for the party."

In any event, when Lawrence took over as acting postmaster on May 16, 1961, he was practically sure of being appointed permanent postmaster. What he lacked in postal experience—if anything—he made up in Democratic loyalty. He was appointed postmaster on September 4, 1962. When the mail shifted from the United States Post Office Department to the United States Postal Service, a contracting agency, the postmaster's position was supposedly divorced from politics.

By this time, San José's continued growth had become a foregone conclusion. Relaxation of employment qualifications caused old-timers to bemoan deterioration of personnel. The former two deliveries a day had shrunk to one, and, generally speaking, an indifferent public offered no protest.

Perhaps the biggest event of Lawrence's incumbency was construction of a new main post office at 1750 Meridian Avenue, five miles southwest of what was considered the center of town. This establish-

ment, covering ten acres, brought many changes and readjustments elsewhere in the local system. Costing \$3,000,000, it included every modern improvement for handling mail, plus garage and paint shop facilities. It opened in November, 1965, and was dedicated on March 13, 1966. Its cornerstone, facing Meridian Avenue, bore the names of President Lyndon B. Johnson and Post Master General John Gronouski.

Branch Offices

From time to time in course of San José's growth, the Post Office Department established branch offices to serve areas more or less remote from the city's main post office. Two that opened before the community reached a population of 20,000 began as separate and independent offices in their own right—College Park and Kensington.

College Park opened on the University of the Pacific campus April 24, 1888, with William Fletcher Hyde as postmaster. Though it served a rapidly filling residential area, most of its revenue came from the faculty and students of the university. Also, its stay on the campus was not a long one. The *City Directory* showed it on the corner of Emory and Laurel streets in 1896, with W. Robert Shafer as postmaster.

College Park remained an independent post office until July 1, 1899, when it became a substation of the San José office under the clerkship of Robert F. Selfridge. In 1922, two years before the University moved to Stockton, the *City Directory* listed Substation No. 1, at 1111 The Alameda, as the only branch office serving that area. The same source listed it at 1121 The Alameda three years later.

Prior to January 14, 1895, any letter addressed to Kensington, California, went to a store building on the northeast corner of Minnesota and Cherry Avenue, where A. E. Winslow served as postmaster. This office, established two years earlier to the day, enjoyed a change of name before losing its identity in the San José system. It became Willowglen (one word) in 1895, and San José Substation No. 2 on January 15, 1900. Since then, the Willow Glen branch has had several different locations—three of them ranged along Lincoln Avenue.

Another substation, which originated as a substation, served East San José long before that area's annexation to San José in 1911. The *City Directory* for 1902-03 showed it on Alum Rock Avenue at Jones Avenue (now 21st Street), with Ernest Soderstrom as clerk. Later listings show that stretch of Alum Rock Avenue as East Santa Clara Street, and mention the post office in two other locations—860 and 950.

For a long time, Station A had the distinction of being the most important branch of the main office. It was listed in 1922 at 367 North Market Street, but by 1925 it had moved to 327 North First Street, where it stayed until the opening of the new main post office at First and St. John Streets. More recently, it occupied noticeably smaller quarters at 149 East San Antonio Street.

Even before San José began its post World War II growth, the public hardly knew the locations of the various branch offices, formally titled substations. They could be found in drug stores, department stores, stationery shops, or any other business establishment willing to lease space to them. As more than one bewildered citizen, put it, "They were all over town." In former rural areas, they swung across the valley via Cambrian from Westgate to Hillview, and northward from there via Jackson Avenue, with each serving a greater segment of the public than the main office did at the beginning of the 20th Century.

Such of these offices as leased space in private business establishments were subject to frequent renewal of contracts. Handling the mail might help a store owner to pay his rent or taxes, but it could just as likely prove unprofitable in other respects, depending on circumstances. There was no telling when the postal authorities would find a better location at lower rent. In any event, they have continued to multiply, and will undoubtedly maintain their upward trend for a long time to come.

The overall record of the San José Post Office resembles a 122-year success story. Yet, apprehensive notes have appeared in it in fairly recent years. The most important of them, according to long-remembered old-timers, concerned personnel attitudes and management. Beside resenting the transfer of Government authority to the United States Postal service, a

private agency, they felt that the loyalty and work ethic of yesteryear had disappeared.

The Telegraph

California first heard the click of a telegraph key on September 11, 1853. It marked completion of an enterprise begun by a couple of San Francisco Merchants' Exchange members named George Sweeney and Theodore E. Baugh, and formal dedication followed eleven days later.

Early in 1849, these gentlemen established a wigwag telegraph station atop a high hill overlooking Portsmouth Square for signaling arriving ships. Their venture proved so advantageous to merchants and journalists that another station quickly followed. The second station, in full view of the first, stood on a hill near Point Lobos, from which its lookout could signal the approach of ships still far at sea. The operator at the first station caught these signals by telescope and relayed them to the Merchants' Exchange for the waiting business community.

The first station gave the name *Telegraph* to the hill on which it was located. It was known as the Inner Station; the second, as the Outer Station. Both used their primitive mode of communication until Messrs. Sweeney and Baugh connected the Outer Station directly with the Merchants' Exchange by electric telegraph wire.

Both were also strictly intra-San Francisco services, and neither had anything to do with California's first intercity line. That distinction went to O. E. Allen and C. Burnham's California State Telegraph Company, enfranchised on May 3, 1852, to build a line from San Francisco to Marysville via San José, Stockton, and Sacramento.

Municipal red tape, fires, and reorganization delayed the California Company's construction until far along in September, 1853. But once the construction crew under James Gamble got beyond the city limits of San Francisco, they made up for lost time by stringing from five to seven miles a day. A test message from Belmont indicated that everything was in good order, and San José became the first station on the line when the wire arrived here on

October 15. The line was completed when Gamble's northbound crew met a similar crew working southward from Marysville on October 24.

For Spanish-Californians, who constituted a rapt audience at almost every pole west of the Central Valley, the telegraph had hypnotic attraction. Time and again, they looked upward, expecting to see messages flitting as pieces of paper along the wires. One San José señora puzzled over the cross-armed poles that carried the wires. If Americans were such irreligious heathens as she had been led to believe, why did they erect so many crosses on the landscape?

Americans, however, were more interested in the instant connections they had with the four principal cities on the line. And it cost only a dollar to send ten words from San Francisco to San José, and two dollars for the same number to Marysville. On April 19, 1855, the *Sacramento Union* reported the line's paying dividends at the rate of one percent a month.

San Joséans had hardly accepted the California State Telegraph line as an integral feature of their landscape when another company arrived—the Pacific and Atlantic, organized in 1858. This line, pushing southward via the Butterfield Overland Mail route, connected San José with Los Angeles in 1860.

Meanwhile, cables had been laid across San Francisco Bay, and several other companies had organized. The Alta Telegraph enabled Sacramento to communicate directly with such Mother Lode mining towns as Auburn, Mormon Island, and Placerville. By 1858, "the wires" had penetrated the Siskiyou to Yreka, and newspapers mentioned the plans of smaller outfits to serve areas not reached by the big companies. Then someone conceived the grand goal of a transcontinental line, whose construction began in 1860.

Before long, such "independents" as survived passed into more powerful ownership. The California State Telegraph, capitalized at \$1,250,000, controlled the Pacific system with 1,600 miles of line in California and Oregon. As Eastern investors envisioned the money to be made in telegraphy, the Western Union Telegraph headed west from Omaha as the

Pacific Telegraph, capitalized at \$1,000,000. When it met an extension of the California State at Salt Lake City on October 24, 1861, transcontinental service became a reality.

Eventual consolidation of these two systems under the name of Western Union created the most powerful telegraph company the world had ever seen. And San José, as the first station on the California State's line, derived all the benefits of what would now be called a national "hook-up."

In 1867, the California State operated under that name in San José, with George H. Hare as agent. Three years later, with Elliott Reed as agent for both, the *City Directory* listed the California State and the Western Union at 288 First Street, at about what became 19 North First Street. Agent Reed, incidentally, was a man of much consequence in San José. In addition to his telegraphic duties, he was also agent for a stage line and for Wells, Fargo & Co.

Two other telegraph lines entered San José with the coming of the San Francisco & San José Railroad in 1864, and the South Pacific Coast Railroad in 1877. Each railroad necessarily had its own telegraph system for transmitting train orders and other company business. Each eventually handled much Western Union traffic, particularly in communities not directly served by the Western Union. The San Francisco & San José's line followed the Santa Clara & Pajaro Valley¹ in 1868-69 to Gilroy, and from there to Watsonville. The South Pacific Coast's line, also known as the Bay and Coast Telegraph, paralleled that railroad from Alameda to Santa Cruz via San José and Los Gatos.

In pre-radio days, many people got "the latest news" over these railroad wires. In 1925, for example, railroad and express employees at San José's Market Street Station knew about the Santa Barbara earthquake before anyone else in town, and hours before word of it appeared in newspapers.

¹First unit of the original Southern Pacific, incorporated in 1865. By 1870, it had been acquired by the Central Pacific, which kept and expanded it into a gigantic system, covering several states.

By 1874, the California State Telegraph had disappeared from the San José City Directory, replaced by the Western Union under Agent J. E. Baker at 295 First Street, in the Bank of San José Building. Concurrently, Charles Washeim served as agent for the Atlantic & Pacific Telegraph, listed at 292½ Santa Clara Street, in the same general structure that later housed the First National Bank.

Then John Mackay became the second member of the Comstock Lode's "Big Four" to enter Santa Clara County history. Just as James Fair had invested millions of dollars in a railroad from Alameda to Santa Cruz, Mackay did likewise to establish a worldwide telegraph system. In 1883, Mackay and James Gordon Bennett, Jr., founded the Commercial Cable Company, which laid a cable from New York to London the following year. Then, after winning a "murderous" rate war against a rival company owned by Jay Gould, Mackay took on the Western Union, which practically controlled American telegraphy. He began by picking up a host of small companies not yet absorbed by the Western Union, including one called the Postal Telegraph.

Mackay welded all of these little outfits into a single system under the name of Postal Telegraph Cable Company. As his lines stretched across the nation, the clicking of his keys informed the wise ones of the Western Union that they had a rival who could take care of himself. In 1889, the *San José City Directory* listed Mackay's company for the first time, showing it as the Pacific Postal Telegraph Cable Company, 25 West Santa Clara Street. In 1902, the word "Pacific" was dropped, and popular usage further shortened the name to "Postal Telegraph" and "Postal."

San José's Postal Telegraph office changed locations from time to time. The first two, listed at 25 and 5 West Santa Clara Street, were in the Knox Block. From there, the agency moved to 18 North First Street, where it remained until 1906. The next two decades found it at 34 East Santa Clara Street. The last move took it to 175 South First Street, in the Hotel Imperial building. It was still in this location when the Postal system merged with that of the Western Union in October, 1943. Postal and Western

Union employed women in highly responsible positions almost from the moment their San Jose offices opened. Among them were May C. Harris, Mary Glenn Miller, and Lida Mae Gillette.

These ladies not only knew how to use a telegraph key, but also how to manage a telegraph office. Harris and Miller were out-and-out Postal ladies, each over a long period of years. Mrs. Gillette was better known as cashier for the Western Union. Born Lida Mae McCracken, she outlived two husbands to die at the age of 94.

By the mid-1920's, the hey-day of the Morse code telegraph key was drawing to a close even for newspapers and stock brokerage establishments using leased wires. Perfection of the teletype and increased use of the telephone marked a revolution in the communications world. San José's Postal Telegraph went over to teletype in 1927, and the Western Union followed soon afterward.

When the *Mercury* and the *News* adopted teletype in 1928, the keys of such legendary high speed operators as the *Mercury's* Eddie McManimon fell silent. They were replaced by soulless machines that went right on reeling off endless ribbons of yellow paper filled with capital letters even when no one stood by to watch them. The time had arrived for "code men" to paraphrase Morse's immortal words with "What hath the devil wrought?"

The Telephone

Alexander Graham Bell patented his invention of the telephone on March 7, 1876. Three days later, he reported the first "distinguishable conversation," and on October 9 of the same year, the first outdoor transmission. The following year brought installation of the nation's first private phone and incorporation of the Bell Telephone Company. It also brought the first two phones to San José. On July 28, the *San José Pioneer* reported Charles Hensley's buying two of them for experimenting.

Yet most San Joséans regarded the marvelous instrument as a plaything and object of suspicion. The city did not get its first telephone exchange until March 1, 1879. The first private service followed on

March 10, with William Clark Andrews as first subscriber, and Miss Etta Frost as first operator. The *Great Register* listed Andrews, aged thirty-five, as a clerk by occupation, but successive promotions over the years eventually made him manager of the Farmers' Union. Miss Frost continued as a telephone operator for many years, ultimately becoming chief operator. She lived at what later became 78 North River Street, surrounded by the holdings of relatives who also owned land in the Oak Grove District.

The exchange, with a total of five subscribers, was located in the Music Hall Building, at what is now 28 North First Street. It was listed as the third such establishment in the state, but, unfortunately, no worthy description of it has been preserved for posterity. It is certain, however, that Miss Frost was not overworked. Her subscribers were listed by name instead of numbers, and, as late as 1882, she had no more than 82 names to remember.² Telegrapher Mae Gillette remembered some sixty years later that the switchboard was a "tiny thing with only a few holes in it." The operator glanced at it from time to time while attending to other duties.

Two important but little noticed events soon followed the exchange's opening. A single sentence in the *Pioneer's* "Brevities" column announced on June 21, 1879, that George Carson of the Bell Telephone Company had taken over the "local telegraph line between San José and Santa Clara" three days earlier. In 1880, the Sunset Telephone Company was organized in the Sourisseau Building, on the west side of First Street between El Dorado and San Fernando.

Yet, several years elapsed before merchants and other businessmen mentioned telephones in their advertising. Newspapers were perhaps first to recognize "such contraptions" as business aids. On June 21, 1883, the *Morning Times* (later absorbed by the *Mercury*) published a newsy column called "By Telephone."

Physicians and livery stable proprietors likewise discerned the instrument's advantages. But between 1882 and 1892, the number of phones in San José increased only from 82 to 311.

Most records of the phone's local introductory period have long since disappeared, and those still available are somewhat limited to the bare statistics of the *City Directory*. In 1884, the *Directory*, ignoring all that had transpired previously, listed the Sunset Telephone Company as occupying Room 52 of the Knox Block. Edward Williams appeared as president; Jacob O. Johnson, manager.

The exchange remained in the Knox Block for at least eight years. In 1889, Anne Dixon, former glove maker, is listed as manager, and Miss Frost is listed as a glove maker with the George Farthing Company. Messrs. Johnson and Williams have disappeared altogether. By 1890, however, W. H. Garner had taken over as manager, Anne Dixon had disappeared, and Miss Frost had returned from her sojourn into glove making. There is also reason to believe that someone lived in—or at least in a room adjoining—the telephone office during this period to handle the twenty-four hour service.

By 1892, David J. Matlock, listed as superintendent, had succeeded Garner as manager. The *City Directory* ads revealed an increasing number of phones in use. Architect Theodore Lenzen at 110 South Second Street had jealously guarded the number 11 for a long time. The Vendome Hotel did not list a telephone, but its stables boasted No. 146. The No. 140 belonged to Steiger's San José Pottery at Autumn Street and Lenzen Avenue.

During this period—and for a long time afterward—phone users thought nothing of routing their calls to non-subscribers through neighboring homes and business establishments of subscribers. "Will you step across the street and ask Mrs. So-and-so to come to the phone, please?" was a common request, prevailing as late as 1969 in small towns and mountain districts.

San Joséans still regarded the phone with wonderment when long distance calls became a reality. In 1882, the local exchange connected with that of San

²David E. McDaniel, using the *City Directory*, set the number of subscribers in 1882 at 68.

Francisco. This enabled local merchants to place morning orders for urgently needed merchandise that could be delivered by express that afternoon. A relatively short time later, a morning call to a Los Angeles wholesaler brought the merchandise to San José early the next morning. The phone had already begun to change the nation's business habits.

From 1884, when it first appeared in the *City Directory*, to 1896, the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company had the local field to itself. By 1893, it had moved to 65 South First Street, where Theodore V. Halsey was listed as manager. While here, it got its first competition—the People's Telephone and Telegraph Company, at 13 South First Street.

Nicholas Bowden, Francis E. Spencer, and H. P. Thayer respectively served as president, vice-president, and secretary of the "Peoples." Whether they were out to break a monopoly or to make money at what they considered a good investment is a question. Only two things are certain: the town's supply of phones therewith increased apace and many a businessman patronized both companies.

Also during this period, prefixes came into use. In addition to the prefix Main, Sunset used Black and Red. Thus Fredericksburg Beer agent C. Maurer, who patronized both companies, could be reached on Sunset's Red 1833, and on People's simple 244. Mr. Maurer had previously listed his firm at "Tel. 232 (old) 154 (new)."

Then, to add more color to the exasperation thus caused, Sunset added another prefix—Blue. The situation may have been further aggravated by reluctance of certain old-timers to give up long held numbers such as plain 11, 82, or 140. By 1898, a thoroughly befuddled public hardly knew what to call to get whom. But at what seemed the most hopeless moment, relief came. Sunset bought out People's on December 18, 1899. The consolidated services continued more efficiently—and simply—in a fully-equipped \$13,000 building that Sunset had just erected at 130 South Market Street.

This new structure, done in Mission Revival architectural style, was the city's first real *telephone building*. It stood at the northeastern extremity of

The Plaza, almost adjoining the southeastern corner of the 1892 Post Office lot. Proud citizens pointed it out as one of the community's showplaces for more than a decade.

Whether intentionally or unintentionally, Sunset's construction of this building brought changes and additions to San José's telephone personnel. Former People's president George E. Crothers of San Francisco and manager Frank M. Gray of San José disappeared into history prior to their company's sale. Miss Katherine Fox, last listed as a People's manager and operator, joined the Sunset staff as cashier. Miss Frost of long experience in telephone communication became chief operator. What may have been a hint of nepotism also appeared about this time. The staff included not only Katherine Fox as cashier, but also Marguerite, Mary A., and Miss A. E. Fox as operators.

Sunset's dominance of the field, however, had no effect on the prefixes. Under managers John H. Corcoran and J. W. Gilkyson, they proliferated in amazing fashion, but caused little trouble because they all belonged to one company. By 1905 they constituted a fine assortment of color, direction, and personal nomenclature—Red, Green, Black, Blue, White, Main, East, West, John, and James.

The *San José Mercury*, for example had a simple prefix and number—Main 2. Its owner, E. A. and J. O. Hayes, had John 3401. The St. Charles Hotel, on North Market Street, had Blue 522. One dentist—S. L. Walton—could be reached at Red 1231; another, E. O. Pieper had a darker outlook, Black 2171.

Sunset's name last appeared in the *City Directory* in 1908. After almost three decades of pioneering service, the company of Miss Frost and colorful prefixes lost its identity in the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company, a powerful, smooth functioning unit of the far-flung Bell System. This absorption gave San José punsters an opportunity to comment on "Sunset's sunset."

By this time, the townsfolk had accepted the telephone as a business and social necessity. Advertisers no longer omitted mentioning their phone numbers in the *City Directory* or newspapers—or on

business stationery, billboards, fence rails, and theatre curtains. Between 1900 and 1910, the number of local phones increased from 1,873 to 6,411. By 1920, it would increase to 11,025, and to 22,120 by 1930, giving the city a rough statistical ratio of one phone to every two and a half inhabitants.

With efficiency as its goal, the "P T & T" soon replaced the troublesome color prefixes with plain San José. The Police Department accordingly became San José 16; the Fire Department, San José 424, with each keeping its respective number even after the prefixes Ballard and Columbia were adopted in October, 1927. Though the letters Y and L were used for a while, residential party lines were eventually designated only by J, M, R, and W. In 1914, a friend might reach Mrs. Jennie Pinard at 814 West San Salvador Street (now Auzerais Avenue) by calling San José 2613-L. That same year, the phone of radio broadcaster Charles D. Herrold at 328 North Fourth Street was listed as San José 3267-J.

For many years, rural numbers were indicated by appending numerals to party line terminal letters. Thus Hugo Menzel, at 22 South McLaughlin Avenue, answered to San José 9720-F-13. Harry G. Mitchell on Toyon Avenue did likewise for San José 5500-W-2.

Many close-in rural subscribers as well as those "way back in the sticks" called the operator or their neighbors by a stated number of short and long rings on their hand-cranked magneto phones. One turn of the crank got a short ring; two or three turns, a long ring. And since the back country had only multiple party lines, the phone of every subscriber along the line rang at the same time. Everyone knew by the number of short and long rings who was getting a call—and sometimes everyone "listened in" to get the latest gossip or news. Most, if not all, of these hand-cranked phones were gone by 1940.

In relation to the P T & T's general program, these events were merely incidental details. The company quickly outgrew the old Sunset building and, in 1910, erected a four-story new one costing \$125,000 at 80 South Market Street. This structure doubled its area and increased its size in 1925 at a cost of \$190,000. Then came a new business office on the former Elmer Bros. Nursery sales lot, next door at 78 South

Market Street, which left the 1910 structure devoted entirely to technical operations.

Construction of the biggest building to date began in 1946, and continued intermittently for several years thereafter. This building, anticipating the dial system, rose on the northwest corner of Almaden Avenue and San Fernando Street. It eventually attained a height of eight stories, and covered most of the block bounded by Almaden Avenue, San Fernando, Vine, and Westminster Streets. It became the city's main telephone building after the dial system went into service on August 28, 1949.

Other developments included a third central office, to serve the Mayfair area, which came into existence on White Road in 1931. Its number, beginning with "8," carried the prefix Clayburn. A new business office on the southeast corner of Fifth and St. James Streets several years later relieved subscribers on that side of town from going "clear down to Market Street to pay their monthly phone bills."

Meanwhile, a host of easily overlooked technical and competitive developments had taken place since projection of the 80 South Market Street building. An outfit known as The Wireless Telephone appeared in the *City Directory* for 1909 and 1910, then quietly went its way. P T & T pay stations "blossomed" all over the county—in drug stores, cigar stores, hotels, restaurants, saloons, or any other establishment having a wall strong enough to support a phone.

On February 28, 1927, San José got what the local press termed the West Coast's first trans-Atlantic connection. Editor Arthur L. Clarke of the *Mercury* put through a call to London, witnessed by City Editor John R. Brokenshire, Albert E. Buhot, Earl Bothwell, Alvin Long, and San José's P T & T manager, Dan Manning.

Early in San José's phenomenal post World War II growth, improvements in local telephone service came almost too fast to be recorded. Any San Joséan could step to his phone and call almost any point of the globe with no more thought than that of adding a slight long distance charge to his current monthly bill. Alexander Graham Bell's words "Come here Mr. Watson, I want you" had gone around the world.

Radio

Extending the discoveries of Scottish James C. Maxwell and German Heinrich Hertz, Italian Guglielmo Marconi got the first patent on wireless telegraph in 1896. The following year, he founded the Marconi Wireless Telegraph in London. He sent his first messages across the English Channel in 1898, and across the Atlantic in 1901. Eight years later, his work in physics won him the Nobel Prize.

In the meantime, neither Marconi's nor his predecessors' accomplishments passed unnoticed on the American side of the Atlantic. In the United States, young and old scientists rushed to add their knowledge to Marconi's just as he had added to that of Maxwell and Hertz. Three of these later researchers—the Reverend Richard H. Bell, S.J., Lee de Forest, and Charles David Herrold—became integral to Santa Clara County history and the science of radio communication.

As a science professor at Santa Clara College, Bell conducted noteworthy experiments in wireless telegraphy in 1902, but his interest dated back to Marconi's experiments of 1896. Santa Clarans long remembered his wireless aerials slung hammock-line between tall masts near the Santa Clara Street side of the college campus. De Forest, working with Charles Logwood, developed his vacuum tube in Palo Alto's Poulsen Laboratories in 1905. This invention, patented in 1907, made possible modern broadcasting, but it was not used until several years after its perfection in 1912. De Forest sold it to interests that had not yet conceived the idea of broadcasting.

Meanwhile, Herrold, using other means, established the world's first broadcasting station in San José in 1909. From his laboratories in San José's "first skyscraper," the seven-story Garden City Bank Building, scheduled speeches and musical programs radiated a full 360 degrees that year.

Herrold was born in Fulton, Illinois, November 16, 1875. He migrated in 1883 with his parents to Sioux City, Iowa, and from there to Sloan, in the same state. After "the great blizzard of 1888," however, his family came to San José to escape the rigor of mid-western winters.

Herrold's formal education had been confined to the most elementary of elementary schools. But he had luckily had a teacher who gave him an excellent grounding in English and mathematics. He had also consumed—and digested—two encyclopedic volumes on science, the only items on the subject that he could find in Sloan. With little more than this to qualify him, he entered San José High School in 1891 and, four years later, went on to Stanford University as an astronomy major. He switched from astronomy to physics, however, when his instructor left the West Coast for Chicago.

Despite illness that compelled him to take a year's leave of absence from Stanford, Herrold obtained a fine job with a San Francisco electrical firm. The 1906 earthquake and fire, which left San Francisco in ruins, persuaded him to take charge of the Heald's College technical school in Stockton, but 1909 found him back in San José. Here he opened his own college of engineering and developed what he called "the oldest active radio-telephone station in the United States." His broadcasting station, identified by the licensed call letters FN in 1909³, became KQW in 1921, and KCBS after its absorption by the Columbia Broadcasting System in 1949.

Herrold's engineering college qualified more than 1,200 students as radio engineers, technicians, and operators. At least 130 of 200 specially trained ones entered Government communications service during World War I. They and many other "Herrold men" later distinguished themselves in every other sector of their vocational field.

By 1922, Herrold's own genius had accounted for upward of 50 inventions and improvements involving the use of electricity. They ranged from spark gap transmitters and water-cooled microphones to dental and surgical devices. His all embracing mind catalogued every advance in radio communication that he had ever read about or witnessed. He could instantly recall little occurrences to which no one else had paid any attention, and his intellectual integrity branded him as reliable. He never hesitated to give

³These letters were published in a 1910 roster of stations.

credit to whomsoever it was due—even to persons with whom he disagreed. From him went no words of recrimination when Station KDKA of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, began to broadcast in 1921 and erroneously pronounced itself the world's first broadcasting station. He simply disagreed and let the facts speak for themselves.

Charles D. Herrold was an impulsively generous man who, to the distress of his family, often forgot himself in his consuming quest for knowledge. He belonged to that select few who brought everlasting fame to San José.

Operating on Herrold's license and with Herrold as director, Radio KQW moved in 1925 to new quarters on East San Antonio Street, adjacent to the First Baptist Church. This posed a problem that demanded immediate solution. The church had invested \$25,000 in the venture. The radio's antenna towers, anchored to the foundation of the church edifice, towered high above the structure at the northeast and southwest corners. Their presence on an actual seat-of-worship property exposed the church to the risk of being taxed as a commercial enterprise. The church, however, avoided this embarrassment by deeding to one or two of its members the tiny square footings of space occupied by the towers.

Thus assured of abundant broadcasting time, the church began on December 5, 1925, to broadcast its service all over the American West and far into Canada. Pastor W. K. Towner gave the call letters KQW a scriptural twist, saying they meant the "King's Quickening Word."

Herrold did not stay long with KQW after it passed into church control. He left San José to continue his work in San Francisco and elsewhere in the Bay Area, dying at Hayward, July 1, 1948.

For years after Herrold departed, KQW carried on under management of Fred Hart, whose programs offered many items of Santa Clara Valley interest interspersed with a generous amount of Baptist preaching, singing, and requests for donations.

Hart disposed of KQW to Julius Brunton and Sons, operators of Station KCBS and a Willard Battery agency in San Francisco. The Bruntons acquired not

only KQW's physical properties and broadcasting rights, but also an unexpired contract guaranteeing the San José First Baptist Church's broadcasting privileges for some time to come. But soon after the CBS took over the station, the King's Quickening Word ceased, and the church had to rely on Radio KEEN, a comparative newcomer to San José.

Meanwhile, public interest in everything appertaining to radio had increased at an incredible pace. In 1923 only two San José firms—Herrold Laboratories and Garden City Electrical Co.—advertised radio parts and services in the *City Directory*. By the end of the decade, Magnavox, Atwater-Kent, RCA, Majestic, and many other radio trade names had become household terms. Their sales agencies opened a whole new field of advertising for local newspapers and telephone directory yellow pages. Youngsters—and adults—sat up half the night at their crystal sets, "fishing" for more distant stations. Owners of larger, more complicated sets, enclosed in ornate mahogany and walnut cabinets, soon considered them indispensable items of living room furniture.

There was no limit to the variety of entertainment on the air, but for a long time certain forms of folk music held the stage. Guitar-accompanied songs of Carson J. Robinson and Jimmie Rodgers convinced thousands of big city dwellers that every Tennessee moonshiner was an accomplished musician. The Arizona Wranglers and such individual entertainers as Gene Autrey and Vernon Dalhart musically herded longhorned cattle right up to the listener's couch. They did so good a job that every teenager who could strum three chords on a Sears Roebuck guitar bought cowboy boots, Levis, and a sombrero preparatory to "going on the radio."

More solemn but no less attractive emotionally was the weekly program of Seth Parker, which conveyed Cape Cod atmosphere and always closed with the hymn "Till We Meet Again." But the all around favorite program of the day was "Amos and Andy," staged by a couple of white men named Charles Correll and Freeman Gosden who impersonated Negroes.

Amos and Andy captured San José overnight. As their broadcast time approached, practically every-

thing else in town stopped. Lodges that met on that evening had virtually no attendance. Night school students played hookey or at least stayed home until the program ended. Service station attendants and hotel clerks "glued" their ears to small portable radio sets. One summer evening, a San José woman reported that "Amos and Andy were on" in every home she passed in course of a stroll around the block. It was the one evening of the week when ninety percent of San José stayed home.

Theatre attendance dropped to almost nothing every broadcast evening. On South First Street, the owner of the American Theatre complained to Joe Levitt of the Coast Radio Co., just across the way. Joe generously moved the biggest radio set in his store to the stage of the theatre, and had it warmed up in ample time for Amos and Andy.

This gratuitous combining of the broadcast with the current show enabled the theatre manager to cut weekly losses until public enthusiasm for the Amos and Andy comedians began to wane.

As the price of a good receiving set dropped to the point where anybody could afford one, the public clamored for more and more programs. Three San Joséans—Joe E. Levitt, Noa Gayle, and Harvey Miller—sought to fill the local need in 1938 by organizing Radio KXRX. But owing to a large volume of applications ahead of theirs, here and elsewhere, they almost despaired of obtaining a license from the FCC. Then came World War II and its attendant freeze on all materials necessary to radio station construction and operation. KXRX's projectors had to mark time until the war ended, and for some time thereafter. Finally, in July 1948, KXRX went on the air with a frequency of 1500. Its downtown office was located at 266 South First Street; its station, on Bayshore Highway near McKee Road.

Meanwhile, another trio—Floyd Farr, George Snell, and George Mardikian—decided to enter radio broadcasting. On June 21, 1947, they founded Station KEEN, located on Wayne Avenue, just off the Oakland Road near Wayne Station. They first broadcasted directly from the station, but later moved their studios to the De Anza Hotel on West Santa Clara Street.

By the end of the 1940's, San Joséans may have begun to wonder if their broadcasting cup was not running over. In 1946, Patrick H. Peabody founded Station KSJO, an AM and FM establishment, on the south side of Story Road just east of Coyote Creek. Peabody later sold the AM right to Riley Gibson, retaining the FM set-up for himself. Gibson promptly obtained a new set of call letters—KLIV—for his station, and the parent station—KSJO—continued under its original identification.

Television—KNTV, Channel 11

Most early radio and television stations in the United States stemmed from enthusiastic experimenters in "electrical things," many of them from the days of wireless telegraphy. But San José's KNTV, Channel 11, traced its origin to a bakery owned by Allen T. Gilliland, Sr.

Gilliland and his wife Jenny paid \$3,000 for the assets of a bankrupt San José bakery in 1933. They soon put these assets upon a solid financial basis at 145 South Montgomery Street under the name of Sunlite Baking Company—which reputedly dominated the Santa Clara County bread market by the mid-1950's. It also expanded into the field of television broadcasting as an organizer of the Standard Radio and Television Company, which obtained an FCC permit for a station to be known as KNTV, Channel 11.

In 1955, Gilliland's Sunlite Baking Company arranged to buy out and become sole owner of the Standard Radio and Television Company. A number of Standard's original investors had begun to entertain second thoughts regarding the wisdom of their investments. From 1955 to 1960, the Sunlite-owned Standard Radio and Television Company operated KNTV as an independent outfit, but it finished the latter year as an affiliate of ABC.

Also in 1960, when Allen T. Gilliland, Sr., died, the management of his bakery and television enterprise devolved upon his son Allen T. Gilliland, Jr. Young Gilliland, a college graduate with much practical experience, was well qualified for both—and more. He had been in the bakery business with large

communications holdings; now he was in communications with large bakery holdings. And he managed both with the well-directed energy that guaranteed the success of every Gilliland project.

But since he already ranked highly in communications as owner of Channel 11 in San José and three cable systems elsewhere in the state, he preferred to concentrate on communications. He accordingly sold

the bakery in 1966 and, in 1968, began construction of the San José Cable TV system primarily to serve San José and its surroundings. Gilliland did not relax his hold on KNTV, Channel 11, however. His managerial ability was manifest in all broadcasts from the station's beautiful building at 645 Park Avenue. The constantly improving daily programs covered almost every conceivable subject of interest to the human mind.



Mrs. Lida May Gillette (1865 - 1959), early telegrapher in San José's Auzeais House, was one of this city's first two telephone operators. She also worked for the Western Union Telegraph and the Postal Telegraph in the course of her long life. "Lida May," as her friends and relatives called her, was a daughter of Mrs. Elizabeth McCracken who came overland from Missouri with the Pyle -Whiteman Party in 1846. This photo of Mrs. Gillette was taken in 1946, when descendants of the Pyle -Whiteman Party celebrated their centennial in San José.



This 1909 photo shows the first radio telephone and telegraph set connected to the 11,500-foot carpet aerial. This set was used by Ray Newby to telegraph 100 miles with 15 watts of input energy. (photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)



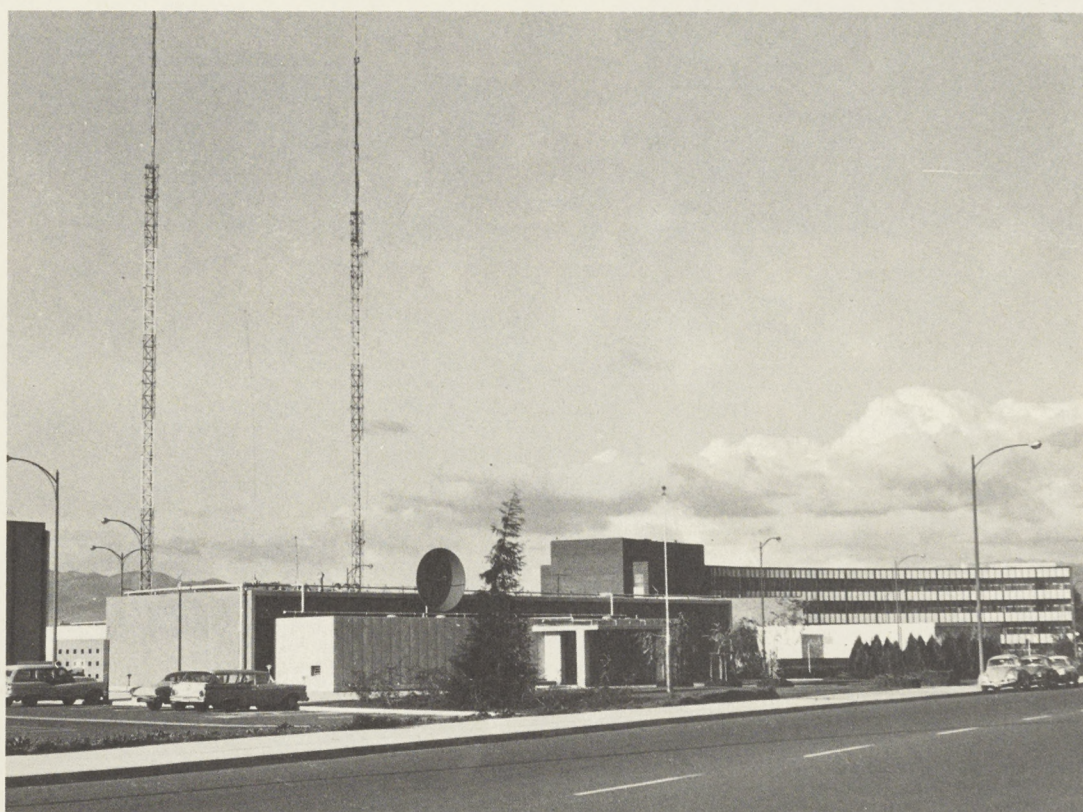
This photo by A. P. Hill shows Sunset Telephone & Telegraph Co., located at 130 So. Market at San Fernando Streets in 1895. (photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)



This 1903 photo shows telephone lines on First Street. Note the People's Telephone Company's office at 13 South First Street to the left. (photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)



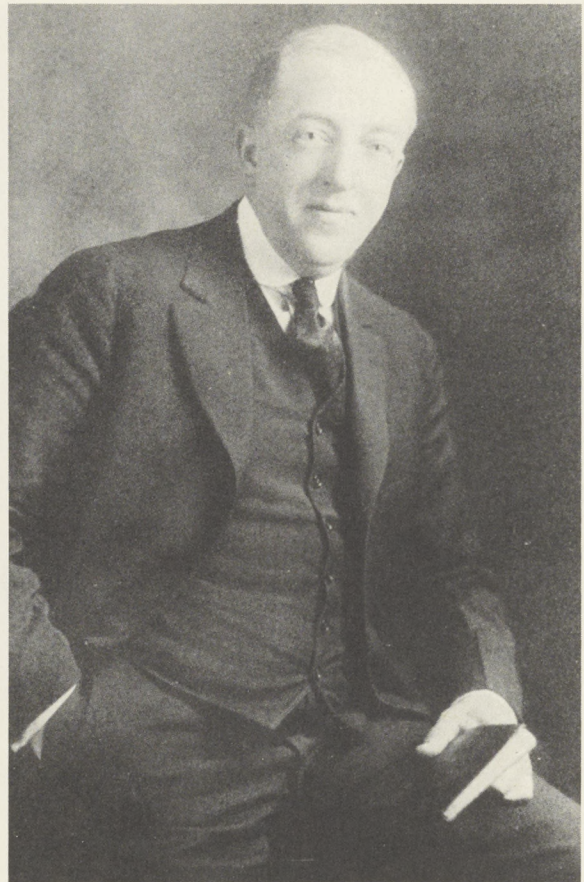
In 1931, this photo by Steiner shows what Monterey Road south of San José looked like. On the left are the many telephone and telegraph lines linking San José to the south. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*



The Communication Center was located on Mission Street in 1962 before it was moved south of the city.

Professor Charles David Herrold founded the world's first radio broadcasting station in 1909. This station came into existence in the laboratory of Herrold's College of Engineering & Wireless, located in San José's Garden City Bank Building on the southwest corner of First and San Fernando Streets. Its first letters were FN, which became KQW in 1921, and KCBS in 1949. Commencing in 1909, its broadcasts were regularly reported in the San José newspapers.

Herrold, who died in 1948, lived long enough to see radio broadcasting become a worldwide institution. He also saw his students distinguish themselves in radio engineering and broadcasting on an international scale.



This photo, taken in 1926, shows Dr. Charles D. Herrold in his broadcasting studio presenting a general broadcast on KQW. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*

Radio Station KXRX had its fleet of newscars and its Piper aircraft in this March 7th, 1967 photo. It was the first local news radio station that featured their "Peeper in the Piper." *(photo courtesy of Shirlye Montgomery)*





Frank Darien and his wife, Betty, are shown during his final TV Record Hop program on Channel 11 on April 5, 1963. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)

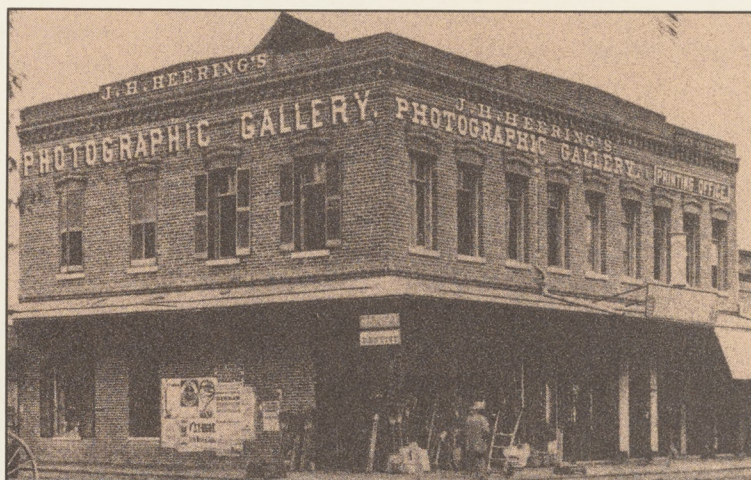


San José Real Estate Appraiser Desmond Johnson drives Walter Brennan of "The Real McCoys" in 1961 parade. In the rumble seat of Johnson's 1928 Stutz is his son Todd. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



18

PRESS



81

1872



Every time some early San Joséan got the urge "to fill a long-felt want," he founded a newspaper—or so it seemed to contemporary journalist Eugene Taylor Sawyer.

James B. Devoe came first with the *State Journal* on December 19, 1850, and C. M. Blake followed with the *Daily Argus* on January 4, 1851.

Neither, however, could be considered a newspaper of general circulation in the fullest sense of the term. Both were founded for purely political reasons, and more or less resembled the little throwaway sheets that clutter modern residential lawns about election time.

The *State Journal* supposedly came into existence to promote William M. Gwin's candidacy for the United States Senate—although that gentleman was elected only one day after the first issue came off the press.

The successful efforts of the *Argus* to send John C. Frémont to Washington as a companion senator were longer sustained. Frémont drew the short term, which expired March 4, 1851. He had to stand for reelection uncomfortably soon after taking office, but Gwin who drew the long term, suffered no such inconvenience until 1855.

In any event, neither paper survived the end of the Second Session of the Legislature on May 1, 1851. Devoe, deeply in debt, lost the *Journal* when John McCune (McKune?) attached its press, type, and fixtures to satisfy a judgment of \$497 obtained in Justice of the Peace Arthur Shearer's court on May 13. The *Argus* seems to have gone its way in a less ignominious manner. San José was without a newspaper until J. C. Emerson, A. Jones, Jr. and J. F. Damon brought out their *San Jose Weekly Visitor* the following June 20.

Volume I, No. 1 of this new paper "owed its visibility" to equipment salvaged from its two predecessors. Punning critics called it the *Weakly Visitor*, but it had far more stamina than their wit implied. It weathered several changes of name and outlived all of its early contemporaries to become the state's second oldest newspaper by the time it celebrated its centennial in 1951.

As nearly as can be determined, the *Weekly Visitor* was born in a little shack at, or close to, what later became 55 West Santa Clara Street. Damon withdrew from the firm about six months after its founding, but Emerson stayed on as publisher, and Jones as editor. And soon after that, Emerson sought a new name and editor for his paper.

On August 19, 1852, the *Visitor* officially became the *Santa Clara Register*, with a new "Vol. I, No. 1" on the masthead. In the person of a forty-seven year old Marylander named Francis Butter Murdoch, the paper got a competent editor who entered partnership with Emerson. It also got good legal counsel, for Murdoch was a lawyer of considerable talent.

Murdoch and Emerson did not get along so well as expected, however. Their troubles increased as Murdoch's influence manifested itself in his editorial column. Eventually, some detail of their partnership took them to court, where Murdoch won out on October 29, 1853, and became sole proprietor of the paper.

Murdoch was everything that the courageous old-time editor was supposed to be. He was neither afraid of nor overly impressed by anyone in political office. His writings for the public good praised and lambasted, caressed and condemned, as the occasion demanded. His editorial career was accordingly one of the most distinguished in the history of San José journalism.

On November 3, 1853, Murdoch changed his paper's name from *Santa Clara Register* to *San José Telegraph*, commemorating the arrival of California's first interstate telegraph line in San José a couple of weeks earlier.

Meanwhile—even before Murdoch's break with Emerson—the paper commenced the nomadic wanderings that characterized its career for more than a century. From its birthplace on Santa Clara Street, it moved to an historically obscure location on "First St. near Santa Clara" in May, 1852. But by the following September, it had moved back to Santa Clara Street, locating on the second floor of the brand new Bella Union Saloon, on the north side of the street between First and Market. From there, it went over to "Apple-

ton's Building" on what is now South Market Street, and another change of address took it to Dr. P. Van Caneghim's building on North Market Street near Santa Clara.

In 1860, Murdoch sold the *Telegraph* to William Neil Slocum, publishing his farewell on August 8. Slocum, formerly of Santa Cruz, was thirty-one years old and full of plans. His one claim to fame, however, was changing the name of the *Telegraph* to *Mercury*, under which name he sold out to James Jerome Owen, a New Yorker by birth and Republican in politics.

Slocum had published the paper for a while as the *Telegraph and Mercury* before making the final change. He had also announced his intention to convert it from a weekly to a daily, but a change of mind left that responsibility to Owen.

Owen, popularly known as "J.J.," was a printer by vocation and a state assemblyman by avocation. He soon formed a partnership with Benjamin Hinckley Cottle, and henceforth operated under the firm name of Owen & Cottle. Their place of business was the Minor Building on the northwest corner of First and El Dorado (Post) Streets. But by 1870, the *City Directory* showed them at 384 First Street, several doors to the south.

On November 3, 1861, the *Mercury* appeared for the first time as a daily paper, but since this was an experiment, Owen wisely reverted to a weekly edition to ensure his paper's continuity.

In 1869, the old 1200-impression-an-hour press that had come down from Murdoch's time was replaced by a new and faster one of an undisclosed make. And with it came pressman John J. Conmy, an expert in his field. Also, the company reverted to its former name—J. J. Owen & Co.—with Conmy and Cottle as members of the firm.

On August 2, 1869, Owen again tried his luck with a daily, and on April 30, 1870, he went back to his weekly with its "monstrous" nine-column blanket pages. San José still could not support a morning daily.

Owen was happily willing to let the afternoon

Patriot or any other San José paper have the daily field. He had all he could do to keep the *Mercury* solvent while Cottle and Conmy attended to the job printing.

Then a newcomer named Norman Porter rushed into the field with a brand new paper called the *Daily Guide*, only to find that journalism was a hard dollars and cents business—even for professionals. Porter's inevitable financial difficulties soon offered an opportunity to Owen, and on March 12, 1872, the nameplate of the *Daily Guide* read *San José Mercury*.

This time, the *Mercury* entered the daily field to stay. It soon moved from First Street to "Porter's Block, Santa Clara St., near Second," now about 20 North Second. "Our aim," Owen wrote, "will be to make a live morning paper which everybody will want and which children will cry for."

Owen finally determined what caused his previous failures with the daily. San José, with 12,000 inhabitants, and the county with 30,000, had grown too big for muscle-powered printing machinery. On May 22, 1872, Owen therefore informed the public that he had arranged to print his paper on a new steam-powered press.

Other changes followed in relatively quick succession. Cottle sold his interest in the paper to Owen in the fall of 1873. Four years later, Owen reorganized the firm as the Mercury Printing and Publishing Co.

By that time, however, his all-embracing mind had taken on other interests—electricity, science, and morals among them. His fascination with electricity resulted in construction of the great electric tower that straddled the intersection of Market and Santa Clara Streets from 1881 to 1915. He also wrote and published a number of books of a moralistic and philosophical nature. Finally, in December, 1884, after a distinguished career as San José's leading journalist, he sold the *Mercury* to Charles Shortridge, publisher of the *Morning Times*.

Shortridge combined his papers under the name of *Times-Mercury*. Under his management the product increased in size from six to twelve nine-column pages, following the current tendency toward larger and still larger papers. In January, 1885, he

moved it to San José's first building designed expressly for newspaper use—the Lyndon Block on the north side of Santa Clara Street, just east of what is now North Almadén Avenue.

Shortridge was anything but modest in describing the new establishment's facilities. He boasted a new, double-cylinder Hoe press, capable of 5,000 impressions an hour. It was activated by an eight horsepower Excelsior steam engine whose boiler firebox consumed large stacks of cordwood that long remained a feature of the pressroom.

The Owen influence, however, did not die out immediately. The masthead carried the names of both "J.J." and his son Clifford at least until June 7, 1885; and the son remained with the paper fourteen years after that.

Then just as Shortridge seemed to be settling down for a long run of his own, he sold out to a comparatively unknown, F. A. Taylor, publisher of a local paper called the *Republic*.

Taylor dropped the paper's hyphenated name of *Times-Mercury* and made it plain *Mercury*, the name by which everyone referred to it anyway.

By this time, the paper's circulation had reached 2,500. But within two months, Taylor was out and Shortridge had retaken control. The following fourteen years were busy ones for the *Mercury*, which regularly published eight pages a day and sixteen on Sunday.

In 1898, Shortridge sold the paper to a newly organized company whose chief stockholders appear to have been Clarence M. Wooster and Alfred Holman. In his farewell column, he paid his respects to J. J. Owen under whom he had learned the business, commencing as an office boy at \$4.00 a week. He also noted that he had bought the paper from Owen for \$8,000 and sold it for \$100,000.

Journalism changed considerably during the first half century after Shortridge's departure from the *Mercury*. But in the 1960's he was still remembered as a great newspaper man by William "Billy" Hines who went from the *Mercury* to the *San Francisco Examiner* and on to the *Brooklyn Eagle* and *Atlanta Constitution*.

As an innovator and man of ideas, Shortridge published anniversarial editions of the *Mercury* that still delight historians. In 1895, he produced a 320-page album-like book under the title of *Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers*, now a highly prized collector's item. It is filled with beautiful halftone cuts forming the finest pictorial representation of Santa Clara County during the Shortridge era.

The reorganized *Mercury* continued until the spring of 1900 with Holman as editor and Wooster as business manager. Then Holman bought Wooster's interest to gain control of the company's 837 shares of stock.

Meanwhile, corruption in San José's municipal politics demanded a cleanup that could be brought about only by hard-hitting journalism. With this in mind, a couple of brothers—Everis Anson and Jay Orley Hayes, lately of Wisconsin—bought the financially troubled evening *Herald* on December 25, 1900. Eight months later, on August 20, 1901, they likewise acquired Holman's controlling interest in the morning *Mercury*. The combined support of these papers led a reform-bent Good Government League to a smashing victory at the polls in the spring of 1902.

The Hayes brothers, nicknamed "Red" and "Black" from the colors of their beards, ever afterward kept sharp eyes on local politics. After cleaning up the city, they set out to do the same for the county. As lawyers, they knew how to get results in public affairs; as owners of profitable Michigan and Wisconsin iron mines they seldom lacked funds for their ventures. In 1904, "Red" was elected to Congress.

They also began to streamline their papers. On December 8, 1901, they announced their intention of publishing the *Mercury* and the *Herald* in a single new plant on the east side of Lightston Alley instead of the separate plants of the former owners. Twenty days later, the weekly edition of the *Mercury* quietly slipped into oblivion. The now strong daily edition no longer needed to be periodically rescued by the weekly.

The business offices of the *Mercury* and the *Herald* appear to have remained at their old addresses for a short time after everything else had moved to

PRESS

the Lightston Alley building. But both were at 20 West Santa Clara Street when the 1902 *City Directory* came off the press. A Rube Goldberg system of interior passages and rooftop catwalks connected the front office with the editorial and pressrooms for years afterward.

The first and greatest change in the dual set-up came in 1913. Messrs. Hayes, concluding they did not need the *Herald*, suspended it and attached its name to that of the *Mercury*, making the older paper the *San José Mercury Herald*. On June 20, 1950, the *Mercury's* ninety-ninth birthday anniversary, the nameplate reverted to plain *San José Mercury*.

Other changes under Hayes management included a succession of new presses, each with a greater capacity than its immediate predecessor. The eight-page 1885 model of Shortridge's day gave way in 1902 to the last of the "belt and pulley" machines, a double supplement that delivered a twenty-four page product. The next, in 1924, delivered a forty-eight page paper, which was increased by its successor to 64 pages in 1930. On July 30, 1950, a new high-speed, ninety-six page press replaced the old "sixty-four pager."

All other facilities—composing, editorial, and business—improved and expanded proportionately to keep pace with the city's growth. In 1928, it widened the Santa Clara Street frontage and erected a new three-story building to house its business and editorial rooms.

The final downtown move came on February 7, 1942, when the paper's entire operation shifted to 211 West Santa Clara Street. Here, after remodeling two large existing structures and adding two new ones, the *Mercury* became a metropolitan daily in every respect, occupying a whole city block. Here, it also celebrated its centennial and remained until growth forced it to seek still larger quarters with ample room for future expansion.

Time, however, gave "Red" and "Black" Hayes their fill of journalistic responsibility. In 1932, they vested their interests in a family corporation. Seven years later, "Black's" son Elystus L. and "Red's" son Harold C. became co-publishers and respectively president and vice-president.

Under management of these sons, the *Mercury* gained overwhelming control of San José's newspaper field. In August, 1942, it bought out the sixty-nine year old *San José Evening News*, its last and only local rival worthy of note.

Both papers were thereafter published in the same plant under their individual names—the *Mercury* in the morning; the *News* in the afternoon. On Sunday, their combined edition came out under the name of *Mercury News*.

On July 25, 1952—thirteen months after the *Mercury* celebrated its centennial—the Hayes family sold both the *Mercury* and the *News* to the Northwest Publications, a Minnesota corporation controlled by Bernard H. Ridder of Midwestern publishing fame.

Published details of the transaction show the Hayes family selling only the business and its machinery, but retaining possession of the land and buildings.

Joseph B. Ridder, son of Bernard H. Ridder, took over as publisher of the *Mercury* and *News* in 1952. Under his progressive and innovative control, both prospered and soon outgrew their downtown quarters. On April 8 and 9, 1967, he accordingly dedicated a new multimillion-dollared plant at 750 Ridder Drive—on what was once Moses Schallenger's farm about four miles north of town.

Here, with highway and railroad connections for bringing in supplies, and a large acreage for a hundred or more years of expansion, the *Mercury* and *News* settled into what promised to be their permanent home.

San José Tribune

San José was still trying to regain the state capital when Givens George founded its second newspaper worthy of the classification.

A Missourian who had come overland at the age of nineteen in the Gold Rush of 1849, George tried his luck at mining near Placerville, but returned East via Nicaragua in 1850 to study medicine. The year 1852, however, found him back in California, settled in San José and working for Emerson and Murdoch on the *Santa Clara Register*.

With the experience thus gained, he commenced publication of his own paper, the *San José Semi-Weekly Tribune*, on January 4, 1854. But in July, 1855, he converted it to a weekly and shortened the flag to plain *San José Tribune*. Four years later, he sold out to George O'Doherty.

Meanwhile, the *Tribune* survived Federal suppression and several changes of ownership and name. Except that he was a violently anti-administration Democrat during the Civil War, little is known about its second publisher, O'Doherty. His excoriation of Federal authorities, while not entirely without foundation, were generally little short of scurrilous. On September 16, 1862, General George Wright, suppressed the *Tribune* and several other California newspapers by excluding them from the mails.

Such exclusion was usually tantamount to death, but as soon as Wright's order relaxed, the *Tribune* came back, only slightly, if at all subdued, on May 22, 1863. O'Doherty, vigorous as ever, resumed the battle. His editorial dislike of Republican Owen of the *Mercury* made for more than a few interesting exchanges of invective, for Owen too was no slouch at the art.

O'Doherty's wrath spared no one he considered unfit for public office. He branded Lincoln an imbecile for signing the Emancipation Proclamation, and lambasted California's Reverend Thomas Starr King and John Swett as "fanatical dollar chasing creatures." King, he insisted, was "making nearly as much out of the war as any 'shoddy' contractor, or spavined horse dealer..." Swett, as State superintendent of Public Instruction, did not have "brains enough to teach a primary school." He also made sure that the home-folk knew about the shabby treatment received by a California battalion attached to a Massachusetts regiment early in the war.

He even dragged Owen into the arraignment, saying, "Let J. J. Owen be on the alert. Now that Alviso ceases to be a port of entry, and that his arduous labors as Assemblyman have ceased, here are *fresh pastures* for him. He will be the *right man in the right place*."

In this, O'Doherty anticipated by many years the encouraging "Give 'em hell, Harry" shouted to

President Harry S. Truman when campaigning. Yet the *Tribune* somehow escaped a second suppression. Its publisher went right on pointing out the abuses of power by the party in power, operating on theory that the public had a right to know. Whether he possessed prescience is uncertain, but he must have foreseen the incredible corruption of the post war "Reconstruction Period."

Then, on September 11, 1863, formal notice appeared under the masthead on Page 2: "The Undersigned, has sold and conveyed his right, title, and interest in the *San José Tribune*, with the presses, types materials thereof, to F. B. Murdoch and A. F. McKee; and his connection with the paper, as Proprietor and Editor, ceases from this date. — George O'Doherty, San Jose, Sept. 11th, 1863."

An attached *nota bene* instructed advertisers and subscribers that certain bills contracted up to that date were immediately payable to George O'Doherty, "for he is about [sic] leaving the county."

With that, the man who feared neither advertiser nor critic nor public official nor military authority bowed from San José's journalistic stage.

On the other hand, the new publisher—Murdoch—returning after a three year absence from his vocation, was of more conciliatory temperament, and not inclined to tilt an editorial lance at everyone who did not meet his standards.

On taking possession of the *Tribune*, he changed its name to *San José Patriot* and made it a strong Union paper dedicated to keeping the nation intact.

Nowhere in his opening column did Murdoch indicate his political partisanship. A Whig by early preference, he naturally gravitated to the newly-formed Republican Party in 1854, and supported Fremont for President in 1856. But somewhere along the line he must have developed a few doubts regarding the purity of Republican leadership. In 1865, when he ran for County Clerk on the Independent ticket, he lost to Republican A. E. Pomeroy by a vote of 1,719 to 1,077.

Throughout its existence, the *Patriot* was only published on Wednesday until it became a daily. It was moderate in tone and well written according to stan-

dards of the day. Its legal title changed from *San José Patriot* to *San José Daily Patriot* and finally to *San José Daily Evening Patriot*. The masthead of Volume I, No. 1, showed its address as "Murphy's Block, Corner of Market and Santa Clara Streets," which had also been the *Tribune's* place of business. Francis B. Murdoch and Albert McKee were the "owners and proprietors" until McKee severed his connection with the firm on March 16, 1864, after which Murdoch became sole owner.

By 1870, the *City Directory* showed the *Patriot* at 338 First Street, which would now be about 41 South First Street. Four years later, it occupied quarters at 384 First Street, about eight doors to the south.

It was apparently at this last location when Murdoch, "retiring" from journalism, sold out to Samuel James Hinds and John Graham Murdoch in 1875.

Little is known about either of the new proprietors except that both were in their twenties. Hinds, a lawyer, hailed from Kentucky; Murdoch, a printer, from Missouri. What relation, if any, the latter was to Francis B. Murdoch is uncertain.

In any event, Hinds and Murdoch sold out in September, 1876, to James T. Murphy who changed the paper's name to *Daily Herald*. Under Murphy's management, the *Herald* bought William Alexander January's twenty-two year old *Weekly Argus*, and published it as *Herald Argus* until September 1880.

In October, 1884, a company headed by H. H. Main, W. C. Morrow, and J. F. Thompson bought the *Herald* and soon afterward sold it to Charles Shortridge who, in turn, sold it to the Hayes brothers in 1900. The Hayes brothers, as before noted, suspended the *Herald* in 1913 and attached its flag to that of the *Mercury*, making that paper the *Mercury Herald*. But when they dropped the word "*Herald*" in 1950, the long *Tribune-Patriot-Herald* line ended.

Weekly Argus

After O'Doherty's disposal of the *Tribune* to Murdoch in 1863, San José was without a Democratic

paper—at least one with any force. Then, on January 6, 1866, William Alexander January brought out the *Weekly Argus* to give his party's side of the story.

Native of Kentucky and printer by vocation, January came overland to California at the age of twenty-three in 1849. He first settled in Placerville, where he and Daniel W. Gelwicks founded the *Mountain Democrat* in 1854. Also, while living there, he married Miss Helen C. Murgotten whose father, Henry C. Murgotten, was head of a whole family of printers.

January kept his interest in the *Mountain Democrat* until he moved to San José in 1866. Here, he published the *Argus* as a weekly from January 6 to August 10 of that year, when he changed it to a daily. But he soon found San José unready for a daily, and on November 7 the *Argus* reverted to weekly status under the name of *Santa Clara Argus*. From 1874 until January sold it to the *Herald* in 1878, it went under the less confusing name of *The Weekly Argus*.

Meanwhile, January's political activities had left him little time for journalism. An idea of his popularity may be gained from the regularity of his election to office. From 1872 to 1875, he served as City Treasurer of San José, and from 1875 he served as County Treasurer until his election as State Treasurer in 1882. He resigned the state office at the end of 1884 and, after a short rest, was elected Santa Clara County Tax Collector, which office he held almost to his death at the age of ninety in 1916.

January was unquestionably a good journalist, but as a politician he was a phenomenon—a staunch Democrat regularly returned to office by the voters of a Republican citadel.

San José News

The first half of the 1880's saw two of the city's older papers—the *Mercury* and the *Herald*—change ownership, and five new ones come into existence. Prevailing journalistic mortality removed two of the newcomers—J. J. Conmy's *Daily Press* and W. D. Haley's *Daily Evening News*—in 1882, the year of their founding. E. T. Wallace and Eugene T. Sawyer's *Scooper* barely managed to hang on from 1885 to 1886.

Horace S. Foote's *Santa Clara Valley*, which got under way in 1884 more as a trade journal than newspaper, did somewhat better. Devoted to horticulture and viticulture, it continued under several different names long after Foote sold it to Henry A. Brainard in 1886. Successive readers knew it as *Pacific Tree and Vine*, *Town and Country Journal*, and *California County Journal*. In 1894, as *Pacific Tree and Vine*, it published William Lewis Manly's *Death Valley in '49*; as *California County Journal* it ended its days in San Francisco shortly after the turn of the century.

The fifth of the newcomers, however, was of more durable stuff. Its founder, Hugh A. De Lacy, was already a man of experience when he arrived in California at the age of seventeen in November, 1862. Born in New Orleans, he had fought as a Confederate soldier in the Battle of Shiloh, five months before his seventeenth birthday anniversary. After his discharge because the Confederate Act of Conscription found him a bit too young for service, he came out to the New Almadén Mine to join his father, Stephen De Lacy, who had been here since 1860.

Hugh had already received a good schooling in Louisiana, and he mastered carpentering and stationary engineering only a short time after arriving here. But he had two irresistible secret ambitions—to try his hand at law enforcement and to publish a newspaper.

He chose law enforcement first, serving from 1870 to 1872 as a deputy under Sheriff "Nick" Harris. Then came four years as a township constable, topped off by seven years as a police officer and detective.

In 1872, De Lacy managed to sandwich about three-and-a-half months as publisher of *The Reporter* between his duties of deputy sheriff and constable. History records no brilliant success for this venture, but it must have taught the publisher a few things regarding what not to do in the newspaper business. And on rounding out his experience as police officer and detective, he felt qualified "to let the people know" what was going on in the City Hall and Courthouse. On July 23, 1883, he brought out the

first issue of the *City Item*, a four page affair measuring nine by eleven and a half inches.

As a publisher, De Lacy devoted comparatively little space to anything but advertising and news of the moment. One of his earliest editorials concerned the renumbering of San José's streets to obtain free residential and downtown mail delivery as required by the Post Office Department. In supporting this project, he was largely responsible for the east-and-west, north-and-south numbering system still in use, with the intersection of First and Santa Clara Streets as the central point.

Other comments might appear anywhere in the paper, for De Lacy always had a personal message of some kind. For example, he was death on liquor and never lost an opportunity to point out its evils. On January 18, 1884, he noted that San José had 2,200 voters and 108 saloons. He further noted that three fourths of those voters patronized saloons, which meant the town had one saloon for every fifteen voters.

Even when writing about such an inanimate thing as the Cogswell fountain, De Lacy never lost an opportunity to take a poke at the liquor crowd.

The Cogswell Fountain was a cast iron, baroque-ly ornamented drinking fountain that stood at the north end of The Plaza for many years. It consisted mainly of a simulated stone pedestal about seven feet high, surmounted by a life-sized statue of its donor, Henry D. Cogswell, pioneer San Francisco dentist and prohibitionist. A lengthy inscription on the pedestal extolled the virtues of water as a beverage.

For some reason this fountain lay on the ground long after its arrival, and Cogswell wrote to the Mayor and Common Council, asking why. De Lacy promptly answered editorially. "It is believed," he wrote, "that the fountain would have been up long ago if the donor had made arrangements to run beer instead of water through it."

On Saturday March 28, 1885, the last issue of the *City Item* came off the press. The following Monday, the paper appeared as the *San José Daily News*, and De Lacy had taken a Minnesotan named

Charles Washburn Williams as a partner.

In explaining the reason for changing the name of the paper, De Lacy said it should have a name that "will at once suggest that it is a newspaper in the true sense of the word...."

The change, however, had no effect on his editorial vigor. He still loved to "take on" City Hall. In June, 1885, he was sure that the politicians therein were trying to "railroad" Chief of Police W. D. Brown for a minor offense involving the closing hours of a saloon. He rushed to Brown's defense with the heaviest editorial artillery, referring to the Mayor and Common Council as the "Czar and his Cabinet." To Mayor C. T. Settle individually, he applied the appellation "Czar Settlesky."

In the end, Brown drew only a short suspension. But without De Lacy's support, he could have lost his job to some lackey of the "Czar and his Cabinet."

Where Murdoch and Owen devoted much space to national and international affairs, De Lacy was more concerned with what happened closer to home—something he understood much better. On April 28, 1885, under the head of "Who Wants It?" he opposed a move to establish a mental hospital in Santa Clara County. After noting that a governor's commission was looking for such a hospital site here, he let go with about everything he had.

"This county has an almshouse, a County Jail and an Infirmary," he wrote. "We are also well supplied with Supervisors and County Prisoners. Is it possible that we want the earth? Can't we struggle along somehow without asking the State to send us a swarm of lunatics. A good fresh specimen of a lunatic with a wood-axe is probably a good thing to have around the house to attend to book agents and Deputy Assessors, but when you come to getting a whole building full of them, and straight [sic] jackets and things of that kind become the ordinary topic of conversation then, you know, the interest in the looney business lets down very fast."

The Mayor and Common Council, however, thought differently. On May 18, the *News* reported that the City had offered to the State the "water of Penitencia Creek for the use of a branch asylum for

the insane," if the asylum were located in that neighborhood. The water would be impounded by a dam and conveyed by pipe to the grounds of the asylum.

Four days later, the *News* reported that Santa Clara County had won the prize, but it was going to the George Kelly property at Agnew instead of Penitencia Creek near the mouth of Alum Rock Canyon.

When not fighting City Hall or Courthouse, De Lacy could pepper his pages with brevities running the full range of human emotions. He punned, quipped, and wrote obituaries and "prospective obituaries" with facility and unerring feeling for human interest. An example of the last was an item on a badly salivated New Almadén miner named Agustin Gutierrez who was pronounced dead seven times in two weeks.

Each time Gutierrez died, his family called the undertaker and ordered a coffin. And there may have been some doubt whether the story of his seventh "death" could be regarded as his real obituary at the time the paper went to press.

Elsewhere, under the head of "An Abortionist. A Gray Haired Reprobate In Trouble," a terse paragraph conveyed a story with a decidedly modern ring. An international item reporting the guillotining of a French murderer was headed, "Man Who Cut Woman's Throat Is Compelled To Part With His Head."

In April, 1885, San José's business district enjoyed the demonstration of a fire extinguisher known as a Harden Hand Grenade—a spherical blue glass bottle filled with fire extinguishing chemical. A Harden salesman built a 12 x 15 shed in the middle of the intersection of First and Santa Clara Streets, saturated it with oil, and set it afire. When the flames reached a height of twenty feet, he tossed four of the grenades into them, and the chemicals thus released promptly put out the fire.

"The result," according to the *News*, "was received with hearty cheering."

By 1890, De Lacy had temporarily satisfied his appetite for journalism. On February 22, he sold his interest in the *News* to Williams, and returned to law enforcement starting as chief of police in 1892.

De Lacy's next three decades were restless ones. He returned to newspaper work from 1895 to 1901, first as advertising solicitor for the *Mercury*, and then as its business manager. He even tried his hand at prune growing, real estate, and insurance. Commencing in 1909, he served as undersheriff for Arthur B. Langford, following up as assistant sheriff to George W. Lyle in 1919.

Today, Hugh A. De Lacy is best remembered for his founding of the *Evening News*. In the tug of war between law enforcement and journalism, San José was fortunate in having his services in both.

At the time the paper passed to Williams' sole ownership, it was in good financial condition. In 1889, it boasted complete telegraph services with New York and other large cities, and its prosperity showed every sign of continuing.

But readers soon detected a difference in tone. Where De Lacy lambasted local abuses in general and City Hall in particular, Williams evinced more interest in foreign events. He viewed the city fathers in a much more charitable light. It took a lot of irritation to make him take anything approaching a De Lacy poke at them. In later years, he mellowed even more.

He also lacked De Lacy's Alexander-like ambition. De Lacy, bent on capturing the evening field from the *Herald*, wished to employ John McNaught who became one of the nation's greatest editorial writers. McNaught, at one of the lowest ebbs of his career, was working in a lumber yard and would gladly have joined the *News* staff for \$25 a week.

Williams, however, was not in a conquering mood. Instead of coming to San José, McNaught went on to attain fame in San Francisco and New York. His only noteworthy connection with San José after that came through his marriage to Margaret Schallenberger, daughter of San José's pioneer Moses Schallenberger.

Williams published the *News* for twenty-six years, during which time he proved himself a born innovator. He gradually increased the volume of local news and, as one writer put it, produced "less sarcastic but blunter and more factual editorials."

The first December after he took over, he published a twenty-page section of Christmas ads.

Williams' greatest innovation, however, was in the mechanical department. On June 18, 1898, he introduced the linotype machine into Santa Clara County and gently let his less progressive competitors know the *News* was an up-to-date paper—the day of handset type had passed.

As a conservative sheet, the *News* attained a circulation of 1,600, a high figure for a San José daily of that day. But with the passing years, Williams became increasingly conservative, in fact too much so for his subscribers who began to suspect him of fearing to offend anyone. Circulation dropped to 1,200 as his vitality ebbed. His sale of the paper to Hiland L. Baggerly for \$25,000 on July 1, 1916, therefore came as no great surprise.

Three and a half months later, the *News* carried Williams' obituary.

Baggerly, a nationally known sports editor, was a highly intelligent man, full of ideas, energy, and ambition. As soon as he acquainted himself with existing conditions, he added NEA Service Features, plus several other of more local nature. His sister Cora, wife of San Francisco editor Frémont Older, ran a lengthy serial titled "When San José Was Young." Other stories of historical nature appeared under the bylines of Eugene T. Sawyer and Minnie Burgess, and whole columns of different subjects bore such headings as "Library News" and "Labor News."

"Inside" political news, which sometimes left local politicians jumpy, appeared in a non-bylined column called "The Man On The Street," written by Baggerly himself. In a way, it anticipated the nationally syndicated "Washington Merry-go-round" column of later years.

Excellent editorial writing became another characteristic of the *News*. In 1919, Editor R. L. Burgess wrote what was adjudged the nation's finest obituary of Theodore Roosevelt.

In just two months, Baggerly boosted the *News'* circulation 2,690; in six months to 3,300—more than twice the highest figure ever attained by De Lacy and Williams.

The 1908 subscription rate of thirty cents a month had risen only to thirty-five cents by the end of 1917. War time conditions forced the rate up to forty-five cents a month in September, 1918, but with no perceptible decrease in circulation and advertising. And by 1920 the paper had outgrown its long time home in the Krumb Building at 78 South Second Street. On January 3, 1921, it moved into its own brand new two-story structure at 66 West San Antonio Street.

Here, Baggerly had a prosperous flourishing paper with a circulation of 5,000 when he surprised the community by selling out to G. Logan Payne of Washington, D. C. This transaction marked the entry of Eastern capital into the San José newspaper field. It also brought to this city another highly competent and experienced journalist.

As a former Hearst man, Payne soon had to squelch a rumor that he had bought the *News* for Hearst interests. This done, he took up the paper's great improvement where Baggerly left off.

He first added Associated Press service to that of the United Press already in use. Then, in quick succession, he changed the type face of the paper, moved the editorial room to quieter upstairs quarters, and doubled the size of the plant by buying the next door building at 80 West San Antonio Street. To these, he added a photo engraving department so the paper could, at last, produce its own pictures.

Addition of teletype on January 19, 1928, brought the paper up to date in practically every respect. With two machines for United Press and two for Associated, news that formerly tapped in one letter at a time by Morse code, or had come in fat envelopes from San Francisco, now poured in by electric printers. And with further expansion of the paper, Payne added a third service—the International (INS).

Payne did not live to see fulfillment of his dreams for the *News*. He died in 1936, leaving the paper to his sons George and Robert who respectively took over as publisher and assistant publisher. Together with their mother, they kept the paper in the family until they sold it to the Hayes brothers of the *Mercury* on September 1, 1942.

Thus, in its fifty-ninth year, the *News*, still growing, became inseparable from the *Mercury*. It moved to the *Mercury* plant on West Santa Clara Street soon after the sale, and was published in the same building and with the same equipment as the *Mercury*. In 1967, both moved as a unit to the new plant on Ridder Drive, where the *News* became a morning paper one day a week. A jointly published Sunday edition came out under the flag of *Mercury News*.

Daily Morning Times

Aside from the "big ones" already mentioned, the *Daily Morning Times* was perhaps the only other San José paper to threaten the *Mercury's* supremacy.

Stephen W. DeLacy and three Murdochs—Francis B., John G., and Francis W.—brought this challenger into existence on July 15, 1879. Francis B. Murdoch left it about six months later, and DeLacy became sole proprietor in January, 1880, with the younger Murdochs as employees.

DeLacy got his first journalistic experience as publisher of the short-lived *San José Independent* in 1870, and more as co-publisher of the perhaps shorter-lived *Reporter* with his brother Hugh in 1872. He left San José just after this second venture, to become city editor of the *Daily Record* of Pioche, Nevada. The end of 1873, however, found him back in San José as city editor of the *Patriot* and, later, of its successor, the *Herald*.

By this time, he developed "big city ambition." He sold the *Times* to Charles M. Shortridge for \$5,500 on September 6, 1883, and moved to San Francisco to publish the *Daily Evening Star* in partnership with James H. Barry.

The San Francisco enterprise lasted only from February to June, 1884. Its collapse left DeLacy far out on a financial limb, for, when selling the *Times* to Shortridge, he had bound himself not to re-enter the San José newspaper field for three years.

But Shortridge had created a perfect opening—perhaps unwittingly. On buying the *Mercury* in 1884, he merged it with the *Times* under the name of

Times-Mercury for a year, and then discarding the *Times* part of the name, made it plain *Mercury*.

De Lacy noted this. As soon as the bond prohibiting his return to San José journalism expired, he reissued the *Daily Morning Times*, with himself as proprietor.

According to his subscribers, De Lacy produced a good, well-received paper. Yet, within four years, he concluded that some other pursuit would guarantee a more satisfactory income. He therefore decided to pass his remaining active years in the United States Customs service. His name disappeared from the *City Directory* in 1893, and the *Times* went into something of a journalistic limbo.

Shortridge, on the other hand, stayed with the newspaper business a while longer, adding to it active politics and the practice of law. He served as a state senator from 1899 to 1906, with a concurrent appointment as a building and loan commissioner in 1901.

Whether political and legal success interfered with his journalism is a question, but he soon faced financial problems that he could solve only by selling the *Mercury* in 1898 and the *Herald*. His last fling at journalism came almost immediately after completion of his final term in the Legislature. From 1907 to 1909, inclusive, the *City Directory* listed him as editor of the *Times*. Thereafter, until his farewell to San José in 1915, he was listed as Attorney-at-Law.

The *Times*, however, did not forget Shortridge in a hurry. He wrote a story late in 1907 that brought a libel suit from E. A. Hayes of the *Mercury*. Superior Judge J. R. Welch fined Shortridge \$500 in April, 1908, "with no imprisonment penalty attached to enforce payment." In January, 1910, the court wished to know why the fine had not been paid.

Even though it absorbed another paper or two in its earlier years, the *Times* was a stable institution, not given to much wandering to widely separated points about town. Except for the Shortridge interim of 1884-86 at 85 South First Street, it was published mainly at what became 13 South Market Street. But throughout its last six years it occupied no less than four different locations on the north side of Santa Clara Street between First and Market. A few issues

of a *Times-Star* flickered after that, but the era of any serious threat to the *Mercury* and the *News* had passed.

Miscellaneous

In addition to the foregoing "big papers," San José has seen more than 140 others come and go within the time span of this history. Most of them were published in English, but many appeared in French, German, Italian, Japanese, and Spanish, with a few in Croatian and Slavonian. The Slavonian paper sold its printing equipment in 1919 to the commercial printing firm of Smith-McKay in San José.

Those not fitting the popular concept of newspapers of general circulation ranged from college weeklies and dailies to house organs and agricultural, horticultural, and vinicultural bulletins. Labor and anti-Labor sheets such as the *Union Gazette* and the *American Plan News* enthusiastically anathematized each other for a dozen or more years. Temperance publications periodically exposed the evils of alcohol.

Alexander Philip Murgotten's *San José Pioneer*, founded in 1877, largely devoted its semi-monthly issues to California History and the affairs of the California Pioneers of Santa Clara County. Yet, it was a general newspaper, carrying legal notices and a large amount of commercial advertising. It was suspended after its absorption by the *Times* in 1884; resumed publication as a monthly in 1893; changed to a magazine format in 1897; and finally suspended in 1901. The *Pioneer's* surviving files are still a prime source of historical data for researchers.

Those of the *San José Post Record*, however, are of comparatively recent origin, and tracing them calls for a bit of detective work. One publisher of this paper sets 1910 as its beginning year, and the California State Library records show it becoming a daily on April 23, 1931. Still, if the weekly *East San José Post* can be proven its earliest ancestor, it may be traced through several different "Post-dominated" flags to 1906.

But whatever the date of origin, the *Post* has been published as a daily legal and commercial paper

for more than fifty years to the time of this printing. Courts, law firms, title companies, credit bureaus, and certain types of business establishments have always comprised the preponderance of its subscribers. For a while, some of its early printing was done in the office of the *San José News*, and of its several owners operating at various addresses, it has remained longest in the family of Edward J. Rose.

What became Santa Clara County's greatest combination of weeklies got under way with a varied titled paper popularly referred to as *The Sun*. Wheeler's *Historical Directory of Santa Clara County Newspapers* threaded a maze of small, more or less obscure predecessors to establish 1953 as the year of beginning. Publisher Elaine Levine more recently described the *East San José Sun's* absorption of the shortlived *Valley View* as the founding act.

More than likely, however, this far flung organization stemmed from the acquisitive drive of Morton Levine who quickly gathered half a dozen neighborhood "throw aways" into his fold.

Levine concentrated on neighborhood news and advertising, garnering a steadily increasing volume of both. The schools of each edition's designated area also came in for much attention, with students reporting their activities. Salty political comment and frequent addition of new features likewise helped circulation. And before the decade ended, many a homeowner really missed the paper if the carrier failed to deliver it.

Whether published under San José, East San José, West San José, Willow Glen, or any other San José designation, the *Sun* had not reached its peak when this work was written. A comprehensive story of its career awaits a future printing.

Less fortunate than the *Sun* was the *San José Daily Beacon*, an outgrowth of Thomas F. Loughran's weekly *Santa Clara County Review*, which dated back to 1931.

The review first appeared in the *San José City Directory* in 1934, when it was located at 772 East Santa Clara Street. A neighborhood sheet, it was nothing great as a newspaper, but it served the

purpose of its publisher and his wife Lucille for several years.

Loughran eventually moved his plant to 56 North San Pedro Street, which put him a couple of miles closer to his home in Santa Clara. Here he remained until 1944, when Joseph A. Lowry acquired the *Review*, converted it to a daily, and changed its name to *San José Daily Beacon*.

Lowry, former departmental manager of the *San José News*, had gathered much newspaper experience in both Kansas and California. He was a good writer, but generally preferred the managerial end of the business. He published the *Beacon* a while at 227 North First Street, and then moved to roomier quarters at 143 Post.

Viewed in retrospect, Lowry's editorials possessed startling clairvoyance. His opinions on what San José had to do to improve its civic status were right to the point. Practically all of his predictions of the city's growth and development came true.

But he chose an unpropitious time to rebuild a newspaper. World War II was in full swing. The War Production Board cut his paper supply and seriously hampered his obtaining other necessary materials.

Yet, he hung on for five years after the war ended—bucking post war conditions, legal obstructions, and local rivals before going out of business in 1950.

No story of San Jose journalism would be complete without mention of Franklin Hichborn, the most trenchant political reporter in California history.

Born in Eureka, California, in 1869, Hichborn lived most of his life in Santa Clara. He came of the same New England lineage that produced Paul Revere, and felt obligated to keep the faith with that distinguished Revolutionary ancestor. He was dead against anyone who, by any form of graft or malfeasance, betrayed or weakened the American system of government. Even reasonably honest men, guilty of nothing more than a few youthful misdemeanors, felt a mite uneasy under his searching questions and penetrating eye.

Yet he was just. He lambasted the briber as well as the one who accepted a bribe. He unhesitatingly gave credit where credit was due, and withheld it

where not due. No publisher's "sacred cow list" meant anything to him.

Educated at the University of Pacific, Stanford, and Santa Clara, Hichborn early chose journalism as his life's work. He wrote for papers ranging from San Francisco to Boston. But he eventually chose free-lancing, which gave him much more freedom.

In San José, Hichborn twice tried publishing—the *Semi-Monthly Letter* in 1897 and the weekly *San*

José Spectator in 1900. Both were dedicated to exposing the city's political corruption, and both brought mountains of well-financed opposition that soon put him out of business. On one occasion, a mob of his editorial targets dumped him into a horse trough.

On the other hand, his fearlessly accurate reporting on the State Legislature's finagling and the San Francisco graft trials of the first decade of the 20th Century won national acclaim.



The San José Mercury Publishing and Bookbinding Company shared this office with the Santa Clara Valley Land Agency. When this picture was taken in 1890, Charles Shortridge was editor and publisher of the Mercury and Rufus L. Higgins was president of the land association. The office was located at 171-173 West Santa Clara Street.



Prior to the electronic age of communication, the daily tabloid reigned as the principal means of getting information about world and local events. The above photo shows some of the variety of publications available to San Joséans at one time.



Many a San José housewife who traded at Leddy's Market in the 1880s paid only two bits for enough meat to feed her family all day. Liver for her cat and a bone for her dog were free. This shop, on the southwest corner of Market and Santa Clara Streets, marked one of several locations of the firm founded by James and Daniel Leddy in 1857. Other tenants of the same premises were the *Evening Herald*, *Morning Times*, and the job printing shop of Cottle & Wright. They shared the second floor, later entirely occupied by the *Evening News*. Today, however, most old-timers can recall only two concurrent ground floor occupants—the original Tower Saloon and the Rengas Confectionery. The first, facing Santa Clara Street, catered to those who preferred "hard stuff." The second, at 9 South Market Street, concentrated on candy and ice cream sodas.



This photo shows the combination sample and reception room of one of San José's favorite photograph galleries—probably that of Loryea & Macaulay on the north side of Santa Clara Street between First and Second. Here, while waiting for his turn in front of the camera, a customer had time to judge the skill of the photographer. Many photos in this history were made by this studio.



This is the home of the *San José Mercury* on the northwest corner of First and El Dorado (now Post) Streets in the latter 1860s. From their office above Louis Krumb's Lager Beer Depot, editor James Jerome Owen and his job printing partner, Benjamin Hinckley Cottle, commanded a fine view of First Street. It was here on January 14, 1869, that Owen noted how the newly constructed railroad had superseded stagecoach service between San José and Eighteen Mile House (Madrone). Other occupants of the building were photographer John H. Heering, Justice of the Peace Charles G. Thomas and dentist J. J. Menefee.



California's first American civil governor Peter Burnett lived in this house when it was built in Alviso in 1850. It was moved to North First Street in San José in 1854 and later became the Post Printing Company. It was succeeded by the California Printing Company, now known as Califorms.

Mary Hayes Chynoweth was an evangelist preacher and mother of E. A. and J. O. Hayes who purchased the *San José Mercury Herald* and changed the political climate of San José from a "boss-type government." Mrs. Chynoweth, her sons and their families occupied the Hayes Mansion (also known as the Hayes-Chynoweth Mansion), which boasted 50 rooms. It occupied a 240-acre, parklike tract of land on the west side of Monterey Road at Edenvale, about six miles south of the center of San José. After it burned to the ground on July 30, 1899, it was replaced by an equally spacious structure of different architectural design.





San José Ad Club celebrates Gertrude Murphy Day (the Dean of Advertising Execs in San José) with a Christmas Party on December 17, 1962. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



Shirlie Montgomery, photographer about town is shown in August, 1960. Ms. Montgomery was a free lance photographer and "stringer" for San Francisco newspapers. Many of Shirlie's pictures are used in this history. (photo courtesy of Mercury News)



Frank Freeman and Gus Kettman at a Sportsman dinner party. Freeman was the popular *Mercury* columnist who wrote the daily column "Here Tis." Kettman started as a *Mercury* reporter, became a policeman, and later, chief of police at Palm Springs. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



19

PARKS





San José had no park prior to American occupation of California—unless the bare, dusty, windswept, ground squirrel-infested Plaza could be considered a park. Outdoor recreation, mostly for menfolk, was usually gory. It consisted mainly of bull fights, bull and bear fights, and *correr el gallo*. And contrary to modern popular belief, the town had no real bull ring (*plaza de toros*) for the first two spectacles.

Correr el gallo, not so well known to later day Californians, required the skill of an expert horseman and the life of a rooster. The rooster was buried in the ground with only its greased neck and head above the surface. As the horseman rode by at full gallop, he reached down and snatched off the rooster's head. It was hilarious for the spectators, but harrowing for the victim, for if the first rider missed, another came in right behind him.

Tamer forms of recreation such as picnics and barbecues involved women and usually took place under trees along some pleasant watercourse. Parties and dances took place both indoors and outdoors.

Americans liked the picnics and barbecues, but showed no taste for the gory varieties of entertainment. They had hardly established a state government when Senator Edmund Randolph and Assemblyman Benjamin Cory successfully sponsored legislation suppressing "prize fights, bull fights on the Sabbath, and other brutal exhibitions." The prohibition of bull fighting was later extended to every day of the week.

By 1850, the City had set aside several public squares for future use, chief of which were St. James, Washington, and Market Space (The Plaza)—all officially surveyed by Lyman in 1848. Washington Square became the State Normal School's campus in 1871, but St. James and The Plaza became landscaped public parks in the full sense of the term. Several other squares, which appeared on Thomas White's 1850 map of the city, faded into early oblivion for all but historians, surveyors, and title searchers.

For example, White showed the soon gone State Square straddling Washington Street between Second and Fourth. St. John Square, on the north side of Mission Street between Third and Fourth, left City possession for a while, but later returned. East Square,

eventually put to public use, lay on the south side of Rosa Street (now East Hedding) between Seventh and Eighth. Jackson Street went around both sides of North Market Place between Third and Fifth Streets according to White, but it has always been a "straight through" throughfare in actual use.

White also laid out White's Park, a gore formed by First and Market Streets between Washington and Empire, but it, too, never got off paper. A map drawn by City Surveyor Charles T. Healey in 1862 showed that neighborhood already in private ownership and subdivided for residential use. St. James, St. John, Washington, and East Squares, plus a vaguely mentioned Santa Rosa Square, passed with 115 town lots in 1850 to ownership of James Frazier Reed and wife who deeded them back to the City for \$1,549 on July 15, 1851.

By 1900, only two of the City's original squares had been landscaped into creditable parks—St. James in 1869, and The Plaza whose real embellishment had to wait for construction of the 1887 City Hall. Meanwhile, privately owned premises made up for the community's lack of public parks.

Louis Prevost's nursery, known as Prevost's Gardens, occupied a block wide area along the west bank of the Guadalupe from just north of San Carlos Street to the present West William Street. Nearby Sunol and Sainsevain's Live Oak Park, opened on May 15, 1864, filled most of the block bounded by Park and Marliere (now Spencer) Avenues, the Guadalupe River, and Prevost's land. William O'Donnell's Zoological Gardens at Tenth and William Streets became the favorite gathering place for that side of town. All three of these places seasonally attracted thousands of visitors from as far away as Gilroy and San Francisco. Denis Kearney's Workingmen's Party came by excursion train from San Francisco in 1877 for a grand picnic at Live Oak Park, an event preceded by a parade from the Southern Pacific's San Pedro Street Depot to the park. The Italian Mutual Benefit Society also chose Live Oak for a similiar affair on June 27, 1880.

Other recreation seekers went as enthusiastically to O'Donnell's place so "the children" could see the zoo. Fifty years later, they recalled a seal that escaped

PARKS

and made its way via Coyote Creek almost to Alviso before it was recaptured.

From 1857 to 1870, Louis Pellier's City Gardens, basically a nursery as Prevost's and O'Donnell's premises, offered picnicking facilities to the public. Pellier, however, operated on a smaller scale than his better advertised contemporaries. Most of his visitors, as noted elsewhere, came to enjoy his personal hospitality—and not a few to impose on his impulsive generosity. In 1870, Pellier deeded a right of way for St. James Street through his property, which was subdivided for residential purposes after his death in 1872.

The largest of the area's privately-owned pleasure spots was the seventy-six-acre Agricultural Park about a mile beyond the city's western limit line. It belonged to the Santa Clara Valley Agricultural Society, which bought it from Henry Morris Naglee for \$6,142 in 1859. Its improvements eventually included a one-mile horse racing track, a quarter-mile concrete velodrome for bike racers, and buildings of all kinds of concessions and displays.

Agricultural Park served as the County Fairgrounds until 1880, when State aid, vitally necessary for premiums, ceased in accordance with a new law governing such activities. The park got along quite well, however, for the next decade. Late as 1888, it was pronounced in excellent condition with one small outstanding debt. But another ten years brought insurmountable problems, mostly financial. In 1901, ownership passed to the Peninsula Land and Development Company, which soon converted the premises to a residential subdivision known as Hanchett Park. And by 1925, when Hanchett Park annexed to the city of San José, Agricultural Park was fast fading from the memories of old-timers.

Soon after the Civil war, San José showed enough interest in parks to fence in The Plaza and dot the enclosure with a few spindly saplings of some kind. Outside the fence, similar saplings indicated a future curb line. The enclosure and surrounding streets were mudholes every winter for a long time to come, and moving the fence to the Third Ward (now Lowell) schoolyard in 1880 did nothing to improve the scene along Market Street.

Also during these years, the City had to defend its title to The Plaza against the heirs of Antonio Mariá Pico who claimed it as part of their heritage. Until the courts could settle that matter, spending public money to improve the area would have been exceedingly risky.

Construction of the 1887 City Hall, however, brought a great change. This huge brick structure stood close to the center of The Plaza. San Antonio Street went around its north and south sides. Market Street, passing on the east and west sides, completed the settings of the "architectural gem." Landscaping both ends of the square with lawns and more appropriate trees brought embellishment that ended the public's thirty years of complaining about the "deplorable condition of The Plaza." The only eyesore after that was the Cogswell statue, whose removal landscape expert Charles Mulford Robinson suggested in his report to the Outdoor Art League in January, 1909.

Realignment of Market Street in 1934 to accommodate construction of the Civic Auditorium took a small slice off The Plaza's southwestern corner. But removal of the municipal government to a new city hall on West Mission Street in 1958 more than compensated for it. Projecting San Antonio Street in a straight line across The Plaza after razing of the old City Hall opened up more space for trees and flowers. Also, redevelopment of the surrounding neighborhood promised eventual closing of that street fragment to permit unbroken landscaping of The Plaza from one end to the other.

In 1869, while the *Mercury* was still receiving letters of complaint regarding The Plaza, the Common Council directed more than the usual amount of attention to St. James Square. From a fenced but otherwise bare expanse of hard ground with District No. 2's little schoolhouse at the northeast corner, it was landscaped into a tree-filled St. James Park. The schoolhouse disappeared after its pupils transferred in 1868 to new Santa Clara Street School, later known as Horace Mann. Photos taken of St. James Park during the next half decade show it in flourishing condition. Photographers used branches of its trees—mostly elms—to frame their "shots" of the Court-

house and St. James Hotel just across First Street.

By the mid-1890's, crosswalks, laid out in a Union Jack pattern radiated from a central fountain to all corners and sides of the park. Hitching posts supporting a block-long chain stood just inside the street curb, and trees of various kinds stretched along the parkways. Other improvements followed from time to time, and the City never wanted for advice from expert landscapers. On June 21, 1887, for example, the *Mercury* reported the Common Council's questioning "Mr. Ulrich," landscaper of Del Monte, who had ideas for further beautification.

On becoming a park, St. James also became a center for all kinds of public gatherings. President William McKinley addressed a huge crowd on the First Street side, facing the Courthouse, on May 13, 1901. A granite monument surmounted by a heroic bronze statue of him was unveiled on February 21, 1903, to mark the spot where he stood. While patrolling the town to prevent looting after the earthquake of 1906, the local National Guard company camped in the park. Old-timers long afterward remembered the rows of army tents under the trees.

A second large monument, financed by the honoree's family, was erected on the St. John Street side of the park in August, 1915, to commemorate San José's own Brigadier General Henry Morris Naglee, public benefactor and veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars.

All events taking place in the park were not necessarily of a civic or pleasant nature. The already mentioned Holmes and Thurmond lynching resulted in destruction of two of the park's trees and brought much undesirable notoriety to the city. During the Depression days of the 1930's, leather-lunged, hat-passing radicals harangued the curious and gullible on the economic ills of the nation. Bible-waving, hell-fire and brimstone evangelists shouted fundamentalists' condemnation of sinners from park bench pulpits. In pre-jury commission days, court bailiffs collared park loafers and bums for immediate jury duty across the street.

Permanent structural additions came to the park in form of two noisome public lavatories. Later

addition of a public speakers' podium eased the strain on the park's wooden benches.

As square and park, St. James retained its 550 by 610-foot dimensions for 107 years. Yet, early as February 1, 1872, the *Mercury* reported an unsuccessful attempt to "destroy" the park. Similar comment in the same paper on January 16, 1880, noted failure of a petition to open Second Street through that area. But the Second Street proponents were persistent in their belief that opening a thoroughfare through the park would "solve a serious traffic problem." Finally, an indifferent electorate approved the project at the polls in November, 1954, and by October, 1955, St. James became two parks.

Construction of the St. James Community Center in the north-east corner of the park (the erstwhile schoolhouse site) presaged further changes in landscaping. This new structure, dedicated on February 25, 1968, covered 13,300 square feet. Together with the cutting through of Second Street, it caused venerable natives to fear for the future of their park. Many shook their heads and roundly damned the circumstances that brought such things to pass.

A third parcel of land attracting park interest about that time lay in the hills six miles northeast of the city. It had been confirmed to the pueblo as early as 1779 as part of San José's original Spanish heritage. Local Indians called it Shistuk (or Shestuc), but American settlers soon referred to it as City Reservation.

This area, containing many mineral springs, was drained by a lively mountain stream whose upper reaches bore the Spanish name *AguaJe*, meaning a watering place for cattle, or a place where cattle regularly came to drink. Down in the valley, after seeping through a broad swamp between the present Berryessa Road and Murphy Avenue, this stream gathered itself into another channel called *Penitencia*, a name that eventually designated its entire length. Originally, the *Penitencia* emptied into the Coyote a short distance northwest of what is now Milpitas. But in 1852, a farmer, tired of having his lands flooded every winter, diverted it by means of a ditch into the same stream a few feet south of the Berryessa Road crossing.

PARKS

During the 1850's, a rancher named Woolsey Shaw acquired by preemption and purchase some 700 acres of hilly terrain through which the Penitencia flowed to the valley. San José, unable to settle otherwise, took the matter to court, holding that Shaw's claim included 400 acres of the city's pueblo land. And an official survey in 1866 supported the city's contention.

In the bitter, long drawn out lawsuit that followed, the court decided in favor of the City. But meanwhile, Shaw had improved the property for resort use by erecting a hotel, bath house, and other buildings. Moreover, while the case was still pending, he sold the buildings and the land they occupied to Joseph Otis Stratton. Shaw, not inclined to give up easily, fought back, using every possible stratagem. Late as 1870, when he claimed possession and attempted to buy 115 acres of the reservation from the City, his action met much public opposition. On June 10, the *San Francisco Daily Call* reported, "People object and are supported by the *Daily Independent* which came out with a long article opposing. The council will probably reject the application." Two days later, the same paper had more to say about the case, and the *San José Mercury* commented in a similar vein on the 16th.

On the other hand, Stratton, seeking to salvage something from an obvious misadventure, offered to sell his claim to the City if it would pay for the improvements. He asked \$3,000, but indicated a willingness to accept \$1,000. The City, however, rejected his offer and refused to pay him anything.

Though the area in question bore the official title of City Reservation for many years, it also appeared in public print as Penitencia Reservation, White Sulphur Springs, and Alum Rock. Tradition credits John Martin Ogan, a neighboring land owner with suggesting the last mentioned name, which came from an alum-impregnated formation on the north side of the creek near the junction of Penitencia Road and Alum Rock Avenue.

The name Alum Rock appears to have been pretty well fastened on the area by May 4, 1864, when the *San José Patriot* reported a picnic held there by a San José High School class. And gaining favor as

time passed, Alum Rock became the permanent name of the area. On March 13, 1872, it was given to a 400-acre park provided for by a new city charter and an Act of the State Legislature. This Act, creating a municipal park far outside the city limits, required construction of a suitable access road. A second Act provided a board of commissioners to administer the affairs of both. The first board of commissioners consisted of General Naglee, banker Edward McLaughlin, and physician Alexander Josephus Spencer.

The new road, a continuation of Santa Clara Street east of Coyote Creek, took the name Alum Rock Avenue. It was lined east of Capitol Avenue with four rows of trees creating three distinct roadways as far as its junction with McKee Road. Of the three roadways, the middle was widest. Those along the sides were fairly narrow and by modern usage, could be called frontage roads. Fast maturing eucalyptus trees, donated by Andrew J. Fowler, soon shaded the route from Capitol Avenue to just above the present Millar Avenue. General Naglee furnished the Monterey pines that stretched from there to the summit, narrowing to two rows and a single roadway above what became the San José Country Club's golf links.

In 1875, the following description of the road appeared in *Resources of Santa Clara Valley, California*, a book published by the San Jose Board of Trade.

The avenue, which is generally known as Naglee Avenue, is now completed, and is pronounced by all who have seen it as one of the most delightful drives in the State. It is one hundred feet in width, and lined most of the way on each side with two rows of trees. It leads out in a straight line from the City about five miles till it reaches the foothills, when it winds by easy grades over a spur of the mountain and down into the Canyon. Thence it follows up the creek about one and a half miles to the springs and hotel. The road opens up, at various points, some of the most charming scenery imaginable. The amount of money thus far expended upon the work is about \$25,000.

In nomenclature, Alum Rock Avenue had something in common with its offshoot, Mt. Hamilton

Road. For a short time, each bore the name of the most important man connected with its construction. Alum Rock, as previously indicated, was "generally known" as Naglee Avenue, while Mt. Hamilton was first referred to—even in print—as Lick Avenue. Though much shorter than the higher climbing Mt. Hamilton Road, Alum Rock Avenue attracted attention all out of proportion to its dimensions. Countless photographs and tourist post cards portraying its arboreal beauty were mailed from the Santa Clara Valley every year. And they are still much sought after by modern collectors of such memorabilia.

On December 2, 1959, however, the *Mercury* announced that workmen were felling the great eucalypti that had marked Alum Rock Avenue's course for more than three quarters of a century. Nervous owners of the fast multiplying business houses along the outside roadways feared the aromatic, shaggy-barked giants would fall or drop limbs upon them or their sign-covered establishments.

Meanwhile, Nature had begun to take toll of General Naglee's pines, decimating those below McKee Road and battering those above that point. Within twenty years, even the most unobservant passerby could immediately recognize the deterioration of what had formerly been "one of the most delightful drives in the State."

Although it caused many municipal headaches, Alum Rock Park, on the other hand, escaped the later commercial blight of the avenue. Most of the park's troubles, aside from the Shaw-Stratton affair and natural calamities, occurred during the first thirty years of its existence as a park. Yet, on July 14, 1870, the *Mercury* reported that a vandal had girdled a number of the area's trees.

Perhaps the greatest source of irritation was the hotel whose long, noticeably rapid succession of proprietors got much comment in the minutes of the Common Council. It occasionally seemed that the Council and the hostelry's managers could not agree on anything for long. Even dissolution of partnership by the proprietors of the Alum Rock Saloon in 1880 brought on a legal battle, and the handling of other concessions caused similar trouble.

Just before the hotel's destruction by fire on March 27, 1890, Manager Harry Loryea, who leased the property at \$100 a month, was dispossessed. Apparently, there was no legal suspicion of arson, or at least not enough to warrant court action. The City promptly collected the \$2,500 insurance that it carried on the building.

Yet, the park's popularity increased amazingly. Summer week-ends saw lengthening lines of horse-drawn vehicles carrying picnickers to the springs via Alum Rock Avenue and Penitencia Road. Completion of the steam-powered San José and Alum Rock Park Railroad in 1894 swelled attendance to the point of crowding—even on weekdays. After electrification in 1902, it enabled visitors from well beyond San José to reach the park in a matter of minutes. A Santa Clara resident, for example, could board a car at 8:00 a.m. in his home town, go up to the park, fill a jug or two with mineral water, and return home in time for lunch. He might even tarry a while at the park's zoo or aviary and still finish his journey on time.

Hersie F. Lord, who had just moved to San José from River Falls, Wisconsin, left one of the best accounts of Alum Rock's popularity well before arrival of the railroad. In a letter written to the editor of the *River Falls Journal* on April 22, 1888, he described the park at length. "The picnic grounds are fine," he wrote, "and the scenery is unsurpassed in the valley—which attracts hundreds of people to this haunt every day, and I may say thousands without exaggerating in the least." In describing waters of the various springs, however, Lord added a wry note. "This place is noted for its large sulphur springs," he observed, "The sulphur water comes out of the rocks on either side of the little stream for a distance of several rods and the perfumery they afford reminds the sinner that purgatory is near at hand."

To handle such attendance as Lord mentioned, the City frequently increased the park's facilities. By 1901, they included an artistically designed bath house, and outdoor swimming pool, visitors' cottages, a tea room, playground apparatus for children, and a central fountain to which several kinds of mineral waters were piped from the springs. The swimming pool,

PARKS

later enclosed by a barn-like structure gave off the strong odor of sulphur water.

The park suffered a severe setback from heavy rains in March, 1911. Besides other damage, the flood-swollen Penitencia Creek weakened the already dangerous railroad tunnel and tore out track for a great distance down the canyon.

The Peninsular Railway then took over the San José and Alum Rock Park Railroad's operation. It built a new high speed broad gauge line all the way from San José to the park's station. Except for almost complete rerouting down in the valley, the new road followed or paralleled the old company's right of way fairly closely after entering the narrow confines of the canyon. And great festivities marked the arrival of the "big red cars" in September, 1913.

Concession improvements during the next two years included a new cafe, a new pavilion, and an up-to-date indoor swimming pool known as the Natorium. The last boasted a powerful spring board, two high diving platforms, a long, "death-defying" slide, and an elevated gallery to accommodate crowds of spectators. To these attractions, the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West added a touch of historical nostalgia. On September 25, 1915, the latter dedicated a log cabin filled with pioneer relics.

But for many years, the greatest non-commercial attraction was a huge black boulder, known as the Alum Rock Meteor, on the north bank of the Penitencia at the lower end of the park. It measured about twenty feet in height by twenty in width, with a nearby sign indicating an estimated weight of 2,000 tons. Everyone entering or leaving the park via Penitencia Road stopped to look at it. Motormen even stopped their cars so passengers could get a better view of it. This massive object was undoubtedly there long before the dawn of civilization—a fact that had little effect on the imagination of old-timers who said they saw it streaking incandescently through the sky to land "ker-plop alongside the creek."

In the summer of 1917, when World War I was in full swing, Director W. W. Campbell of Lick Observatory said the Alum Rock Meteor was not a meteor at all. It was a chunk of manganese, a mineral much

needed in the war effort. Therefore, San José's financially strapped City Council sold it on bid to a mining man for \$22,000. No one, however, made any money on the deal. The meteor weighed only 389 tons instead of 2,000, the purchaser went broke, and the City lost what could have become a highly profitable concession. For a long time thereafter, opponents of the sale never lost an opportunity to rib the embarrassed sellers.

Though the park later added a merry-go-round to its concessions, it resisted noise of the honky-tonk variety. Visitors expected juvenile chatter in the Natorium and on the playground, but adult recreation was generally of a quiet, restful type. Picnickers spread their meals on tables for that purpose, and hikers took to the far reaches of the trails at almost any hour of the day in good weather. Horseback riding remained pleasurable as ever for those who preferred it.

Each passing year brought an increasing number of visitors. Horses and buggies diminished in number, but automobiles, which could easily come from far away points, multiplied beyond the management's expectations. In 1921, a traffic officer on horseback became necessary to regulate their passage and parking.

By 1930, the automobile had not only replaced the horse and buggy, but it had also doomed the railroad. The last street-car left the park on June 12, 1932, and in April, 1934, the rails were ordered removed.

During the great nationwide economic depression of the 1930's, Alum Rock Park was a paradox. It suffered very little, if at all. The Federal Government's Works Progress Administration (WPA), seeking to reduce unemployment, appropriated funds for new bridges, more hiking and horse trails, and such other improvements as fitted into the program. Engineer Harold J. Flannery of San José's Public Works Department supervised the entire project.

Another accomplishment of that period was Cherry Flat Dam, built at a cost of \$36,000 in 1936. Located on Penitencia Creek, high above the picnic grounds, the reservoir created by this dam assured

the park of an abundant water supply during the dry season. The story of Alum Rock did not confine itself to the prosaic. It possessed humor, tragedy, romantic nonsense, and a dash of garbled history.

On December 26, 1862, the *Mercury* reported a gold rush then under way to Alum Rock. San José did not come so close to depopulation as it did during the intrastate rush to the Mother Lode in 1848, but there seemed to be a shortage of able-bodied men around town for several weeks. And "follow ups" in the paper kept the rush alive until the miners concluded that the only gold along the Pentitencia came from salted ground.

Memories of the 1862 rush revived momentarily in 1911 when someone discovered a cave with a few abandoned mining tools in it, but no one took enough interest in it to start a rush of any kind. Yet, one similar to that of 1862 got under way when a railroad grading crew cut into what seemed to be pay dirt in February, 1913. The *Mercury* reported that J. H. Harrell had filed a twenty-acre quartz claim and that other influential citizens were showing more than passing interest. It is somewhat uncertain whether San José's "hopefuls" sang "Oh Susannah" on their way to the park, but after some poking around, every one of them, including Harrell, came away convinced that Alum Rock was no El Dorado.

Copper, on the other hand, proved to be more abundant than gold. As late as 1914, official maps of Santa Clara County showed copper mines ranging from the Burri Burri and Mammoth in the Pacheco Pass area to the Margarita at New Almadén and the Dixie at Saratoga.

Alum Rock's copper prospects received much attention from the *Mercury* throughout December, 1861, and January, 1862. The same paper published news of the county's various copper diggings, plus corporation notices to stockholders as late as 1865.

Unfortunately, the Alum Rock deposits were not rich enough to hold the public's attention. Within a few years, several abandoned prospect holes on the north side of the canyon constituted the only physical evidence of the "rush of '61."

The prospectors, however, were a tenacious lot. Unable to locate a gold or copper fortune in the Alum Rock area, they tried their luck with other minerals. In May, 1869, W. Frank Stewart petitioned the Common Council for permission to mine manganese there. W. T. Hall got a quitclaim for the same purpose the following August. Other interested parties pondered the possibilities of coal, petroleum, talc, and alum. And the *Mercury*, whose interest in the park had never flagged, published an Alum Rock sulphur mine story on July 9, 1935.

But growing awareness of the area's esthetic value inevitably diminished the City's willingness to open it to mining—especially since its official designation as a park.

The tragic side of the park's history usually involved falls from high places, which generally resulted from inexperience or recklessness of the persons injured. But the two worst tragedies, both of which cost human life, involved the railroad.

On June 6, 1903, an unattached homeward-bound trailer car's brakes failed as passengers were boarding it at the park's station. To the horror of the passengers and conductor already aboard, the car rolled forward. As it picked up momentum on the sharp downgrade, it supposedly attained a speed of sixty miles an hour before hurtling from the rails on a tight curve just below the Alum Rock. Forty-five year old Edwin Brandon Goodrich, son of San José architect Levi Goodrich, died soon after his removal from the wreckage.

The next fatal accident took the life of fifteen year old Richard Brown of San José on April 11, 1909. Brown playfully leaned out the window of the car on which he was riding just as it entered the tunnel. His head struck a projecting timber that jerked him through the window to be horribly crushed and ground to death between the car and the wall of the tunnel.

A long time elapsed before any San José mother again permitted a youngster to ride a car to Alum Rock unwatched by herself or some other responsible person. And car crews cooperated by closing all windows before reaching the point of danger.

PARKS

The Alum Rock caves also furnished a story or two, especially after somebody said one of them served as a hiding place for the celebrated bandit Joaquin Murieta. Though this story got into print and impressed many newcomers, it had a couple of defects. First, the caves were only shallow prospect holes from the previously mentioned copper mining ventures. Second, if Murieta ever lived, he was killed at Arroyo Cantua in 1853, eight-and-a-half years before his Alum Rock hiding place came into existence.

Several times in later years, Alum Rock Park's commissioners and other civic-minded San Joséans sought advice of such landscaping experts as Charles Mulford Robinson and Stephen Child. Robinson wrote *The Beautifying of San José*, a thirty-nine page illustrated report published in book form for The Outdoor Art League in January, 1909. He filled it with suggestions not only for improving Alum Rock, but also for other existing and possible San José parks. Child's report, published in similar form, came out in 1929 under the title of *A Plan For The Development Of Alum Rock Park*. It filled twenty-eight pages, not counting a copy of a 1912 foldout map of the park.

During World War I, thousands of soldiers from Menlo Park's Camp Fremont visited San José and Alum Rock for recreation. Great numbers also came from Fort Ord and other posts during World War II. Through them and the tremendous influx of newcomers to this area after the second war, word of Alum Rock's beauty and recreational facilities spread far abroad. Weekend visitors from the East Bay Area alone multiplied beyond any maximum ever dreamed of by the park's original commissioners.

Many local folk began to wonder if more outsiders than San Joséans realized the value of the park. It seemed to them that San Joséans were going to the Coast or the Sierra Nevada while the outsiders were coming here.

For its first seventy years as a park, Alum Rock depended almost exclusively on the guidance of a municipal commission answerable only to the Common Council, later called City Council. But in December, 1942, the City created its thoroughgoing Parks and Recreation Department headed by Frank W.

Bramhall who kept that post until his death in September, 1969.

Under Bramhall, all of San José's parks developed from more or less simple gardener form of maintenance to professional park development. Innovations and improvements followed at Alum Rock as fast as plans and appropriations of funds would permit. Addition of the Youth Science Institute in 1953, for example, enabled visitors to obtain for the first time a good understanding of the area's natural environment. On November 14, 1957, the park was annexed to San José as Penitencia 1-B. All of the park's development after that seemed directed toward fulfilling the recommendations of Mayor M. P. Snyder of Los Angeles.

While attending a convention in San José in 1902, Snyder took time to visit Alum Rock. "It is the most beautiful spot in California," he said, "and if we had it in the south we should spend a lot of money advertising it. We should make such a place a feature and spread it before the Eastern tourist as an attraction worth crossing the continent to see. We should have it pictured and featured in all of our advertising matter, and when the tourist came to see this state, he would want to see Alum Rock without fail."

But Snyder was just getting started. "You have a wonderful opportunity for building up your valley," he continued. "With Alum Rock and Lick Observatory, there is no reason why you should not have 90 percent of the tourist trade in the state. Probably one hundred thousand pleasure seekers will visit this State this winter. They should all come to your valley if its beauties and attractions were properly presented to them in your advertising matter."

San José papers enthusiastically reported what Snyder said, and his advice did not go unheeded. The San José and Alum Rock Park Railroad Company, which had just electrified its line, published a well-illustrated brochure under the title of *Alum Rock San José's Beautiful Resort*. Together with Robinson's report to the Outdoor League, this bit of advertising became a collector's item.

The rising interest in Alum Rock may have hastened development of other parks for which the

City had long possessed land and money. In 1889, Nirum Cadwallader, a wealthy mining man, presented to the City the sliver of land that formed the gore of First and Second Streets. In 1890, the same year this gore was dedicated as a park, Mrs. Anna C. Báckesto gave \$30,000 to the City in memory of her late homeopathic physician husband, John P. Báckesto, a native of Pennsylvania.

Robinson suggested sorely needed improvements for Cadwallader in 1909, but they had to wait on the City's acquiring and beautifying the unsightly shack-covered gore of First and Market Streets in 1913. The latter came about through a \$4,000 public subscription for purchase of the land, while the City paid \$4,500 for paving the streets around it.

Meanwhile, the heirs of early day banker Caius T. Ryland donated to the City their homeplace on the west side of North First Street between the railroad and Fox Avenue. This property became Ryland Park on March 13, 1911. Fifteen years later, it got a wading pool for children, a project financed by the San José Rotary Club.

In 1920, the City finally used the Báckesto money to buy the almost two-and-a-half-acre tract bounded by Thirteenth, Fifteenth, Jackson, and Empire Streets. Two years later, under the name of Báckesto, this property officially became the community's biggest residential neighborhood park up to that time. It also had the most persistently mispronounced name. The man it commemorated was born *Backenstohs*, but he had changed the spelling to Báckesto, *with accent on the first syllable*.

Creation of public parks during the first two decades of the 20th Century was matched by a resurgence of privately-owned establishments. Scheutzen Park, on the west side of Monterey Road a little south of Oak Hill Cemetery, appeared on official maps in 1901. Its clubhouse, barbecue pits, and picnicking facilities attracted throngs every summer, and champion trapshooters used its skeet range. Southbound cars of the First Street Railroad carried its name on their destination signs for years. In fact, much of that railroad's revenue came from Scheutzen patrons. Every year—usually in April—the *Mercury* announced Scheutzen's seasonal opening, and continued

to do so until notice of the park's "Farewell Party" appeared on September 2, 1912.

Scheutzen had that neighborhood all to itself until October 28, 1909, when the *Mercury* reported the completion of the San José Driving Park, northeast of the Monterey and Umbarger Roads intersection. This newcomer boasted a mile dirt track that could accommodate both horse and automobile racing—and an occasional aviation meet in the infield. It is doubtful, however, that the job was entirely finished, for a news note published in January, 1910, indicated work still in progress. In any event, crowds soon flocked to the track to see such famous auto racers as Barney Oldfield and Earl Cooper tearing into the home stretch at breakneck speeds approaching sixty miles an hour. In 1911, the spectators cheered wildly as Roy Francis nosed his biplane into the air above neighboring orchards.

But with the coming of steeply banked board tracks and automobile speeds of more than 100 miles an hour, dirt track racing lost much of its popularity. The Driving Park eventually passed to the ownership of H. Kirk Macomber who used it as a stock farm for thoroughbreds. Macomber sold it to the Santa Clara County Fair Association on October 28, 1940, and it became the Santa Clara County Fairgrounds.

By that time, such San Joséans who could remember the "old Driving Park" recalled watching races from Milus Gay's quarry hill across the Monterey Road to the west, on what became Oak Hill Cemetery property. Their "grandstand" antedated the University of California's "tightwad hill," in Berkeley, by many years.

If Scheutzen did not get enough competition from the Driving Park, it did not have to wait long for more. A big story in the *Mercury* of August 7, 1909, announced the coming of Luna Park, San José's greatest amusement establishment to date. When finished, this newcomer stretched along the north side of Berryessa Road from the present Thirteenth Street to a little east of Seventeenth. Its attractions included everything to delight youngsters and oldsters. Besides the customary carnival games, they boasted a merry-go-round, devil's slide, roller coaster,

PARKS

rodeo grounds, and a baseball diamond for the State League team of San José.

Though financed and built at a cost of \$50,000 by the nationwide Ingersoll Amusement Company, Luna Park was the brainchild of Lewis E. Hanchett, San José transit tycoon and real estate developer. He planned it just far enough from the center of town to compel most of his patrons to ride the cars of his Fourteenth (now Seventeenth) Street line to get there.

The operators of Luna Park lost no time in getting down to the business of making money. They had hardly fenced in the property when they introduced a series of balloon ascensions. Throughout October and November, 1909, the *Mercury* reported them at the rate of one or more a week, and one, on November 19, was advertised as a *balloon race*. Sunday afternoons found people from Campbell and Sunnyvale sitting atop tank houses or standing in open fields, searching the sky in the direction of Luna Park to catch the first glimpse of an ascending balloon. Such daring aeronauts as Captain J. W. Price and Joseph Martin became conversational topics in every household.

Completion of the baseball field by November 7 enabled Luna Park to stage its first great double bill—a ball game and a balloon ascension—a week later. An aviation (airplane) meet was announced on April 12, 1910, and the subsequent addition of other attractions put San José upon a big time rodeo circuit. Cowboys came here from all points west of the Missouri to compete in championship events.

These visitors literally added color to the scene. Jackson Sundown, an Indian, ranked as world's champion all around cowboy. Negro Jesse Stahl was the first man to ride Coyote, "the meanest bucking horse in all creation." Ty Stokes, another Negro, was the nation's champion "bronc" rider. "Skeeter Bill" Robbins and his wife, the greatest trick ropers of their day, time and again brought crowds to their feet, roaring with applause. The resplendent cowboy movie star, Dustin Farnum, left everyone goggle-eyed by simply riding around the arena. Among the Santa Clara County riders participating in these events were Frank Gordon and Tim Sullivan. Gordon spe-

cialized in roping, fancy and otherwise. Sullivan stuck to bull riding and chariot racing.

Yet, within a decade, changing public tastes and interests, plus American involvement in World War I, ended Luna Park's career. The National Axle Corporation, organized in 1920, acquired twelve acres of the main amusement area and erected upon it a \$178,000 plant to make axles for automotive vehicles. The Smith Manufacturing Company followed with a sheet metal plant nearby, and then came a large warehousing and cold storage firm. The axle company changed owners a time or two and, so far as San José investors were concerned, proved a disappointment. But in turning Luna Park's premises into an industrial area, it and its successors permanently silenced the roller coaster and relegated balloon ascensions to the pages of history.

Several decades passed before San José again saw anything even resembling Luna Park. Carnivals of the "flea-bitten itinerant" variety came and went, taking their dinky ferris wheels and wheezy merry-go-rounds with them. They played small festivals and, in the early 1920's, for a county fair substitute called the 100% Industrial Exposition, which took place in Phelan Field at First and Alma Streets.

Though one of the largest carnival outfits in existence made a one-week stand (later increased to ten days) at the revived Santa Clara County Fair every year from 1941 to this writing, it was still an itinerant enterprise. When its tent-like booths folded and its carousel, mini-roller coaster, and octopus departed a day or two after the fair, they left a depressing trash-covered scene behind them.

But constant expansion of the County Fair establishment, with its great halls and many special purpose buildings offered an increasing variety of culture and entertainment. It became a setting for theatrical performances, flower and livestock shows, cat and dog shows, rodeos, and political and religious conventions. Its mile, later half mile, dirt track attracted thousands of spectators to horse, automobile, and motorcycle races. Yet, the Fairgrounds never became an amusement park in the sense of Oakland's Idora or San José's Luna. Revival of anything of that

nature had to wait for the privately-owned Frontier Village, established at 4885 Monterey Road in 1961.

Occupying forty-three acres of the E. A. and J. O. Hayes estate, Frontier Village, as its name implies, used the early American West as its environmental motif. Valley Oaks and other native trees combined with indigenous brush, shrubs, and later introduced foreign vegetation to give much of the area a realistic forest effect. Bastioned blockhouses, with their palisaded enclosures, recalled frontier settlements of the old Northwest Territory. City-fronted frame structures did likewise for those of the Great Plains and far Western mining camps. Shootouts and stagecoach races probably did a little violence to history, but they furnished abundant excitement to spectators.

During the first forty years after the turn of the century, San José again acquired a noticeable number of smaller private parks. Most of them catered to family, church, and lodge affairs. Those that had indoor as well as outdoor facilities could handle modest dinners and wedding receptions.

Outstanding in this category was Cedar Brook Park, operated by Herman Richter at 575 Keyes Street. It occupied a pleasant, treeshaded spot adjoining the western flood plain of Coyote Creek. By 1910, it had become so popular that its name appeared on destination indicators of all cars on the San José Railroads' Tenth Street line, which ended on Keyes Street only a few steps from the park's entrance. Cedar Brook continued as a favorite gathering place for many years after the last Richter and streetcar disappeared from the scene. Under subsequent ownership, however, it declined from its former status, and, within a few years, its premises were converted to other use.

San José still had need, however, for an establishment that could offer recreation of the old-time Cedar Brook type. The first move toward filling this need came when a group known as the Swiss-American Club opened a barnlike hall on a small parcel of land at 2300 Canoas Garden Avenue in 1937. The members of this organization could set up tables and hold outdoor dinners in good weather if they wished, but, in the main, their gatherings were indoor

affairs. And so they continued until the property passed to the Moose Lodge several years later.

The Moose were primarily interested in a meeting place, and never got around to extensive development of the property. That had to wait for Raymond Rampone and his son Leroy who took over in 1950. The Rampones soon turned the place into a first class establishment covering five and a quarter acres under the name of Alpine Park. They erected a new building with a kitchen and a banquet room capable of accommodating hundreds of diners. Their outdoor facilities were increased to take care of similar numbers who like barbecue and picnic meals. An outdoor swimming pool, surrounded by large trees, refreshed those who wished to escape summer heat, and, if necessary, the banquet room's fine floor could be used for dancing.

By this time, San José was getting too big for parks that were hardly more than a few tables around a barbecue pit. The City Council and Department of Public Works had become more interested in commodious well-kept neighborhood parks to keep pace with the community's growth.

Professional and semi-professional sports promoters, however, long continued to avail themselves of private premises. After the Driving Park closed, automobile and motorcycle racing temporarily ended for San José. Local racing fans had to go to Salinas, Pleasanton, or more distant points to satisfy their craving for excitement until construction of the San José Speedway at Alum Rock Avenue and King Road.

This speedway was not the greatest money maker in the world for its owners, Barthol Lorigan and Henry Vowinle, or for its manager, John R. Wilson. But it did attract several crack drivers and a number of amateurs who later went on to big time. One old-time driver, Gene Wilson of San José, recollected thirty years afterward that it was "a suicide track," dirt, and less than half a mile long. Still, it served the purpose until an all-consuming fire leveled its grandstand on August 6, 1939.

San José was thus without an automobile track of any kind until a new San José Speedway was built at Tully Road and Swift Lane in 1946. This track was

PARKS

paved, steeply banked, and somewhat shorter than the one on Alum Rock Avenue. On occasion, it served as a bike track, succeeding, in a way, the Burbank Velodrome whose career ended with the opening of World War II. But neither the old nor new speedway nor the premises they occupied could be classified as parks in the accepted sense of the term.

For that matter, most other private facilities during this period could be classified more as athletic fields than as parks. The best known of them for a long time was Sodality Park, a baseball field owned by the Men's Sodality of St. Joseph's Church. It covered most of the area between Los Gatos Creek, San Carlos Street, and Royal and Auzerais Avenues until relocation of the Southern Pacific Railroad's coast line and general development of the neighborhood ended its usefulness in the mid 1930's. Sodality not only attracted the best of local talent, but also a noteworthy number of big leaguers. On off season tours, Babe Ruth, Lou Gehrig, and other stars came to it for well-patronized exhibition games.

On the other side of town, the Japanese Asahi Club's park made up in the fans' enthusiasm anything that it lacked in physical appurtenances. It opened on the northeast corner of Sixth and Jackson Streets in the early 1920's, but later moved to roomier quarters on Seventh Street north of Rosa (now Hedding). Asahi developed a number of outstanding players—Russell Hinaga, "Jiggs" Yamada, and Tommy Sakamoto among them. Its park fell into disuse during World War II, however, and subsequently disappeared, as victim of changing land use.

Tennis courts, too, were mostly on private property. Flimsy chicken wire fences enclosed courts anywhere from San Fernando and Seventeenth Streets to the Hotel Vendome grounds at First and Hobson Streets, and from there to the James D. Phelan premises on Seventh Street near Keyes. A generation later, old-timers loved to recall the players who used them—usually with emphasis on Sue Maynard, Ila Wilcox, Marjorie Postlethwaite, Ruth and Naomi Koehle, and Ernest H. Renzel, Jr.

The steadily increasing number of City-owned parks, however, brought a multiplying number of tennis courts. Tennis had found a permanent place in

the Council's consideration of proposed parks. Practically every park and high school ground laid out thereafter had room for tennis courts if possible. Night games, made practical by the innovation of floodlighting, commenced on the Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School courts in 1933.

The most ambitious park project of that decade, however, was the San José Municipal Rose Garden, a strictly floral and arboreal affair suggested to the City Council by Mrs. Frémont Older and Mrs. Charles C. Derby. For this, the Council set aside five-and-a-half acres of City-owned land at Naglee and Dana Avenues on November 20, 1927, and the Santa Clara County Rose Society agreed to provide all the roses. The ground breaking ceremony took place on April 7, 1931. Subsequent addition of the other five-and-a-half acres soon doubled the size of the premises, filling all the area bounded by Naglee and Dana Avenues, Emory Street, and Garden Drive. The Rose Garden thus became San José's outstanding show-place—a must for every tourist visiting the city.

Despite delays occasioned by World War II, San José was now wide open to park development. Almost before the citizenry knew what was happening, modest neighborhood parks dotted a wide area of the municipal landscape under such names as William Street, Willow Street, Biebrach, and Columbus. The city was far along the way toward becoming the best "park town" in the state in proportion to population. Its multiplying acquisitions of park sites left many critics wondering if the Council had gone into the real estate business.

In 1961 and '62, parks seemed to come into existence faster than the City could find suitable names for them. Councilmen Robert Doerr, Louis Solari, Paul Moore, George Starbird, Robert Welch, and Parker Hathaway therefore sought to solve the problem by naming parks after themselves. Their efforts, however, received more than a few arched remarks from the press and public. On June 19, 1962, the *Mercury* said, "Each Council member modestly declined to vote when 'his' park was voted on."

These eventful times also brought two important parcels of land at widely separated points into City possession from Miss Emma Prusch and Miss

Mildred L. Overfelt. Miss Prusch donated her eighty-six-and-a-half-acre ancestral farm on the northwest corner of King and Story Roads in 1962, stipulating that it become a pioneer farm museum complete with buildings, implements, and livestock. She wished modern city children to obtain a good idea of the nation's chief source of food. In 1959, Miss Overfelt gave thirty-two-and-a-half acres of her homeplace on the north side of McKee Road, between McKee Road and Jackson Avenue, for a park to be known as Overfelt Botanical Gardens.

By 1966, the diversified Kelley Park occupied 156 acres of what old-timers called "the Judge Lawrence Archer estate." Archer, who acquired this land in 1861, developed it into his parklike home grounds. His native trees, gardens, and orchards made it an outstanding beauty spot in an already beautiful valley.

The chain of title shows the City, financially assisted by Alden Campen and Ernest Renzel, acquiring this parcel in successive parcels. The City continued to purchase Archer land until it owned all of the land bounded by Keyes Street, Coyote Creek, Phelan Avenue and Senter Road — which included Mrs. Kelley's dwelling. Mrs. Kelley, who lived here during her latter years, referred to the place as Ar-Kel (Archer-Kelley) Villa in memory of her father and husband. But the City, on taking possession, changed the name to Kelley Park.

The first unit of Kelley Park opened in 1961 as a children's playland named Happy Hollow. The Japanese Friendship Garden followed in 1965, and ground was broken for the San José Historical Museum the same year. Dedication of the Leininger Community Center, named after City Engineer Carl J. Leininger, took place in 1966. These several features made Kelley Park a highly important unit of the proposed seventeen-mile Coyote Creek park chain extending southward to Anderson Dam.

The museum, incidentally, was not in the original Kelley Park plan. It owed its existence to Theron Fox, then President of the San José Historic Landmarks Commission. Though vigorously opposed by Parks Director Bramhall and the Parks and Recreation

Commission, Fox persuaded the City Council to appropriate sixteen acres at the south end of the premises for museum use. And while he was about it, he induced the Council to buy the Peralta Adobe property at 184 West St. John Street for a downtown historic shrine.

Another of Fox's victories came when, at his suggestion, the City bought Lewis D. (Trader Lew) Bohnett's vast collection of old-time horse-drawn and automotive vehicles, music boxes, and other relics for \$250,000. He had almost given up hope for this transaction because the City's budget had already been drafted for the coming year. But former Mayor Ernest H. Renzel, Jr., came to rescue with abundant funds and an extremely generous plan whereby the City could obtain the collection without waiting for a future budget.

Although constant acquisition of land by gift or purchase seemed to characterize its park policy, the City actually let go of a parcel now and then. In 1914, for example, it paid Alfred and Frank P. Barker \$15,000 for the vacant block bounded by Fifth, Sixth, Virginia, and Martha Streets. This land, known as Reed Field, was used mostly by San José High School students for athletic events. But on January 26, 1948, the *Mercury* noted that City Manager O. W. Campbell was "shopping around" for an alternate site prior to the City's agreeing with the San José Unified School District to sell the property for industrial use.

Graham Field, on the south side of Willow Street between Plum and Sherman, was also released for other use, mainly apartment houses and dwellings. Until the coming of the San José Municipal Stadium at Alma Street and Senter Road, in 1941, Graham Field filled the gap left by the passing of Sodality Park. Its name commemorated the *Mercury's* baseball editor, Jack Graham.

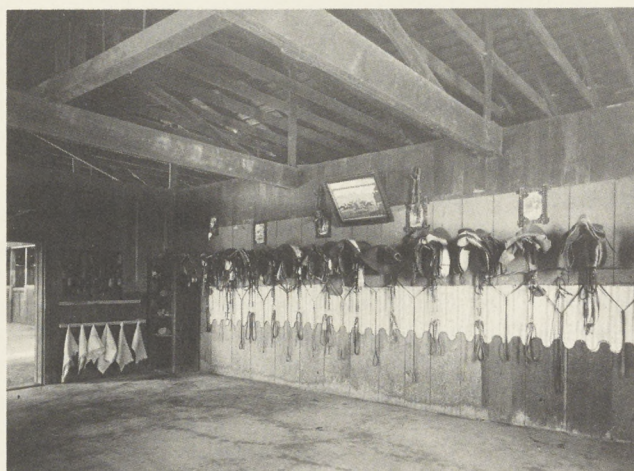
Since that time, San José's annexation of new territory has continued apace, creating a demand for parks ranging across the valley from mountain to mountain. And they varied in size from a half acre to more than 700 acres. The city that began as a tiny pueblo around an alternately dusty and muddy plaza had come a long way in providing a better environment for its citizens.



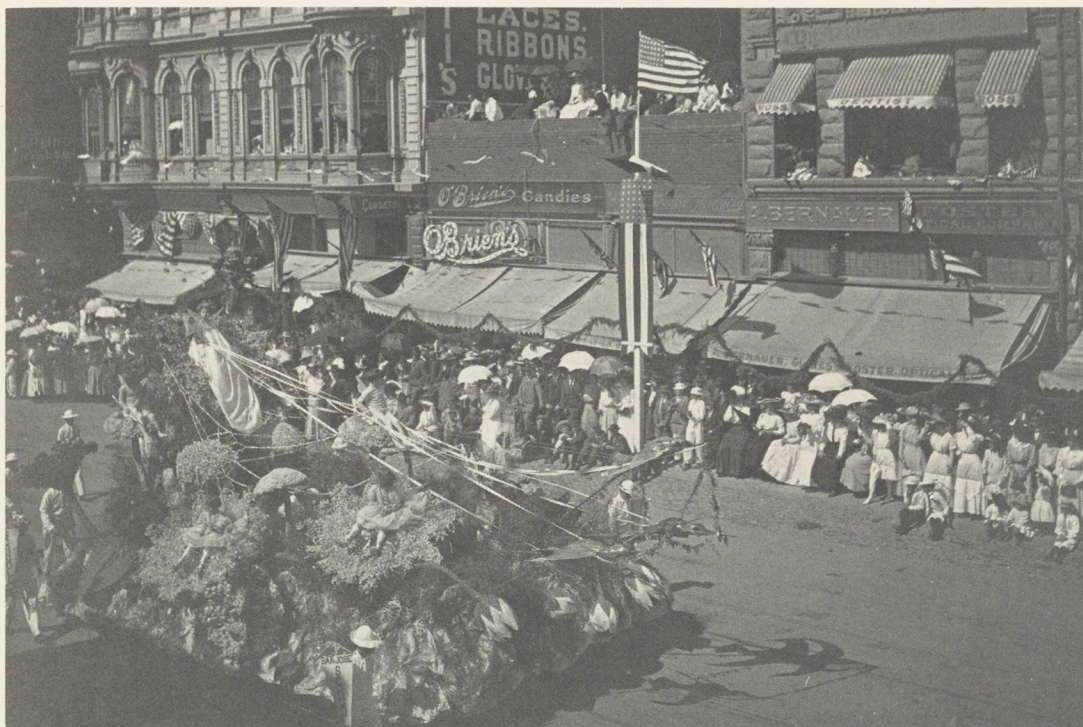
Early San Joséans loved parades and these Native Daughters of the Golden West are ready to go along South Market Street on Admission Day, 1907. The bare headed lady holding the flag and peeking from behind the cigar-smoking horseman is Tillie Brohaska, well-known San José pianist. The mounted ladies display an ease that marks them expert horsewomen.



Agricultural Park was the gathering place of sports-minded San Joséans at the turn of the century. Here one could see horse races, bicycle races, and cattle shows all within a short walk from The Alameda and the street car lines. Race Street got its name from the proximity to the race track.



The saddle room at Agricultural Park, which was located to the west of Race Street and south of The Alameda. It eventually became the Hanchett Park residential area.
(photo courtesy of Historic Landmarks Commission)



The Carnival of Roses Parade in 1910 passes north on First Street in front of O'Brien's Candy store.

San José's Italians loved celebrations such as the one shown here. This event, staged in 1899, commemorated Garibaldi's liberation of Italy. Note the parade's passing through the center of a triple arch directly in front of the Italian Benevolent Society Hall at 129 North Market Street. The float in the left foreground is carrying a smaller arch, with a young lady symbolizing Liberty standing under it. The street coming in from the left is San Augustine, now known as West St. John. The gray building at the far left is the general store of Lepesh & Mise.



The Fifth Regiment Band of San José had their picture taken on August 5, 1893. Pictured here are (top row) Charles Keiser, William McMeekin, Alfred Pozo, Y. Espinosa and Ben Halberg; (bottom l. to r.) Carl Overbeck, Tony Pinard, Duncan Conterno, W. L. Sullivan, and L. Bosquez. (photo courtesy of Thera Fox)

Any number of old-timers swore they saw this great boulder streak incandescently across the sky to land upon the north bank of Penitencia Creek at the lower end of Alum Rock Park. The fact that it was there long before civilization came to the Santa Clara Valley had no effect on their imaginations. To them it was the Alum Rock Park Meteor. Its black mass, some ten feet high and said to weigh 2,000 tons, became a tourist attraction. In 1917, however, Director W. W. Campbell of Lick Observatory pronounced the "meteor" no meteor at all. It was simply a huge chunk of manganese, a mineral in great demand for the war effort. A financially strapped city council accordingly sold it on bid for \$22,000, but no one made any money on the deal. The "meteor" weighed only 329 tons instead of 2,000, the purchaser went broke, and the city was out what could have become a profitable concession.



Alum Rock Park, the City Reservation, is one of the oldest of San José's parks. One of the features of the park is the mineral springs. On the left of this 1897 picture is the fountain where people could taste the various mineral waters, and, to the right of the fountain, was the bath house.



"The Fountain," was a long time chief attraction of San José's St. James Park. Youngsters and oldsters alike stopped here to watch carp, goldfish and maybe a trout or two endlessly swimming in circles. After the fountain's removal by a WPA crew in 1930's, its site served as an intermittent forum for soapbox orators until the City extended Second St. through the park in 1955.



The San José Municipal Rose Garden looked like this shortly after its establishment in 1931. Located on the north side of Naglee Avenue between Dana Avenue and Garden Drive, this garden soon became one of San José's most popular tourist attractions. Its lawns and native trees combine with thousands of rose bushes every year to form a delightfully unforgettable scene for all who pass that way. The garden fountain was a gift to the people of San José by the San José Rotary Club.



This is a partial view of the crowd that attended the dedication ceremony of the Japanese Friendship Garden in San José's Kelley Park on October 31, 1965. The building, the bridge, the lake, the *koi* (gold fish) in the lake, and every other feature of the garden reflected an authentic Japanese touch. Every year they all combine to attract thousands of visitors not only from all points in California, but also from other states and nations.

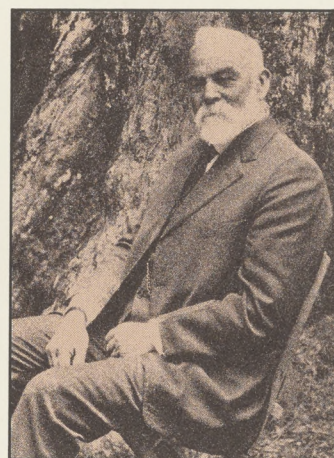
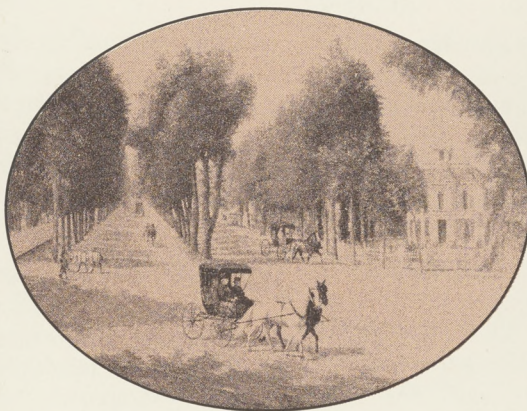


The planting of commemorative trees had long been a custom of the California Pioneers of Santa Clara County when this photo was taken on March 9, 1966. Here, Mrs. Minnie Clark, the society's president, uses the No. 1 shovel in planting the first pine tree on the grounds of the newly constructed San José Historical Museum at Senter Road and Phelan Avenue. Among the other easily identified persons present were Mr. John Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. William J. Heath, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur M. Fisk, and Mr. Clyde Arbuckle.



20

THE ARTS





Though artists had been portraying the California scene since 1786, none seems to have interested himself in San José until 1849. That year brought the famed world traveler, Bayard Taylor, on his way from San Francisco to Stockton and return, and from San Francisco to Monterey and return.

Many Californians have remembered this man as a writer of beautiful word pictures of their state, but only a microscopic few have noted his talent as a watercolor artist. Yet he left one of the finest watercolors ever made of any portion of the Santa Clara Valley, which he consistently referred to as "the valley of San José."

The subject of this outstanding work is a ranch scene along the Diablo Range foothills just east of San José. It shows several buildings shaded by oaks at the far end of a redwood split-picket fence, with haze-enveloped hills accurately portrayed in the background.

The all appraising eye of the artist would view the scene as a composition, but the historian would concentrate on the fence. It is an unintentional revelation of how soon American pioneers availed themselves of a new material for enclosing their lands. Driven into the ground and held together at the top by varying lengths of unsurfaced one-by-fours, redwood pickets accounted for most of Santa Clara County's rural fencing until the coming of a practicable barbed wire in the 1870's.

The preponderance of these early pickets, now called grape stakes, came from the Lexington area. They were delivered to the purchaser at the supplier's yard, which often meant a long journey for a customer. But reasonable prices and the pickets' long lasting qualities in the ground made the trip worthwhile. Levi L. Tourtillott from above Evergreen, for example, consumed four days in making the round trip via San José for a wagon and trailer load of them. Miles of such fencing, more than 100 years old and covered with lichens, traced valley and hillside property lines as late as 1969.

Among California's most distinguished early day artists was William S. Jewett who established an integral connection with San José through ornithol-

ogist Andrew J. Grayson, an "overlander" of 1846. Grayson paid Jewett \$2,000 in 1850 to paint "The Promised Land," which commemorated the Sierra Nevada spot from which Grayson and his wife and small son first sighted the great interior valley of California.

This painting adorned Grayson's home at Fifth and Julian Streets in San José until he sent it to San Francisco's Mercantile Library Association for safe keeping while he and his family were on an ornithological expedition in México. Grayson and his son died of some unrecorded disease in México, and the painting never came back to San José.

While visiting the Santa Clara Valley, Lieutenant Joseph W. Revere made a beautiful (but somewhat imaginative) sketch of the New Almadén Mine, a rendition that was lithographed by Wm. Endicott & Co. of New York. At New Almadén and at Mission Santa Clara in 1851, William Newton Bartholomew revealed a startling penchant for rearranging the natural order. He changed the shapes of distant mountains and brought them almost to the immediate foreground with no apparent recourse to excessive faith. By this time artists of varied talents and techniques had begun to arrive in California faster than chroniclers and census takers could note their presence.

For many years, when thinking of artists, the average early Californian envisioned those who worked with oil and color. Those who worked with pen and pencil in black and white were "interesting" but unlikely to be held in awe. J. Ross Browne, a man of irrepressible wit and humor, was an outstanding exception among the latter.

Born in Ireland in 1821, Browne came to the United States with his parents in 1833. Here, he began the never ending absorption of knowledge that made him an authority in almost a dozen laudable fields of endeavor, including art and literature. He was already a widely traveled man of much experience when he came to San José as a special agent of the United States Post Office Department on August 11, 1849. Two days later, after establishing the town's first regulation Federally operated post office, he moved on to Monterey to take the minutes of California's First Constitutional Convention.

No matter where he roamed, Browne was never without his sketchbook and a good supply of writing materials. His skillful use of both turned his descriptions of the simplest California and Nevada scenes and events into Western Classics. His well illustrated *Down In The Cinnabar Mines*, published by *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in 1865, is still the finest available account of New Almadén's quicksilver workings. It also affords interesting sidelights on San José.

Though Browne ultimately established permanent residence in Oakland, where he died in 1875, he never lost interest in San José and its surroundings. He came to San José on business and pleasure often enough, apparently, to become a "familiar figure." San José historian Eugene T. Sawyer, a contemporary who knew Browne personally, wrote of him, saying "His home was in Oakland, but he loved San José and its people."

J. Ross Browne had not been dead a year when Mrs. Mary Hallock Foote arrived in California as his feminine variant. Her interest in Western life matched his in every respect. Her writings and illustrations are still regarded as first class material on the West from a woman's point of view—which she slyly called "protected point of view."

Born in Melton, New York, in 1847, Mrs. Foote manifested pronounced writing and sketching talent early in life. To develop the latter, she availed herself of a good course in art at New York City's Cooper Institute. Mrs. Foote's chief contribution to art and literature of the San José area was her self-illustrated "California Mining Camp," a story of the New Almadén Mine published by *Scribner's Monthly* in February, 1878.

Browne's interest in the more masculine features of New Almadén was balanced by Mrs. Foote's womanly stressing of "the nicer things." Her arrival here soon after Browne's death enabled her to interpret, in her own way, many of his sources before they changed too much for fair comparison. "The East," she wrote, "constantly hears of the recklessness, the bad manners, and the immorality of the West . . . but who can tell the tale of those quiet lives which are the life blood of the country . . .?"

Mrs. Foote delightfully told and illustrated that tale in "A California Mining Camp," with description ranging from the dangers of underground workings to weather conditions at the surface. Her sympathetic coverage of family, social, and religious life in a harmonious community of Cornish and Spanish cultures produces an enduring classic of Californiana.

Mrs. Foote's story of New Almadén constituted the first on-the-ground report of her experiences in the Far West, an area that dominated her art and literature for years to come.

Before Mrs. Foote left New Almadén, Miss Matilda Lotz, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Lotz of San José had begun to show a remarkable artistic talent that probably brought her more fame abroad than at home. She studied art in the United States and Europe, and specialized in animal painting to the extent that the homefolk thought of her as the Rosa Bonheur of San José.

Miss Lotz's paintings were exhibited in the finest galleries of Paris and London. But unfortunately for the homefolk, the local press seemed to take more note of her goings and comings than of her technique and accomplishments. The *San José Pioneer* offered an example of this limited interest on June 7, 1879, when it reported, "Miss Matilda Lotz, the famous animal painter, has gone to Paris."

Yet, the number of local artists had been increasing. The 1870 *City Directory* listed four professionals—two men and two women. The 1874 edition showed no change in number, but one of the men was Paul Lotz, probably a brother of Matilda. By 1882, the number had jumped to nine—four men and five women, all professionals.

For a while, about half of these directory-listed artists worked for photographers, coloring and touching up photo portraits. Occasionally, however, one would seek a more creative future in oil on canvas, particularly after organization of the San José Art Association in 1875.

Details of this group's founding are somewhat disappointing. Thompson & West's *Historical Atlas of Santa Clara County*, in compilation at the time, recorded the event with four short sentences. It was

organized "in the early part of 1875" by a number of local artists who held fortnightly meetings with prime objective of establishing an art school in San José. Its membership climbed to eighty within a year and, on May 31, 1876, staged San José's first organized art exhibition.

In reporting the event, the *Mercury* of June 1 simply said it was staged in "the Little Music Hall," a small unit of the big Music Hall Building at what later became 40 North First Street. The paper also named all twenty exhibitors and listed the items they displayed. What the association lacked in publicity, it tried to make up by arousing public interest in art.

Inevitably, however, the city's art lovers began to catch attention by one device or another. A brevity in the *Pioneer* for February 8, 1879, helped their cause by mentioning something in the window of C. M. Morton's downtown stationery store. "We noticed a fine specimen of oil painting in Morton's window from the brush of a very young artist, Harold J. Peelor," the article said. "It is a painting of Thomas Blake's horse, 'Capt. Thomson.' It will compare very favorably with works of some of the best animal painters."

On April 17, 1880, another brevity devoted to art called attention to the work of an otherwise unidentified Alma Woodleigh who had two paintings on display in the Pioneer Drug store window. "The paintings of Alma Woodleigh are exciting considerable comment," the editor wrote. "They are gems of art, and are painted in black and white oil and are the first of their kind ever exhibited here. They are finer than steel engravings, which they resemble very much."

The practice of displaying paintings in downtown store windows during the 1870's thus became permanent. During the 1920's, the Speaker Optical Co. windows at 26 West San Fernando Street served as a "passersby salon" for the beautiful works of Charles H. Harmon.

Another innovation of the 1870's, at least for San Joséans, was the art expert or art critic—or, more particularly, a *paid* art critic. This came about in 1876 with publication of Thompson & West's atlas, which

carried a sophomoric double-page drawing of the New Almadén Mine as viewed from the Hacienda. The mining company's officers considered this illustration too crude to be classified as art. They had no intention of paying the \$500 fee asked for it, and, in 1878, took the matter to court. To strengthen their claim for damages, they introduced Franz M. Goldstein as an expert witness.

Goldstein, a native of Austria, was probably the most highly trained artist in this area. He was naturalized in Manitowoc, Wisconsin in 1872, soon after arriving in America. In August, 1876, the *Mercury* reported his teaching drawing and painting in San José schools. But to make doubly sure of support while establishing himself here, he took other employment. The County Recorder's office availed itself of his skill as artist and draftsman until well into the 1880's, during which time the *City Directory* listed him as a deputy county recorder and artist living on the south side of Divine Street, a block from his place of employment.

Goldstein's name last appeared in the *City Directory* and the voters' register in 1883, after which he dropped from sight, leaving posterity wondering what happened to him. Yet, delightful evidence of his several years' residence here still exists for all who have occasion to use the land grant patent books in the recorder's office. He gave to those on which he worked an artistic originality not customarily found in public records. They represented untold hours of patience whose cost would now be prohibitive.

About the time Goldstein arrived here, any perceptive San Joséan could discern what he hoped would become a trend of his townsfolk toward art. Local educational institutions, of college rank or otherwise, had begun to give courses in art consisting mostly of drawing. Though its art department was yet far in the future, University of the Pacific's catalogue listed Mrs. Ella Smith, M.E.L., as "Teacher of Painting, Drawing and Music" in 1876. Mrs. Helen E. Kingsbury, M.S.A., of the same institution took over in 1888 for several years as "Preceptress and Teacher of Drawing and Painting."

The 1880-81 Catalogue called special attention to Mrs. Kingsbury's "Department," where she in-

formed each enrolling student of the value of art.

Meanwhile, art classes at the California State Normal School (now San José State College) offered "Drawing and Perspective Drawing" without identifying the instructors. The faculty rosters for 1895-96 still indicated only two courses—Drawing and Clay Modeling—taught by Gerhard Schoof and Matilda S. Baker.

This time a new star had appeared in San José's art firmament—Miss Ida May Coates—whose influence as artist and critic was unmistakable. Born in Minnesota, Miss Coates showed a pronounced talent for portraiture almost before she was big enough to hold a crayon. As a girl and young woman, she lost no opportunity to develop that talent. She diligently studied the technique and style of every early and modern artist worthy of attention. Her studies under Italian-born Dominic Tojetti in San Francisco gave her a classical touch not often found in California artists of her day. Two of her paintings—"Ideal Head" and "Greek Girl"—won wide acclaim from all who saw them at Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition in 1893.

Miss Coates' judgment in every field of illustrative art qualified her as competent critic. The masthead of San José's cultural magazine *Report* listed her as art editor of that publication in January, 1896. The cover design of the same issue featured her painting, "Mother and Child," and three columns of an interior page carried her comment on what was happening in local art circles.

Miss Coates had lived in San José in 1890, but the *City Directory* of San Francisco for 1891 listed her as an artist in that city. Mrs. E. O. Smith, editor-in-chief of *Report* therefore introduced her to San José readers more as a returning friend than as a stranger. The introduction also noted, "We are proud to announce that Miss Coates will soon open a studio in this city, and we bespeak for her the patronage... her talent deserves."

Miss Coates took careful stock of San José's art prospects. The city's leading professionals—Andrew P. Hill, A. D. M. Cooper, and Charles Henry Harmon controlled the field, and several younger painters

were showing much promise. Organization of the Art History Club in 1893 evinced additional interest.

The Art History Club came into existence with twelve charter members—Mesdames Lawrence Archer, W. K. Beans, Nicholas Bowden, Arthur Field, E. E. Goodrich, Edward Reed, and B. F. Weston, and Misses Laura Bethell, Elizabeth Miller, Evaline Murphy, Ada Ryland, and Martha Trimble.

Though this group limited its future membership to thirty, it prospered from the start and soon made its presence felt in the community. By 1896, with Mrs. H. M. Tenney as president, Mrs. Bowden as vice-president, and Miss Miller as secretary-treasurer, it held regularly scheduled fortnightly meetings and had built up a "well-chosen library on Art Topics."

But Miss Coates wistfully noted conditions not obvious to the Common Council or most of the local citizenry.

"I wish we had a fine Academy of Art right here in San José, with a full complement of instructors," she wrote. "But I fear that the Professors... unless they were air plants, would starve to death if the people of San José followed the example of other wicked Americans and patronized foreign artists and art schools only."

"It is quite surprising how many people who paint well there are in San José; quite enough to furnish a flourishing Art League or Association if... they would get together, and what is quite as important, pull together..."

If Miss Coates entertained little hope for early improvement, she had good reason for feeling that way. The City of San José had already blundered twice in rebuffing prospective benefactors who could have financed magnificent art establishments.

Before General Naglee died in 1886, he offered his valuable collection of foreign and domestic art to the City. The offer, apparently, was still good at the time of his death, but official apathy lost it to the Crocker Art Gallery of San Francisco, where it was destroyed by the great earthquake and fire of 1906.

Less than half a dozen years after Naglee's demise, Mr. and Mrs. Myles P. O'Connor, founders of

O'Connor Sanitarium (now O'Connor Hospital), offered "The Lost Pleiad," a beautiful statue to the City. The City did not accept it, however, because there was "no suitable place for its reception." The second episode in the O'Connor-City saga ended in even greater loss for the City.

The O'Connors had given their mansion at Second and Reed Streets to the Sisters of Notre Dame to convert into an orphanage known as the Notre Dame Institute. They therefore added another room to their new home on the O'Connor Sanitarium grounds to accommodate "The Lost Pleiad," which formed the nucleus of the 425-piece art collection that they gathered during extensive travels in Europe. In 1898, they offered to give this collection, insured for \$250,000 to the City if it would provide a modest \$20,000 gallery to display it.

The Mayor and Common Council professed great delight, and art-minded citizens "were overjoyed." Governor James H. Budd enthusiastically approved locating the gallery on the Normal School campus, which was State property. The *Mercury* opined that the City could not afford to ignore "such a splendid offer." *The Sketch*, another of San José's cultural publications, rhapsodized, "San José has in prospect the finest art museum west of Chicago."

The business of raising construction funds by public subscription and benefit gatherings was handled by the San José Art Association through its "Women's Committee of One Hundred." Yet three years of hard work accounted for only \$3,600 in cash and a useless collection of unfilled pledges.

For some reason, San José failed to "come through." Indifference, official and otherwise, stifled the initial enthusiasm. Ugly gossip implied that art gallery funds were being used for other purposes, and that the paintings were copies instead of originals. That clinched it for the O'Connors. Annoyed and rebuffed beyond endurance, they withdrew their offer and promptly turned to a more grateful recipient. They had received word that Sister Julia McGroarty, provincial superior of all Sisters of Notre Dame in the United States, was founding Trinity College in Washington, D. C. When they offered the art collection to her, she graciously accepted it.

Though Sister Julia died in 1901, her successor, Sister Lidwine, saw the O'Connor project through to completion. And the O'Connors, grateful for the courtesy received from these sisters, not only donated the art collection, but also \$200,000 for an art gallery and a wing for main building of the college.

Bungling the acceptance of art-oriented gifts, however, was by no means confined to the City Council of San José. The County Supervisors attracted a barrage of criticism when they were not entirely to blame.

According to a Page 1 story in the *Mercury* of June 9, 1927, former United States Senator James D. Phelan offered to donate his Sainte Claire Club building to the County for museum use. This structure, if accepted, would also have solved the local art gallery problem. But unfortunately, the deal involved not only the Board of Supervisors and the donor, but also the California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, two lawyers, and nineteen protesting petitioners.

Phelan's offer, delivered through Mrs. Frémont Older, included the building and \$5,000 in cash, the latter for museum equipment. After District Attorney Fred L. Thomas satisfied himself as to the legality of the transaction, the supervisors were ready to approve it. Then an "unidentified out-of-town client" said it was *illegal* and that Phelan's \$5,000 was not enough to purchase museum equipment let alone operate the museum at a cost of \$700 a month.

William E. Gage, speaking for the Pioneers, said his society would refuse to put its many paintings and other treasures into the museum unless certain rooms were set aside for Pioneer use. Without backing away from his statement on the rooms, Gage later modified his attitude enough to approve the museum in concept. He firmly believed it would attract many visitors.

The strongest opposition to the project came on June 20, when attorney Desmond T. Jenkins presented a petition bearing the signatures of nineteen citizens who declared the Sainte Claire Club Building unfit for a museum. They also felt that the deal for acquiring it was illegal because Phelan's offer was made to Mrs. Frémont Older instead of directly to the Board of Supervisors.

THE ARTS

Jenkins reminded the supervisors that they "would not be justified in tying up the people's money in the museum unless it can be proven the taxpayers of the county are in favor of the project."

And since the preponderance of the petitioners resided in the Palo Alto area, it was no accident that Jenkins called attention to something close to their homes. "There is little enough interest shown in the Stanford Museum, where one of the finest collections of relics and curios in the world is gathered," he said.

Mrs. Older vigorously defended the County's accepting the Sainte Claire structure for a museum despite the fact that all the relics gathered for the recent Fiesta de las Rosas would not be placed on display there.

According to the *Mercury* of June 21, attorney John M. Burnett also objected to the museum project, but later withdrew his objection. The paper was not certain, however, whether he would withdraw it permanently.

The museum project came before the Board of Supervisors on August 1 for the last time, and made Page 1 of the *Mercury* in big type the next morning. The supervisors unanimously rejected Phelan's offer because he stipulated that if the buildings were used for any purpose other than the one intended, the property would be forfeited. The Board felt such "strings tied to the offer made acceptance by the County a poor business proposition."

Only one of the foregoing rejections left a tangible side effect, visible two generations later. In May, 1901, President William McKinley stood on the lawn of St. James Park while addressing a crowd that covered the Courthouse steps and blocked First Street between St. John and St. James. The following September, he was assassinated in Buffalo, New York, and patriotic San Joséans forthwith formed a committee to commemorate "our martyred president." Nothing less than a \$13,000 monument of granite and bronze created by Rupert Schmidt of San Francisco would do.

In casting about for funds, the McKinley committee soon noted that the money the "Women's Committee of One Hundred" had collected for the

ill-fated O'Connor art gallery project was still in the bank. The ladies in charge were persuaded to donate all \$3,600 of it to the monument fund.

On February 21, 1903, San José dedicated the McKinley Monument, a great granite base and shaft, surmounted by an heroic bronze likeness of the "martyred president." It marked the spot where McKinley stood while delivering his speech to the local citizenry a year and nine months earlier.

San José's municipal art gallery was thus deferred to a more enlightened generation. Each official rejection (or run-around) was soon forgotten by all but those directly involved. But after the county's rejection of the Sainte Claire Club building in 1927, local art lovers began to wonder if the City of San José had set an ominous precedent in declining General Naglee's generous offer in 1886.

Somehow, despite official obtuseness, several San José artists managed to keep alive a small segment of public interest in art. They might have to resort to other pursuits to assure themselves of something more than bare subsistence, but they hung on. Even teachers of simple drawing in the city's schools occasionally doubled in unrelated subjects.

Andrew Putnam Hill, born in Indiana in 1853, was one of the stubborn ones. A born artist who came to California in 1867, he produced two creditable paintings in 1873, two years before he enrolled to study art in San Francisco's California School of Design.

No one knows exactly how many paintings Hill made, but Carolyn de Vries furnished a useful list in *Grand and Ancient Forest*, her story of his life. Using only the material available to her at the time of writing, she recorded fifty-two made between 1873 and 1922, with twenty-seven of them made before the end of 1901. She also listed the fate and whereabouts of all but eleven.

Though art and photography kept Hill "on the go," he had an outside interest that fell little short of becoming all consuming. An unpleasant experience near Felton in the fall of 1899 had aroused in him an evangelistic zeal to save a vast acreage of the Santa

Cruz Mountains' great redwood trees from the woodsman's axe.

After determining his strategy, Hill enlisted the aid of the Central Coast Area's most distinguished educators, lawyers, journalists, and poets, plus everyone else he could gather under his banner. In May, 1900, he was the leading spirit in organizing the Sempervirens Club, dedicated to saving the redwoods of the Big Basin.

Bucking entrenched lumber interests every foot of the way, Hill fought his battle up to the halls of the Legislature and into the Governor's office—and almost starved himself to death in doing it. Because every cent he could raise went into his war chest, he had eaten nothing but an orange on the day that the bill to save the Big Basin came up for the Senate's approval.

As the result of Hill's devotion to his cause, Big Basin became California Redwood State Park, nucleus of the present day State Park System. His life's labors were epitomized in four words: He saved the redwoods.

From 1883 to his death in 1922, Hill shared much of his San José prestige with Astley David Middleton Cooper, a prolific artist whose massive style frequently tended to the macabre.

Born into a well-to-do Missouri family in 1856, Cooper showed a vigorous artistic talent early in life. He at no time in his career typified the young half-starved artist struggling for recognition. His parents' "important connections" assured him of a good education and freedom from economic obstacles that commonly plagued artists of his day.

Inspired by the works of George Catlin, the celebrated painter of Indian life, Cooper naturally gravitated westward. As a young man, he painted portraits of Great Plains Indians and depicted their environment for *Frank Leslie's Weekly Illustrated Newspaper*.

Details of Cooper's migration to California are sparse, but he was in San Francisco, in 1878. After moving to San José in 1883, he left an easy trail to follow. Except for an occasional trip East, he could

usually be found in his East San José studio or in whatever downtown saloon happened to be his momentary favorite.

Although the West gave Cooper his early inspiration, he by no means confined himself to it. The universal imagination that guided his brush amazed other artists and critics. His subjects ranged from a nude in his studio to a dead Indian on the Plains, from the Black Forest of Germany to the Delta of the Nile. Also, when least expected, his attention might turn to an incipient suicide or a portrayal of Apollyon carrying the soul of a sinful woman into the sulphurous depths of hell. No less than 247 pencil work sketches in the San José Historical Museum testify to this catholicity of interests.

The sizes of Cooper's paintings varied as much as their themes. His "Morning of the Crucifixion," in the sanctuary of a Denver church, measures eleven by thirteen feet; "The Blacksmith," in the San José museum, ten by fifteen feet. Yet, if he wished, he could turn out a fourteen by sixteen inch of a Pinto-mounted Indian that does credit to W. R. Leigh.

Most of Cooper's nudes were life-sized and well fed in appearance. Though he sometimes did them in questionable colors and got them a mite cylindrical at the waistline they were in great demand for adorning the walls of San José saloons. Old-timers passed word to posterity that he painted them expressly to pay his liquor bills.

Long after his death in 1924, his "Little Egypt" was the "eye-catchingest" item in Sacramento's famous Firehouse Restaurant. She graced the south wall of the main dining room, inviting all present to feast their eyes as well as stomachs.

Cooper availed himself of whatever studio quarters suited his purpose for many years, but in 1909 he gave the town a real showplace. On November 7 of that year, the *Mercury* published a good sized story of his final studio, a large structure of Egyptian architectural motif then under construction on the northeast corner of what is now Twenty-first and San Antonio Streets. Anyone who could never remember his name could thereafter identify him as the artist who owns "that place that looks like an Egyptian temple."

THE ARTS

As a person, Cooper was affable, impulsively generous, and well-liked by all who knew him. He attracted much attention by staging convivial parties for vaudeville companies after their evening performances at the Victory and José Theatres. It has been said that he frequently presented paintings to friends as anniversarial gifts. Contemporaries recalled that he had even given a hundred dollar watch to a saloon mop boy. But there is no record that he ever participated in any civic campaign such as Hill's Big Basin crusade.

Cooper married Miss Charlotte George in 1919. By that time, his paintings had scattered well over the West, and probably much farther. No one, not even he, knew how many existed. They were fast slipping into the realm of forgotten things when San José City Councilman Clyde L. Fischer started a movement in 1944 to rescue as many as possible from oblivion.

Letters regarding them came from points hundreds of miles away for years afterward. John Pollock, a Palo Alto collector, picked up every Cooper canvas whose price he found compatible with his pocket-book. Others did likewise. Generous scions of old San José families donated a sizeable collection of them to their city's museum. Two San José restaurants—Oriental Cafe and Havenly Foods—decorated their walls with them. As late as 1969, paintings bearing the well-known "A. D. M. Cooper" signature were still emerging from attics, basements, barns, antique shops, and second-hand book stores with firm promise of renewing their old-time popularity.

Though not so dynamic as Hill or gregarious as Cooper, a lean fifteen year old Ohioan named Charles Henry Harmon decided in 1874 to make a name for himself in San José art circles. Not much is known about his early education in art beyond the fact that he was self-taught and got much experience with color while touching up photos for a local photographer. But only a few years elapsed before he modestly listed himself in the *Great Register* as "Artist."

Most of Harmon's early paintings bore the marks of a hard working amateur struggling to attain a desirable style. His daughter, Mrs. Marian Atkinson,

recalled them long after his death in 1936 with anything but admiration. Development of his delightful style of later years reminded one critic of a youngster who took countless tumbles in learning to ride a bicycle, then suddenly and inexplicably found himself riding like a professional.

Unlike Cooper, Harmon seldom attempted anything gigantic. He restricted most of his paintings to a size easily accommodated by a modest salon or residential living room. Those exhibited in store windows might range from twelve by fourteen inches to sixteen by twenty. Two in the museum measure about three by five feet.

The most notable exception to this size restriction was a panorama of the Santa Clara Valley in blossom time. Its canvas measured nine by eighteen feet and, together with its frame, weighed 800 pounds. The Board of Supervisors commissioned Harmon in 1914, at a fee of \$1,000, to paint it for the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exposition, better remembered as San Francisco's 1915 World's Fair.

After the fair, the painting came back to San José, where it eventually adorned Superior Judge Robert E. Cassin's courtroom wall in the County Courthouse. In 1965, it was transferred to the Jury Assembly Room in the new Superior Court Building, where it seemed destined to stay for many years to come.

Personally, Harmon was of medium height and plain in dress and manner, with, perhaps, a hint of restlessness. The *City Directory*, which listed his wife Ida as a school teacher, noted his frequent changes of address for home and studio. His studio was probably the more stable, for it remained in the Auzerais Building long enough for even nodding acquaintances to associate him with that structure.

Up to the beginning of this narrative, no adequate inventory of Harmon's paintings—primitive or professional—has appeared. Except for one or two in the San José Historical Museum, all of his primitives seem to have disappeared or in some way lost their identification. His best works became collectors' items in his lifetime, and are still highly prized as "Harmons" by their owners.

As Jupiters of San José's art universe for more than forty years, Hill, Cooper, and Harmon had satellites, but as far as can be determined, few students. Hill, who taught art classes in 1878, probably had the most. Cooper is said to have had only one—his nephew Benjamin Raborg. Much has yet to be learned about any teaching that Harmon might have done.

Sydney J. Yard, native of Illinois who had studied art in England, ranked with the best. In 1892, he and Hill entered a three year partnership, with a main studio in San José and a branch in Palo Alto. Their joint work in photography heightened interest in Santa Clara County's display in Chicago's World's Columbian Exposition the following year.

One thing is certain about Hill and Yard. Both were high class artists and photographers, but neither got rich enough to enjoy lavish living. Hill's estate accounted for less than \$900, and Yard's for slightly more than \$10,000.

Of smaller calibre, but perhaps better known than most of the other satellites, was Harold Gustave Peelor who lived for many years in a vine-covered cottage at 29 North Montgomery Street, with his studio in a little stone structure next door on the north.

If alive today, Peelor, born in New York, would most certainly be dubbed a "character." Old-timers recalled him best as riding his bicycle along Santa Clara Street to and from sign painting jobs, his main source of income. He carried his yardstick and box of brushes and paint on the handlebars, and, in almost any kind of weather, wore a "skimmer," that stiff-brimmed, flat-topped straw hat featured by George M. Cohan and cartoonist T. A. (TAD) Dorgan. His dark unbuttoned vest flapped in the wind as he rode with the sleeves of his paint smudged white shirt rolled half way to the elbows. His chief facial adornment was a bushy mustache.

When business was slack, Peelor worked in his studio whose large windows afforded abundant northern and eastern exposure. In style, Peelor was a realist to the point of stodginess. He displayed no surrealism or any of the other "isms" so popular a

generation or two later. No one had to get drunk to appreciate his work or stay sober to understand it. His painting of Mission Santa Clara (probably patterned after one made by Hill in 1878) is a prime example of his technique.

Peelor died at the age of eighty-three in 1940. Except for his painting of Mission Santa Clara, which hangs in the San José Historical Museum, all his other works seem to have slipped into historical oblivion.

As far as can be determined, the previously mentioned Benjamin O'Fallon Raborg was not so productive as his uncle, A. D. M. Cooper, but his style was so similar that it could be easily mistaken for Cooper's.

By 1969, the only Raborg painting available for public display in San José was a sensuous allegorical collage measuring eighteen by twenty-four inches. Owned by Mr. and Mrs. Clifford Hunter, it consisted of a number of nude women arranged on the canvas to form what from a distance appeared to be the face of a repulsive leering lecher.

Raborg apparently gained little renown beyond his listing as "Artist" in the *City Directory* and *Great Register*. He died at the age of forty-seven in a San Francisco streetcar accident in 1918.

As a native San Joséan, born in 1859, Mrs. Eva Kottinger Burnett added a dash of Hispanic lineage to the lengthening roster of local artists. Her Austrian father, John W. Kottinger, had come to California by sea in 1849 and married María Refugia Bernal in 1850. Mrs. Burnett obtained most of her schooling at San José's College of Notre Dame whose history, *Light In The Valley*, mentions her going on to the State Normal School.

Specific details of her art training seem nonexistent. She must have produced a large number of paintings and drawings prior to her death in 1916, but except for three owned by Mr. Herbert Hageman of Livermore, and two in possession of the San José museum, specimens of her work are hard to find.

The museum items—an oil portrait of her father and a drawing of the old Kottinger home in Pleasant-

THE ARTS

ton—were donated by her nephew Joseph Kottinger of San José in 1955. Since then, the search for other early works has left the researcher wondering how many genuinely professional artists actually lived in San José. He suspects that many of those mentioned as San Joséans were really transients who came here only long enough to pick up a few attractive fees. For this, he may begin his count with the Historical Museum's portrait of Mrs. John Townsend and her two year old son, presumably painted in San Francisco in 1850.

For example, Marius Dahlgren was a good specimen of San José's little known transient artists of the 1870's. He presumably came to the United States with his brother Carl (also an artist) in 1872. Late as 1969—forty-nine years after his death—Marius' earliest known work in California was a painting that he made of the Santa Clara Valley in 1873. It showed the valley as it looked from a lofty point near what later became the Mt. Hamilton Road.

Although Dahlgren's San José sojourn lasted at least two years, he could not be classified as a true San Joséan. His studio was in Room 13 of McLaughlin & Ryland's Building (Safe Deposit Block) on the southeast corner of First and Santa Clara Streets, but the *City Directory* listed a St. James Street boarding house as his residential address.

Marius Dahlgren remained a bachelor, and after leaving San José, he resided successively in San Francisco and Oakland, but passed the last fifteen years of his life with a private family in Tucson, Arizona, where he died in 1920. His 1873 painting of the Santa Clara Valley, however, is still in San José, prominently displayed in the Historical Museum.

As previously indicated, San José's interest in art waxed and waned, spurted and plugged, raised and dashed hope during the last twenty years of the 19th Century. Whether stronger community spirit waited for, or was coincidental with, establishment of the Normal School's art department in 1911, is uncertain. But the two came noticeably close together.

While the O'Conner and the Sainte Claire Club Building fiascos were painfully fresh in their memories, sharp observers detected something hopeful.

More women were taking up painting and watercolor. Among them were Miss Mildred L. Overfelt, a Normal School graduate who gave up teaching for farm life, and Mrs. Matilda Smith, wife of a building contractor.

Between 1900 and 1910, feminine artists of outlying communities displayed a renewed vigor that helped to sharpen interest in San José. For example, Winnifred E. Chamberlin of Los Gatos, produced high class watercolors that won wide acclaim. One of her excellent works—made in 1909 of a San José adobe—is one of the Historical Museum's most valuable items.

The advent of junior high schools helped to popularize periodic art exhibits, at least in San José. Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School, for example, staged displays that filled its main hallways with works that in some respects rivaled those of artists of reasonable renown. As time passed, an increasing number of San José's talented high school students continued their art studies at San José State or some high ranking Bay Area institution.

Within half a decade after World War II, San José had more artists in proportion to its population than at any other time in its history. Downtown merchants joined those in outlying shopping centers in enlarging their stocks of artists' supplies. Colleges and adult education institutions augmented their beginning and advanced art classes for people from all walks of life. Revival of the annual Santa Clara County Fair in 1941 provided further public exposure to large scale expertly judged art competition.

Meanwhile, paint and watercolor had long overshadowed another form of art—sculpture. The 1874 *City Directory* listed only two stone cutters and seven marble cutters. Nine years later, the same source noted seven marble cutters, three marble works, and no stone cutters.

In the fine arts category, however, two born Americans and two naturalized immigrants—three white men and one black woman—contributed more than all others of their calling and generation to San José's sculptural history. They were Salathiel Ellis, Edward Power, Philip Langensee, and Edmonia Lewis.

The men, incidentally, had much in common besides their art: U. S. Military service during the Civil War. According to family tradition, Ellis was the first volunteer in the northern army after the firing upon Fort Sumter.

Born in Vermont, Ellis had established himself as an outstanding sculptor long before coming to San José in 1871. Presidents Fillmore, Pierce, Buchanan, and Lincoln had commissioned him to sculpture Indian peace treaty medallions for the Federal Government. He also sculptured medals for Mexican War veterans and a commemorative bronze of Elias Howe, inventor of the sewing machine.

Though Room 13 of McLaughlin & Ryland's Building on the southeast corner of San José's First and Santa Clara Streets served as his studio for several years, Ellis seems to have left no inventory of what he produced in it. When he died here in 1879 at the age of seventy-five, his G. A. R. comrades laid him to rest in Oak Hill Cemetery. The local newspapers appropriately noted his passing, but confined their comment on his art to his sculpturing the bust of an unidentified "Mrs. Hill" a short time before his death.

Power, who was variously listed in the *City Directory* as sculptor and wood carver, specialized in the latter. He came to the United States from Dublin, Ireland, at the age of eighteen in 1851, and was naturalized in Franklin, Ohio, in 1855. From Franklin, he moved to Chicago where, at the outbreak of the Civil War, he enlisted in the 90th Illinois Volunteers, an outfit known as the Irish Regiment.

Details of Power's training in sculpture are few. He had a "shop" in Chicago before joining the army, but instead of returning to it after the war, he came out to San Francisco, where he soon had all the business he could handle. In 1871, while working at a temporary job in San José, he decided to make this city his permanent home.

Between then and his death in 1896, Power left abundant indoor and outdoor evidence of his skill with the chisel. Cornice, column, and pilaster revealed his handiwork on building after building. One of his most notable creations in this respect was the es-

cutcheon topping the cornice at the northwest corner of McLaughlin & Ryland's three story bank building.

The oval medallion, or centerpiece, of this ornament indicated the year of the building's construction—1872—in large gold-leafed numerals about an inch thick. A rampant golden bear on each side held it upright, and an eagle, also gold-leafed, spread its wings at the top.

The base on which this heroic carving rested was in proportion to its load—about twelve feet long, three feet thick, and all of three feet high. Its face carried the word "BANK" in gold-leafed capital letters about two feet high and two inches thick. Periodic refurbishings kept this decorative feature in excellent condition until the building was razed in 1925.

Philip John (Johann) Langensee was born in Hardenheim, Germany, in 1834. As eldest of a brood of six children, he went to Switzerland in his early teens to learn wood carving. On May 5, 1852, he and his parents and five sisters boarded the *American Atlantic* at Antwerp, bound for New York, where they arrived the following August 6.

While living in New York, Philip attended night school to learn to speak English. He also joined the First Regiment of the New York State Militia, serving in an outfit known as the "Hussars."

The family once considered taking up land in Illinois, but after a bit of on-the-spot investigation, abandoned the idea. California later proved a much greater attraction for all of them. By 1864, the *San Francisco City Directory* listed Philip as a wood carver residing at 411 Sutter Street. It was also here that he enlisted for Civil War service and attained the rank of Junior Second Lieutenant in Co. H, 6th California Infantry. In 1868 he was in San José, where he was naturalized on September 24, and registered to vote the same day.

Somewhere along the way, Langensee got the notion to become a farmer, a pursuit for which he was hardly qualified—as he discovered to the distress of his pocketbook. In 1877, the *Great Register of Santa Clara County* listed him as a farmer in the Berryessa District, but by 1880 he had diverted all of

THE ARTS

his vocational energy to wood carving. Data collected by his granddaughter, Mrs. Frances Biggs of Burlingame, covered this and most of his other important activities before and after that period.

When the Santa Clara County Courthouse was under construction between 1866 and '68, he carved much of the interior ornament. In 1871, his chisel produced the great bear that stood in front of the original Bank of San José Building until the 1906 earthquake. More of his work adorned the three-story Farmers Union Building erected on the northwest corner of San Pedro and Santa Clara Streets soon after its namesake's incorporation in 1874. He even journeyed to Palo Alto a few years later to give his embellishing touch to the world-famous Stanford University Chapel.

Langensee's carving of birds and animals revealed what sharp-eyed critics might describe as a Germanic touch. This applied particularly to the big eagle that adorned the north cornice of San José's 1887 City Hall. Perched high above the structure's main entrance, this great bird glared across the rooftops of the city for seventy years, with feathers ruffled, beak open, and talons ready to take on all enemies. It stuck to its "post" until the building's razing in 1958 permitted removal to a less weatherbeaten roost in the Historical Museum.

When Langensee died at the age of eighty-five in 1919, he had long outlived his early contemporaries Ellis and Power, and his longevity revealed two interesting characteristics in his make-up. His lack of success in agriculture never completely eradicated his latent desire to become a farmer. And though he survived his wife by forty-two years, he never remarried. In short, he made his valuable contribution to the community in the best manner he knew.

No account of San José's exposure to 19th Century sculpture would be complete without mention of the black sculptress, Miss Edmonia Lewis.

In his story of Miss Lewis' contribution to San José history, published by *Urban West* in March, 1968, Philip M. Montesano says she was born near Albany, New York, July 14, 1845. She attended Oberlin College from 1859 to 1863, taking courses in liter-

ature, French composition, and zoology. She then took up the study of sculpture under Edmund Bracket of Boston, and went to Rome for further study in 1865.

After returning to the United States, she came out to San Francisco in 1873 to exhibit her works in the San Francisco Art Association's Pine Street Exhibition Hall—and, if possible, sell a few.

From San Francisco, Miss Lewis came to San José that same year to set up an exhibit in City Market Hall on the southwest corner of El Dorado and Market Streets, a profitable venture. She sold a marble bust of Abraham Lincoln to the San José Library Association. And Mrs. Sarah L. Knox bought two items bearing the titles of "Awake" and "Asleep," each with a toddling child as its subject.

"Awake" and "Asleep" eventually followed "Lincoln" into possession of the San José Public Library, where, ninety-six years later, they were said to be the only example of Miss Lewis' work in the West.

Also up to that time, no one had ever satisfactorily traced her movements after she left San José. Regardless of whether she traveled, however, or where she resided or died, Miss Lewis was an outstanding artist, amazingly skillful in fashioning marble to portray life. While in San José, she received lavish praise from the press. The *Mercury* praised not only her art, but also her high intelligence, pleasant voice, and sensible dress. The *Patriot*, commenting at length on "Awake" and "Asleep," ranked her as an artist of the highest class. She indeed belonged in that category reserved for San José's most distinguished visitors.

San José art had taken a definitely upward course by 1911, as noted elsewhere. By the 1930's, art and artists had become integral to the community. In a few more years, large groups of artists working outdoors anywhere in the city hardly attracted more than fleeting glances from passersby.

Modern travel modes especially benefitted artists whose outdoor work was once pretty well restricted to Santa Clara County. Improvement of the automobile and the coming of paved highways in 1912 opened an ever widening field of endeavor.

Artists could travel hundreds of miles to capture enchanting scenes on canvas or paper and return home within the span of a week-end.

Newspapers, too, played an important part. They devoted more and more space to the doings of the fast multiplying number of artists and art-oriented groups throughout the county. And within a few years, radio and television followed suit.

Marques Reitzel's direction of the Art Department of San José State College from 1938 to 1956 expanded that institution's influence by adding commercial art and interior decoration to the curriculum. Other instructors and many alumni brought additional renown to the college through their favorite media. The names and works of Edith Heron, Estelle Hoisholt, Frances Malovos, Daniel Mendelowitz, John DeVincenzi, and Milton Lanyon became well and favorably known to critics and viewers here and abroad.

The greatest non-academic event in San José's art world between 1911 and World War II was organization of the San José Art League in 1938. This group got under way with John French, Friedolin Kessler, Louis LaBarbera, Seymour Locks, Herbert Sanders, Marjorie Serio¹ and Owen Welsh as charter members. Other contributors to its early success included Marie Blakeley, Roger Condon, John De Vincenzi, Virginia Farrell, Elma Heber, Estelle Hoisholt, Evelyn Moulthrop, John Randall, Walter Rhode, and Klingston Rude. Stimulating community interest in all forms of art and the development of an art center were their chief objectives.

Two austere rooms on the second floor of the Security Bank Building at 84 South First Street filled studio needs and supplied a meeting place on Friday evenings. A monthly dinner and "social evening" at the home of one member or another rounded out most other activities until the League staged its first public art show in Room B of the Civic Auditorium in 1939.

The next noteworthy exhibition came with revival of the Santa Clara County Fair in 1941. This was an open-to-all event in which the League participated with artists, sculptors, and photographers from all over the county.

April, 1946, witnessed a two-week League-sponsored art exhibition in the Public Library building at Market and San Fernando Streets. The League's incorporation in 1951 gave it a solid legal status, soon followed by the City's creation of an art commission with John DeVincenzi as chairman of the gallery committee.

Meanwhile, the art exhibition in the library building had become an annual affair. It remained so until Al E. Tarlow's leadership encouraged the League to buy the seventy-two year old Francis Bates mansion at 485 South Second street in 1959. Then countless hours of labor donated by the league's members converted the venerable structure into the San José Art Center, opened on May 1, 1960.

By that time, the League was in flourishing condition with some seventy-five members staging their annual exhibition and other activities in "their own home." They had paid off half of their indebtedness by 1969, and had good reason to anticipate paying off the remainder ahead of time.

Also in 1969, the League played an important part in another venture. Six of its members served on the incorporating board of directors of San José's Fine Arts Gallery Association, dedicated to filling the city's need for a "comprehensive, objective, and unfettered" program in the visual arts.

The League's success did not pass unnoticed. Artists throughout the valley saw what could be done by concerted action. And for those who favored a single medium of expression, events seemed to conspire toward an end.

During the summer of 1966, a high school art teacher named Samuel Cook taught a couple of adult classes in watercolor at The Art Gallery, an art store at 1114 Brace Avenue, San José. As a super-ardent watercolorist, he had no difficulty imparting enthusiasm for his favorite medium to his students—probably to exclusion of all others. His program

¹The question of whether Marjorie Serio was a charter member of this group is unresolved at this writing.

THE ARTS

embraced a daytime class for women, and an evening one for men. But no hard and fast rule restricted either to one sex or the other.

Those enrolling in the first daytime class were Charlotte Britton, Ilse Gilliland, Marion Goldman, Dodo Hammett, Diane Hughes, Marie Marckel, and Elsie Nelson. Dick Angell, Jackie Cibilich, Ed Engelman, Bob Koch, and Gordon Wilson composed the first evening class.

At the request of several of his students, Cook added joint sessions of both classes at The Art Gallery on Saturday mornings. A similar request soon started a series of outdoor weekly painting sessions—every Thursday, weather permitting. For this, Charlotte Britton and Elsie Nelson prepared a list of painting sites that must have left outsiders wondering if Cook's students had time for anything but art. Still life studies at the Art Gallery took care of rainy days.

Shortly before the end of the year, four new students came into the class—Richard F. (Dick) Barrett, Marie Geiselhart, Natalie Vargo, and Lee Wiseman. Barrett, a *San José News* columnist, was a fortunate addition. Through his daily column, he frequently let the public know what was happening in San José art circles. And in his art studies, he displayed talent that soon identified him as a prize winner of the first rank.

A full year slipped by, it seems, before anyone thought of organizing Cook's students into a society of some kind. But in August, 1967, Charlotte Britton's list of painting sites for the coming year carried the following question: Would you like to join the Santa Clara Valley Watercolor Society?

The purpose of this society, she pointed out, was to pursue their "interest in watercolor painting." There would be "no dues or business meetings, and very little organization—just painting sessions, workshops and occasional social gathering." As a group with a name, they could participate in art shows and "continue the battle of watercolor vs. oil paintings" far better than they could as individuals. "Accordingly," she closed, "a group is forming to be known as the Santa Clara Valley Watercolor Society,

with Charlotte Britton as *Noble Leader*." That same week, when Barrett's column announced what was taking place, the Santa Clara Valley Watercolor Society became a reality.

Organization of this society immediately attracted outside attention. For some time past, a San José Adult Center art teacher, Mrs. Barbara Cassin, had been giving side instruction to watercolor students at her home on Newhall Street. Among them were Eleanor Borgeau, Jeanne Franklin, Beryl Johns, Marion Kramer, and Vida McCracken who styled themselves "The Tuesday Group." And all of them, including Mrs. Cassin, joined the Watercolor Society in response to Barrett's announcement and Jackie Cibilich's persuasiveness. As other members of "The Tuesday Group" did likewise, they helped to swell the Watercolor Society's membership to thirty-eight by the end of the year.

San José's entry into the world of art could hardly be described as a sudden plunge, but it certainly became a complete immersion. A relatively short period of cooperative public relations after 1938 more than made up for the mistakes and delays of years gone by. Schools, colleges, libraries, and cultural organizations other than art groups enabled the local citizenry to enjoy an art program of some kind every day of the year. The County Fairgrounds facilities periodically accommodated realist, impressionist, and surrealist. Old-timers could find the works of their favorite early San José artists on permanent display in the Historical Museum. In pleasant weather, outdoor art exhibits and sales became commonplace in malls and shopping centers. And the artists themselves became better acquainted with one another through joint programs of their groups and societies.

But creation of the San José Arts Commission by the City Council in 1956 and incorporation of the Fine Arts Gallery association in 1969 were of momentous long range importance. They brought the weight and resources of the City government into the act. They virtually guaranteed establishment of a municipal art gallery. More than that, they renewed hope of fulfilling the desire expressed by Ida May Coates way back in 1896:

I wish we had a fine academy of Art right here in San José with a full complement of instructors . . .

The Theater

Monterey, Sacramento, San Francisco, and Stockton boasted theatrical entertainment soon after American occupation. Each had a theater of sorts before California was admitted to the Union. San José, on the other hand, seemed in no hurry to get into the show business. The state capital years and several others came and passed without the pleasant diversion of professional entertainment. But finally, the well-known Shakespearian actors James Stark and his wife Sarah Kirby Stark decided San José could support a good theater.

Stark accordingly bought a large lot on the east side of First Street, about midway between Santa Clara and St. John Streets. There, in the summer of 1859, he erected the Stark Theatre, which opened the following October 10 with the play *Richelieu* in which he and his wife starred.

Stark's company enjoyed a five-week run here, playing to a well filled house at every performance. In presenting "Hamlet," "King Lear," "Othello," and "Macbeth," Stark and his wife were supported by such other stars of their company as Belle Devine, and Harry and Nellie Brown.

At the end of the fifth week, Stark took his company to Sacramento and San Francisco for a long run in each city, after which he returned to San José for a highly successful three-week run. By this time he had bought a beautiful home here with the intent of making San José his permanent place of residence.

But he soon changed his mind. On returning from a third tour, he found that economic conditions had changed. His former patrons were short of money, and he played to a discouraging number of empty seats. He sold his theater to attorney William T. Wallace, his home to attorney Sherman Otis Houghton, and left San José forever.

In 1922, San José historian Eugene T. Sawyer professionally mentioned Stark for the last time, saying, "He died in the East about forty years ago."

Under new ownership, the Stark Theater became the San José Theater, a change that did nothing to increase the volume of business. As the quality of its shows diminished, they also decreased in number, and were limited to traveling stock companies. The last one was staged by Robert Fulford's San Francisco Dramatic Company on March 15 and 16, 1867. The following month San José's only theater building became the City Carriage Manufactory under the proprietorship of William T. Adel and Isaac Ford Thomas.

From 1867 to 1870, San José had no theater. And aside from the Common Council room in the little 1855 City Hall, there was only one other hall in town—a private one known as Armory Hall at what is now 81 East Santa Clara Street.

Armory Hall got its name because its builder, Gustav Brohaska, made it available to the local militia and home guard companies during the Civil War, but it appears to have served another purpose about the same time. In a long report delivered to the Common Council on April 10, 1865, Mayor Quinby referred to it as "Brohaska's building," which was then serving as the "Grammar Department" of the city's two overflowing public schools. Then, after a few actors, professional and otherwise, risked their lives on its improvised stage, Brohaska got an idea. He converted his building into a first class theater, henceforth known as the San José Opera House.

This splendid establishment opened on August 18, 1870, with John T. Raymond's Dramatic Company presenting the play "London Assurance." Local critics and drama lovers rhapsodized over every detail of that memorable evening to the exhaustion of their supply of superlatives.

The Opera House continued as San José's leading theatre until it burned down on July 5, 1881. But its name endured. The raised wooden letters on the facade of the business structure that rose from the ashes informed all passersby that it was the Opera House Block.

At the time Brohaska dedicated the Opera House, Sidney M. Smith and architect Charles D. Bugbee were building the San José Music Hall at what became 40 North First Street. This ornate,

THE ARTS

two-story brick structure—with its three domes, three multi-windowed bays, and heavy cornice—was not built as a theater in the popular sense of the term. But its large concert hall and other second story appurtenances were put to theater use from time to time during its early years.

No one considered it a serious competitor of the Opera House, and during its final days, business establishments occupied most of the Music Hall's ground floor, while a few offices and, maybe, a club-room seemed the main reasons for anyone's going upstairs. In 1925, the last physical evidence of this structure's presence disappeared. Its place was taken by the four-story Knights of Columbus Building dedicated on March 13, 1926, and the ten story Commercial Building opened on August 27 of the same year.

The Opera House, as previously noted, began as an armory hall converted to theatre use. Its only professional rival for several years was the California Theatre, which grew out of the eastern half of a market building erected in 1874 and jointly owned by Hugh Hall Downer and Nicholas Hayes. This structure extended through the block from First Street to Second at what is now, or very close to, 85 South Second Street. Aware of the city's need for sizeable indoor meeting places, Downer and Hayes added a second floor, known as Central Hall, to their half of the building. In 1878-79, they took on a more ambitious project. They converted both floors into the first class 958-seat California Theatre at the fantastic cost of \$18,000.

Local amateurs "starred" in the first play presented on this house's 38 x 53-foot stage—mainly to find out if lights, scenery, and other properties were in working order. The real dedication featured Lawrence Barrett, one of the greatest tragedians of the day, in *Hamlet*. From May 1, 1880, when Charles R. Bacon became manager, the California Theatre consistently treated San Joséans to the finest theatrical entertainment obtainable anywhere in California. Individual artists and outstanding companies came West, played San Francisco, San José, maybe Sacramento, and according to many old San Joséans, "that was about it." Nothing was said about Los Angeles,

which Northern Californians still regarded as "queen of the cow counties."

With the Opera House and the California Theatre, San Joséans experienced no shortage of first class theatrical entertainment, but after the Opera House fire of 1881, the California was the city's only theatre until 1886. The Music Hall could not begin to handle the crowds or shows that came to the California under the management of Bacon and his successors.

Moreover, the civic cooperativeness of the California's management gave this theater a certain, albeit tenuous, claim to distinction. Before it was lost forever in the great fire of 1892, it unwittingly helped to provide for its successor.

The Santa Clara County Horticultural Society held its first fair in the California Theatre building in 1884. The great success of this fair inspired its promoters to make it an annual event. The Horticultural Society was not so sure this could be done, but at the insistence of the womenfolk, it turned the matter over to the ladies of the Grange who canvassed the whole county, arranged for all displays, and even anticipated the society's having its own home. In 1886, thanks to the ladies' insistence and support, Horticultural Hall came into existence at 140 West San Fernando Street, with the signs bearing the words San José Horticultural Association over its doorway.

Horticultural Hall was a large, saddle roofed, barnlike building covered with white channelled siding. Except for a large arched entrance at sidewalk level, the building's only exterior ornament was a pair of two small steeple-like finials adorning the northwest and southwest corner of the roof. No marquee broke the flat expanse of the facade.

In 1896, midway between California Theatre's end and the coming of the Victory, the Horticultural Hall, then renamed Auditorium Theatre, was listed in the *City Directory* as San José's only theatre. Ads and programs published during those years showed David Belasco as its manager; Nat Goodwin, Chauncey Olcott, and John Drew were among the famous actors performing on its stage.

Horticultural Hall had hardly opened its doors when it scheduled three annual shows. Year after

year, it staged a citrus show in January and February, a flower show in May, and a horticultural and viticultural show in late summer.

Throughout its thirty-years under several successive managements, this theatre was variously known as Horticultural Hall, Hall's Hall (after proprietor Charles P. Hall), Auditorium Theatre, Garden Theatre, and Olympic Theater. Garden, applied to it in 1903 under the management of Webster and Ross, became its most popular name. It survived in prints, memory, and general usage long after the 1916 *City Directory* listed it as Olympic.

Also some sort of theatrical or sports activity took place within its walls almost to the last moment of its existence—wrestling, boxing, gymnastics, and even bike racing on rollers. But during the noon hour of April 4, 1917, it became San José's third important theater to burn to the ground.

By this time, however, San José had become what theater operators called a "good show town." It had peaked only two years earlier with ten theaters almost clustered in the heart of downtown. The most notable of them was the Victory whose construction was financed by James D. Phelan, patron of the arts and Mayor of San Francisco.

The Victory, which opened at 57 North First Street on February 2, 1899, took its name from Admiral Dewey's victory over the Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898. Manager Charles P. Hall, formerly of the Auditorium Theatre, began the program with an announcement of his offering to the theater-going public, and Mayor Phelan gave the dedicatory address. The first play was Richard B. Sheridan's "The School for Scandal," starring Louis James, Kathryn Kidder, and Frederick Warde. Among other well-known members of the cast were Norman Hackett, Loretta Wells, Harry Langdon, Frank Peters, and Collin Kemper.

No one present ever forgot that play or the packed house in which it was presented. No other theater in the city could match the Victory's opulence and the two balconies that afforded an excellent view of the stage from every angle. Perfect acoustics enabled patrons in the top seats of the second balcony to hear every syllable voiced on the stage.

The Victory's orchestra, led for years by Adolph V. Schubert, had no superior anywhere in the Bay Area. Many of this leader's admirers felt that the theater could never get along without him. And the scenes and other stage properties were the best obtainable. In portraying the chariot race in the play "Ben Hur," moving scenery and real horses galloping on a treadmill produced the desired racing effect for the audience.

Even the lobby and the long narrow passageway leading to it from the street were works of art. Their walls were adorned with large, eye-catching portraits of contemporary theatrical "greats" who "had trod the boards" of the Victory's stage.

Shortly after the turn of the century, when the Victory was in its prime, San José theatergoers witnessed the innovation variously known as motion pictures or cinema, which finally acquired the neologism *movies*.

The Victory's managers viewed this innovation with some concern; if successful, it would cut into the revenues of "legitimate" theaters. But they found a way to cope with it. The Victory had room for both, with top billing for the legitimate, the system they followed for more than thirty years.

The coming of radio and television, hardly bode well for the Victory—or any other theater in town. In time, many former theater patrons were enjoying drama and vaudeville within the walls of their homes. Each successive owner since Phelan's time had to face new problems ranging anywhere from the great Depression and amusement taxes to more stringent safety ordinances and changing public tastes. In 1949 the owners changed the theater's name from Victory to Crest, and soon followed that with the removal of the once beautiful box seats. Gossip had the theater losing money in 1951. The owners were apparently doing well enough to spend \$35,000 on a remodeling job in 1964. But at 8:57 a.m. Sunday June 6, 1965, the venerable structure went out, one might say, in a blaze of glory.

A police officer checking in from a nearby call box happened to look up and see smoke issuing from the theatre roof. A few seconds later, a four alarm fire was under way.

THE ARTS

By nightfall, the Victory, as old-timers insisted on calling it, was history—leaving its memories and traditions firmly fixed in the hearts of all who had known it. It was San José's oldest theatre in constant use at the time of its departure.

The Victory's doors had not been open five years when Sid Grauman dedicated his Unique Theatre at 20 East Santa Clara Street on February 7, 1903. Whether Grauman intended the Unique to be any kind of rival of the Victory and the Garden is uncertain. His establishment was neither so large nor well-appointed as they were, and it was by no means so well endowed with funds as the Victory. Yet, with only a ten and fifteen cent admission charge, the Unique took in enough money to need a treasurer—E. B. Lenz.

Now and then, a newspaper reporter or other writer would classify the Unique as a "ten cent variety house," but it was more than that. It was a legitimate house that not only presented good stock company and vaudeville entertainment, but also staged amateur night programs that started local aspirants on the road to theatrical success. Grauman also made sure of its being a good place for family pleasure. He let it be known by print and word of mouth that "no liquor or cigars will be allowed and no tickets will be sold to persons not fit to be with women and children."

Among the most notable amateurs to develop their talents on the Unique's stage was Roscoe Arbuckle, better known as Fatty Arbuckle. Arbuckle was a born comedian and good tenor who doubled in singing and odd jobs around the theater while watching for the main opportunity. He soon joined the Ferris Hartman Musical Comedy and Opera Company during one of its stands at the Unique, and, with one brief absence, stayed with it until the end of February, 1913. The following April, he began his long career in moving pictures with Mack Sennett's Keystone Film Company.

Grauman prospered in San José until the 1906 earthquake demolished the Unique and persuaded him to move to Southern California in quest of more stable terrain. There, he became internationally famous for his Princess Theatre in Los Angeles and Grauman's Chinese Theater in Hollywood.

But old-time San Joséans remembered him for the very thing that made Roscoe Arbuckle famous—moving pictures. In her feature story of San José theaters, published in the Centennial Edition of the *San José Mercury* on June 17, 1951, Patricia "Pat" Loomis wrote:

Grauman, later famous for his Chinese Theater in Hollywood, introduced the flickers in San José when he opened his Unique Theater on Santa Clara St., Feb. 7, 1903.

The Unique was only a year old when its proprietor discovered he was going to have a competitor at 64 South Second Street, just around the corner. David Jacks, a man of large means and resources, had begun construction of the José Theatre, a house comparable in size to the Unique and, perhaps, finer in interior and exterior appointments. The José proved a success from the moment of its opening under the management of William Nolan and Joseph Blum in 1904. The memoirs of violinist Leo Sullivan offer one of the finest accounts of Nolan and Blum's ensuring that success.

Sullivan had played in every important theatre orchestra in San José of his day, and had directed the José's orchestra for many years. He always felt that Nolan and Blum's importation of the Ed Redmond Co. from the Midwest was the greatest event in the José's history. Ed Redmond, a fine actor in his own right, was reputedly one of the best directors and stock managers in the theatrical business. He also had an excellent business relationship with Eastern actors and managers that he often worked to the José's advantage.

In pre-air conditioning days, for example, New York theaters closed down during the summer months, leaving actors free to take engagements wherever they pleased. And Redmond fairly seized this annual opportunity to bring some of the nation's best theatrical entertainment to San José. In 1908, he persuaded a "reigning beauty" of the New York stage, Izetta Jewell, to sign a ten-week contract to perform in San José. Moreover, as soon as she agreed to come here, he decided that a "jewel" of her renown deserved the "worthy setting" of a bigger audience

than the José could accommodate. So he took over the more spacious Garden Theatre for her entire stay.

Miss Jewell's first play here was "The Holy City," a biblical drama that gave her full opportunity to display her superb talent. As Sullivan recalled, this play, with her in the lead, was the first ever to accomplish a two-week run in this city. It was "a success, both financially and artistically."

From the moment the José opened its doors to the public, its managers knew they would meet stiff competition from the movies, which had established a firm foothold at the Unique. Grauman was making sure that even a hopelessly near-sighted person could see what was going on in his theater. A photograph taken in 1904 shows an attractively framed billboard, about four feet wide and seven feet high, standing at ground level on each side of the entrance. The one on the left listed five movies; the one on the right, five acts of vaudeville.

By wisely combining the two modes of entertainment, Grauman ensured the Unique's prosperity. Furthermore, he probably gave little or no thought to straight movie houses, the kind that offered nothing but movies. The first of those, the Empire, did not appear in the *City Directory* until 1908, two years after the big earthquake and Grauman's departure for Los Angeles.

Of the town's eight theaters in 1910, four were straight movies. By 1915, the total had increased to ten, with five of them straight. Most of the early straight movie houses were small. Except for the Empire, which took over what had once been the First Methodist Church at 23 North Second Street, they occupied premises no larger than a fair-sized store or saloon. Old-timers variously referred to them as motion picture theaters, moving picture theaters, cinema and nickelodeons.

None of San José's straight movies boasted an orchestra nor gave a hint of extravagant ornamentation. The music, if any, was provided by a lone pianist at an upright piano on the main floor about four feet in front of and near the left end of the stage. The musician was, with few exceptions, a nimble-fingered-woman who could render by heart every-

thing from "Hearts and Flowers" to "Light Cavalry Overture"—or anything else that befitted the change of scene and mood. In event the projectionist had to change reels or splice a film that had broken mid-reel, someone in the projection room focused upon the screen several magic lantern slides bearing the printed lines of popular songs. The pianist then set the tune, and every body in the audience enjoyed an unplanned session of group singing. "Trail of the Lonesome Pine" and "Pony Boy" were among the favorite songs of the day.

At one time or another between the beginning of 1908 and the end of 1912, the following theaters advertised themselves as straight movie:

Empire, 23 North Second Street
Lumina, 32 North First Street
 (successively renamed Princess and Class A.)
Lyric, 61 South Second Street
Scenic, 119 South First Street
Panama, 75 West Santa Clara Street
Premium, 125 South First Street
Spencer Frank, 15 South Second Street
Market Street, 57 South Market Street
 (later listed as 61 South Market)

San José's era of "classy movie houses" began in 1913 with the construction of Turner & Dahnken's Theatre De Luxe at 236 South First Street. This theater's owners seem to have a hard time deciding what name they preferred for their establishment. The *City Directory* first listed it in 1913 as Theatre De Luxe, and it continued as De Luxe until 1916. From 1917 to 1924, it appeared as the T & D, signifying Turner & Dahnken, its owners. In 1925, it was listed as the California, which name it kept until it became the Mission after the opening of a new California Theater at 345 South First Street in 1927.

Basically, the De Luxe was a straight movie house, but it had enough stage equipment to accommodate an occasional Fancho & Marco revue or a limited bit of vaudeville. Also, it had no regular orchestra. It did not need one with Charles Hayward at the keys of the theater's great Wurlitzer organ, whose volume ranged from a barely audible note to a thunderous blast with all sound effects included.

THE ARTS

San José got its second "classy movie house" when James Beatty opened his Liberty Theatre at 67 South Market Street in 1914. In size and interior decoration, the Liberty had much in common with the De Luxe, although its entrance was longer and narrower than that of the De Luxe. But why Beatty preferred the Market Street location to First Street has never been explained. First street south of San Antonio was on the rise, and Market was already showing signs of decay. Perhaps he wished to compete with the Market Street Theatre, which had been flourishing since 1910, and offered vaudeville. The Market Street was on the same side of the street and only a couple of doors to the north of the Liberty.

In any event, if Beatty wished to compete with the Market Street, he met no difficulty. The *City Directory* listed the Market Street for the last time in 1916. A large Robert Morton organ, played by Jan Schinahan, supplied the Liberty's music and sound effects, much to the delight of every audience that heard it during the next twenty-seven years. And at last report, it was still going strong in San José's Grace Baptist Church, which bought it from the Liberty in 1941.

Beatty eventually controlled a chain of theaters, four of which were in San José—the Liberty, José, Hippodrome, and Padre. The Liberty seems to have been his favorite, even to using its name for the company governing his enterprises: The Liberty Amusement Co.

In 1919, San José got a theater that was especially designed for vaudeville *and* movies—The Hippodrome, built by the Southern Development Co. and leased to Marcus Loew. With the possible exception of the Victory, the Hippodrome was the largest theater in town at the time of its construction. It extended almost all the way through the block from 261 South First Street to Market. A first class orchestra furnished music for the vaudeville; an organ, for the movies.

In 1922, after Beatty's Liberty Amusement Co. took control, the Hippodrome's name was changed to Beatty's American. It later bore two other names—State and United Artists. Orchestra leader Peter

Paul Lyons was probably the most outstanding personality connected with this theater when it was known as the American. Many a patron came to enjoy his music regardless of what else was on the bill.

But the public's taste for theatrical entertainment eventually began to change. Also, theater owners who had successfully weathered the great depression of the 1930's found themselves facing a complex set of problems that would never go away. It chronologically included radio, neighborhood movie houses, drive in theaters, and television drama, all aggravated by increasing license fees and municipal regulations.

The theaters' managers might have coped with any individual problem in the list, but all of them together proved too much when augmented by the deadly decentralization of San José's downtown business district.

The Victory was still going strong and the American was in its prime when San José's third theater to bear the name California opened at 345 South First Street in 1927. This California, later referred to as the Fox California, was a "big house"—a palace that extended all the way through the block from First Street to Market. It was fully equipped to handle movies, vaudeville, and any kind of stock company presentation. Its orchestra, led by Jay Brower, was the largest in town; its organist, Irma Falvey, was unsurpassable. It was the theater to go to, especially on Saturday and Sunday evenings, and, after the performance, follow the crowd to Paul Maggi's restaurant, three doors to the north, for three-decker sandwiches.

San José never had any other theater equal to the California. As the old-timers declared, "It was *class*." Yet, within a few years, the California had to face the same problems that had been eliminating its competitors. And that was not all. The "Cal" was located too close to what had become an "undesirable neighborhood." As its offerings declined in quality, the orchestra disbanded, Jay Brower and Irma Falvey went elsewhere. No change of ownership or highly advertised movie could revive "the place to go." It was only a matter of time until the red exit lights would be turned off and the interior in utter darkness.

Before the California started downward, however, James Beatty opened his Padre Theatre at 141 South First Street on May 26, 1933. The Padre, strictly a movie house, occupied a building that had been in existence since the 1880's, and looked it. Beatty had established his Liberty Amusement Co. offices in it long before he decided to put it to theater use. A large vertical electric sign bearing the single word Padre was the chief facade ornament, which had replaced the grimy gingerbread decoration of a much earlier generation.

This venture was hardly an auspicious one. The Padre was neither so large nor pretentious as most of its downtown contemporaries. Yet, by putting on good shows at reasonable prices, it survived the depression by many years. The Padre's last day was determined when the City acquired every building in the block bounded by First, Market, San Fernando, and San Antonio Streets for urban renewal. The last vestige of the Padre disappeared in 1965 final clearance of almost an entire block in compliance with City orders.

San José's first theater to open south of San Salvador Street, the Royal, appeared in the *City Directory* in 1925 and was gone in 1926. And shortly before the end of San José's era of big downtown theaters, two neighborhood-sized movie houses opened only a few doors from the California. One, called the Studio, occupied the northeast corner of First and San Salvador Streets; the other, known as the Gay, stood on the southeast corner of the same intersection. Both catered to an audience seeking excitement of different kinds. The Studio eventually gravitated toward less expensive films with flashy titles. The Gay featured risqué films with more than a hint of prurience. Both were doing well almost twenty years later, however, and there was no report that their owners were apprehensive of the future.

The neighborhood theaters that began to spring up in the outlying areas of the city during that decade fared much better than the Royal. The Hester, at 1433 The Alameda, led the way. It first appeared in the *City Directory* in 1929, and was still flourishing in its original location forty years later under the name of Towne. The Willow Glen was listed in 1934 at 1360 Lincoln Avenue, two years before the City of

Willow Glen annexed to San José. It was succeeded by the Garden, which was doing well thirty-five years later at 1165 Lincoln Avenue. The Burbank was located at 522 South Bascom Avenue, and the Mayfair at 1191 East Santa Clara Street likewise prospered long after founding.

In May 1945, San José got its first outdoor movie—the San José Drive-In Theater—which was located in a large field southwest of the intersection of the Old Oakland and Gish Roads. It was soon followed by three more of its kind: The Alum Rock at 1969 Alum Rock Avenue; Shamrock (renamed Spartan), First and Alma Streets; and El Rancho, Almaden Road and Alma Street. All of these establishments were popular at first, but as the novelty wore off, the public began to notice their shortcomings. And when they started on the downgrade, their managers could justifiably blame the same factors that had been eliminating the big downtown theaters.

Early newspapers diligently reported plays given by schools, lodges, and churches—often as not, for money raising. Gallant editors could always make room for a heart-tugging portrayal of a saddened mother's tears at the bier of her child. Historian Eugene T. Sawyer—himself an actor of sorts—devoted many pages of his writings to San José's amateur theatrical activities. According to him, many a local aspirant to theatrical fame, got his or her start on the road to success in such performances.

As the years passed, neither professional nor amateur lacked a place in which to perform. At first, private money produced halls of increasing size, which bore such names as Pavilion, Princess, Rutherford, and Auditorium Rink. The last mentioned was erected in 1909 on the east side of South Market Street between San Antonio and San Carlos. It could accommodate anything from a poultry and rabbit show to a modified six-day bicycle race. In 1909, it was the scene of San José's first Automobile show. As a business venture, however, it did not last long; it was razed in 1918.

The Auditorium Roller Rink a similarly-size structure at 1066 The Alameda, did not match the downtown Auditorium Rink, but it enjoyed longer use.

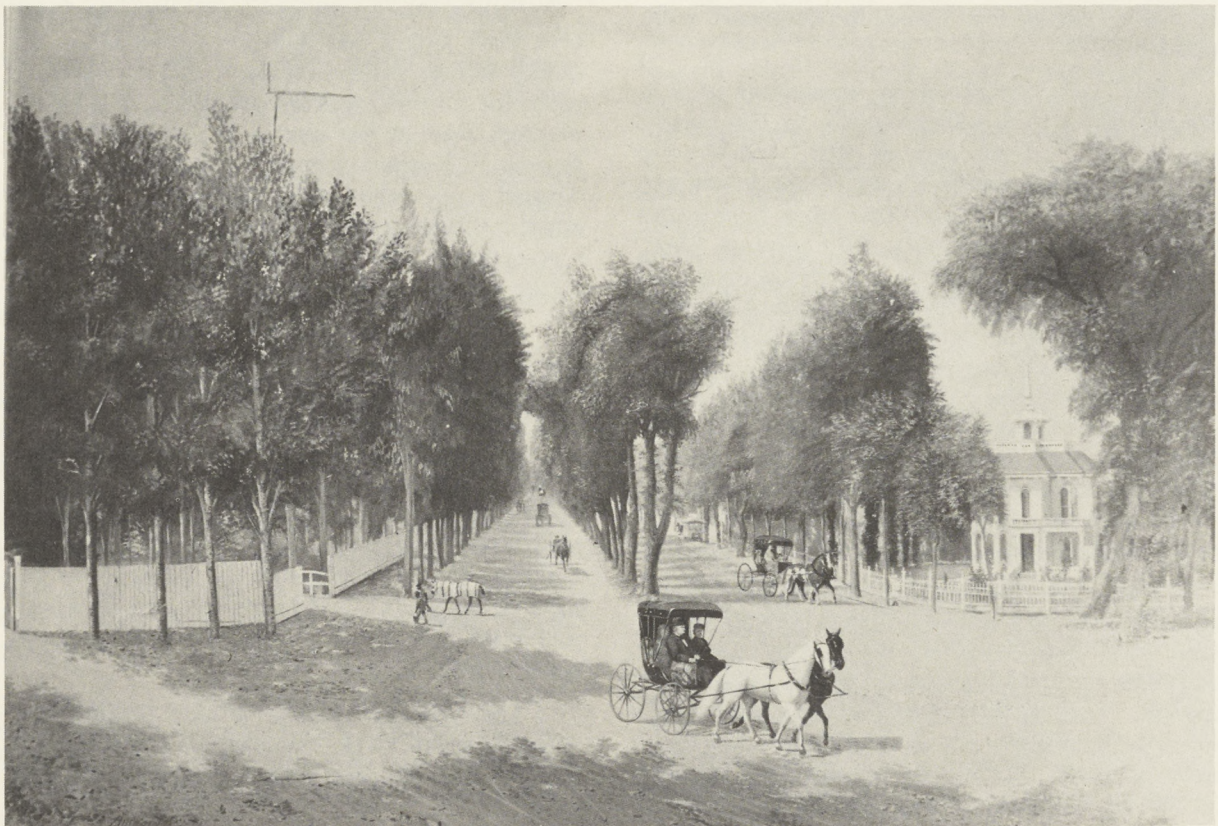
THE ARTS

The multiple purpose Civic Auditorium, opened on the northwest corner of San Carlos and Market Streets in 1936, marked a new era in San José halls and auditoriums. Its main auditorium, with its spacious floor and balcony, could handle all kinds of entertainment from band concerts and flower shows to prize fights and wrestling matches. Its somewhat smaller Montgomery Theater featured drama, string quartettes, and piano recitals.

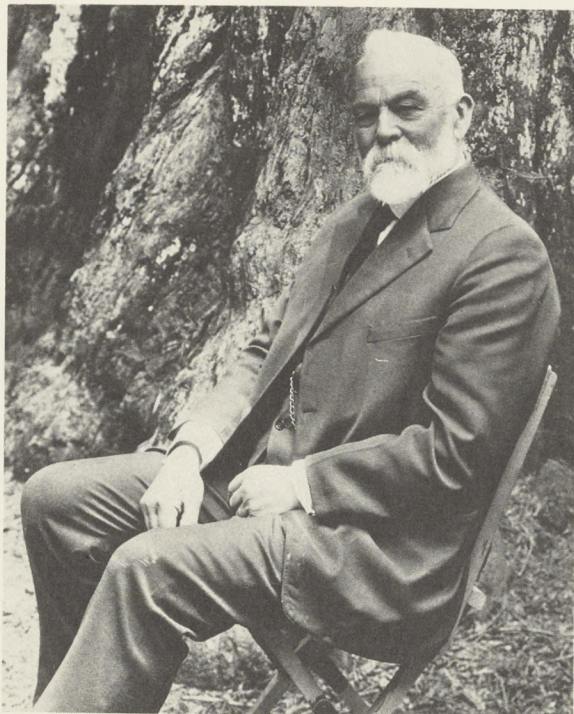
In 1934 San José witnessed its first concerted effort to rescue the legitimate theater from the nefar-

ious clutches of the movies. A group of drama enthusiasts organized the San José Community Players, which became the San José Theater Guild in 1946. In the first 16 years of existence, this group produced "47 full length productions and 80 radio shows."

The Theater Guild and every other drama loving group, including San José State College Drama Department, supported the strong movement that resulted in the ground breaking ceremony for San José's multi-million dollar, 2,700 seat Community Theater, which broke ground on September 10, 1969.

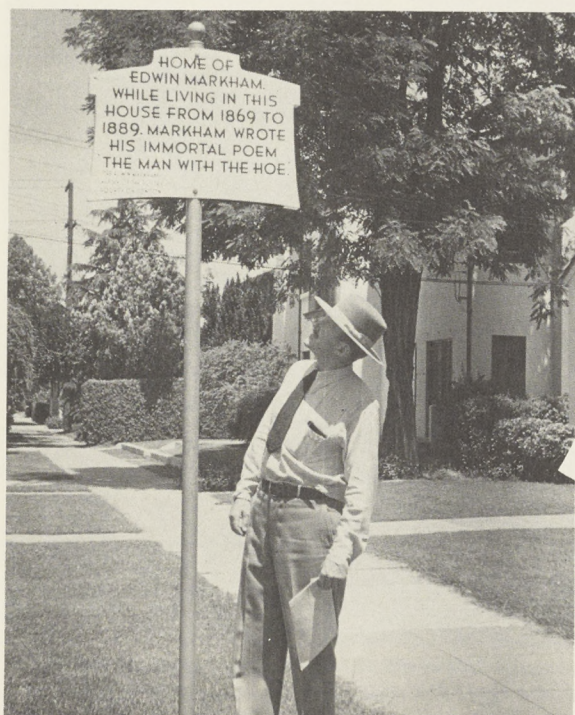


An 1882 painting of "The Alameda" by Andrew P. Hill, one of San José's most important citizens, and a fine painter and photographer. It was he who led the fight to save the virgin redwoods in Big Basin and the San Lorenzo Valley. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)



Andrew Putnam Hill (1853-1922), Santa Clara County artist, came to California at the age of fourteen via the Isthmus of Panama. During the next eight years, he attended Santa Clara College, worked on a ranch in San Luis Obispo County, worked with a civil engineering outfit, began to develop his latent talent for art, and enrolled in a San Francisco art school. His natural talent, coupled with academic learning, soon brought him fame as one of California's great artists, and his consuming love for natural beauty won far-reaching recognition. He did more than any other individual to save the giant redwoods in Big Basin by converting that area into California's first state park. A plaque in that park sums up his life labors in four words: He Saved The Redwoods.

Perhaps the only thing these men had in common was their love of poetry. Dr. Henry Meade Bland, on the left, was a quiet, soft-spoken professor of creative English at San José State Normal School for 32 years. Joaquin Miller was a flamboyant "professional westerner" in dress and manners. Both left indelible marks in California literature. This photo shows them at Miller's 100-acre farm, "The Heights," in the Oakland hills about 1912.



Historic marker in front of poet Edwin Markham's San José home at 432 South Eighth Street. Markham, born in Oregon City in 1852, grew up in Solano County, California, and came to San José with his mother in 1869. In 1872, he was a member of the first class graduated from the San José Normal School, and was later regarded by several writers and teachers as that institution's most distinguished alumnus. He tried journalism and school teaching for a while after his graduation, but he was born a poet, and poetry won out. His most famous poems were "The Man With the Hoe" and "Lincoln, The Man of the People." "The Man With the Hoe" reputedly earned more than \$250,000 for him. According to Markham's account of the event, he wrote all but one stanza of "The Man with the Hoe" in San José. He put the one exception together in Oakland, California. This photo shows San José City Historian Clyde Arbuckle inspecting the commemorative marker that the Edwin Markham Chapter of the Poetry Society of London erected at the birthplace of "The Man With the Hoe."



Taking this photo of the San José Orchestral Society in 1892, was quite a task. The town boasted only two full-dress suites. Only two men could be photographed at a time—with one exception. One player, who was ill at home, had to be photographed there, sitting in full-dress on the edge of his bed with his instrument in his hand!



A note accompanying this photograph identified the subject as the "Normal School Band about 1884." A glance at the instruments leaves one thinking the music must have been pretty much "oom-pah." It also seems that two or three of the musicians might have been "recruits" from off campus.

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This old Victory Theatre poster boasts of "Big time" musical burlesque with an international flavor. The admission prices certainly have changed for live performances!



Dancing teacher Dorice Andreucetti waves to crowd at the Fox California Theatre during a 1953 performance. Thousands of youngsters, both boys and girls, studied in "Dorie's" classes. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



The Fox California Theatre was located on South First Street in 1966. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



The lobby of the Fox California Theatre was refurbished to a gleaming decor in 1957. (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



Hollywood stars and starlets arrive at the San José Muni airport for the Boys' City Benefit and Grand Opening of the United Artists Theatre (formerly the American Theatre) on November 14th, 1951. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)

The United Artist's Theatre was located on South First Street in 1966. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)

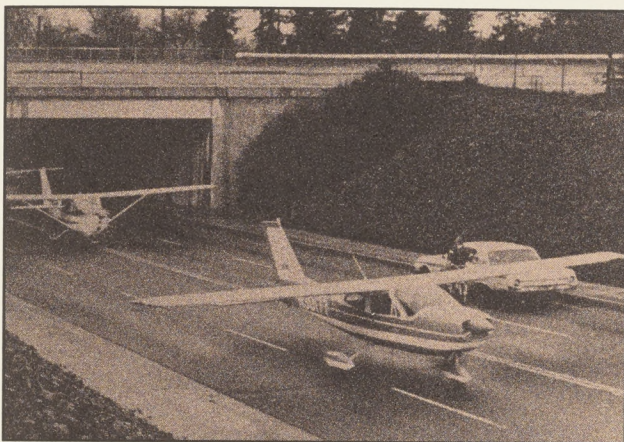


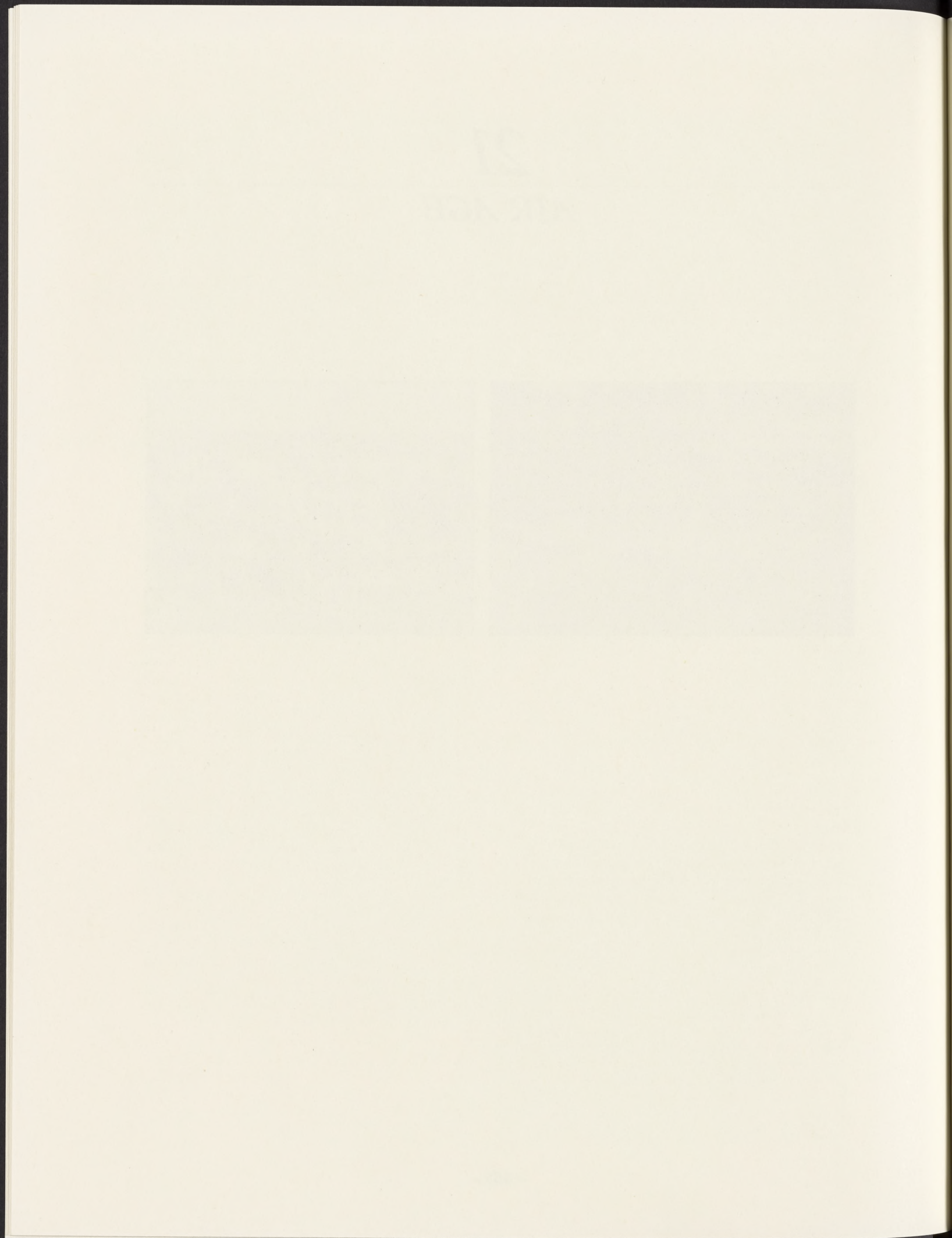
A 1951 benefit for Boy's City was held in the United Artist's Theatre. (photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)



21

AIR AGE





San Joséans' interest in aircraft was probably aroused by published stories of the ballooning experiments that Jacques Etienne Montgolfier conducted in France in 1783. It unquestionably dates back at least to September 17, 1856, when journalist Alfred Doten noted "Professor" Wilson's balloon ascension at the "barbecue ground" just west of town.¹

Though a bit cautious, San José's approach to the Air Age was steady. For a decade before and after the Wright brothers' flight at Kitty Hawk in 1903, any number of itinerant balloonists visited this city to pick up a few dollars at fairs and celebrations. They performed their acts, deflated their balloons, and went their way, taking with them their cash and titles of "Capt." and "Prof."

On October 9, 1900, the *San José Mercury* informed the public of a local ascension by "Prof." A. H. Hoff and Robert Earlston. Several ascensions in quick succession took place at Luna Park in the fall of 1909, featuring "Capt." J. W. Price and aeronaut Joseph Martin. One of these events, held on November 19, was billed as a balloon race. Los Gatos scheduled a May Day ascension just ahead of the Luna Park series. But no matter where the event took place, people stood outdoors all over the valley "to see the balloon go up."

Most of these early balloons were spherical and covered with a network of rope that carried the basket or "car." As the 1890's drew to a close, however, the semi-rigid, self-propelled dirigible gained attention. On November 19, 1909, the *Mercury* reported that a San Joséan named A. Carter was building such a ship "for passengers." Similar comment followed on February 18, 1910, regarding a ship under construc-

tion in a shop at the corner of The Alameda and Stockton Avenue.

Dirigibles came much closer than balloons to real aviation. Balloons had to go wherever the winds took them; dirigibles, with their propelling engines, could move against the wind. They also had the several forms of stability necessary to successful flying.

Both types of craft, however, had other features. Their inventors or pilots were seldom paragons of modesty, particularly one who styled himself Captain Thomas C. Baldwin (also mentioned as Thomas Scott Baldwin).

Baldwin came to local notice about 1903, when he supposedly consulted with Santa Clara College's "early bird," Professor John J. Montgomery. In a lengthy interview granted to a *San José Mercury* reporter on December 4, 1904, Baldwin revealed plans for his airship *California Arrow*, built in San José and, at the moment, on display in St. Louis. He also praised the persons who helped him most in its fabrication. "Mrs. DeWitt Welch, of 389 West Santa Clara Street," he said, "labored faithfully for many days in constructing the gas bag and the weaving of the network of ropes from which the car was suspended." To cyclist Charles V. Randall, of 391 West Santa Clara Street, he gave credit for constructing "the mechanical parts of the machine."

If the "captain" slipped in this interview, he did so in ascribing his success to help received from Father R. H. Bell, professor of Science at Santa Clara College. Bell responded with a tart letter to the *Mercury* on December 6, disclaiming any part in Baldwin's ventures.

Baldwin left San José soon, if not immediately, after publication of Bell's letter. His showman's carelessness with truth seems to have persisted, however, and, at last report, he had run afoul of the law somewhere in the Pacific Northwest.

By this time, most Americans had begun to lose interest in "gas bag flying." The "heavier than air" experiments of Samuel Langley of Smithsonian fame, the Wright brothers of Dayton, and John J. Montgomery of Santa Clara College (now university) had captured the public's attention.

¹This "barbecue ground" appears to have been part of the 76-acre tract that the Santa Clara Valley Agricultural Society acquired in 1859. Its formal name was Agricultural Park, but, often as not, the local citizenry loosely referred to it as "the fairgrounds." Since 1905, when Lewis E. Hanchett bought and converted it into a residential subdivision, it has been known as Hanchett Park.

Montgomery, a science professor, was by nature an inventor who had developed a consuming interest in aviation. It mattered little whether he was propounding a scientific theory in the classroom or pondering the camber of a glider wing, his interest in soaring flight increased with each passing day. He conducted a number of his experiments at widely separated points of the state, depending on where he was teaching. But after he joined the Santa Clara College faculty in 1896, he made the town of Santa Clara his permanent home and headquarters.

Montgomery's Santa Clara experiments in "basic flying" soon focussed nationwide attention upon his work, college, and place of residence. Local newspapers carried large illustrations of his gliders and the balloons that hoisted them aloft for release, and crowds of spectators gathered to witness his flights.

For reasons best known to himself, Montgomery concentrated his ingenuity upon gliders, leaving powered flight to the host of adventurous souls then pouring into the field of aviation. In taking off from any point on the valley floor, he relied on a balloon to lift him and his plane to a desired altitude—anywhere from 2,000 to 4,000 feet. He then slipped the hoist rope and began his long gliding flight to a designated spot that was always lower than his starting point.

But on transferring his flight experiments to the Evergreen area, now annexed to San José, Montgomery abandoned balloons as a means of launching his planes. He adopted wheeled running gear, an improvement already in use by powered craft. This arrangement consisted of four perambulator wheels with axles bolted to a flimsy underwing framework resembling the beginnings of a coverless fuselage.

To take off, Montgomery lifted his plane onto a launching track fashioned of longitudinally grooved wooden rails laid in straight line far enough down a suitable hillside to enable his "ship" to attain flying speed. He then got into the pilot's seat, confident of safe passage over the innumerable squirrel hills and other rough spots on the terrain.

Montgomery's monoplane, the *Evergreen*, had all four wheels in the rail grooves on October 31, 1911,

as he sped down the starting hill on what proved to be his last flight. He had hardly become airborne when his craft stalled and sideslipped to the ground, turning over as it struck.

When his assistants lifted him from the wreckage, they noticed a small spot from which blood and a grayish substance oozed behind his right ear. One of them rushed to a nearby ranch house to phone for a doctor. But when the doctor, who had taken the wrong road, arrived from Santa Clara two hours later, Montgomery was dead. An untrimmed long-eron bolt, extending far beyond its clinching nut, had pierced his skull.

Today, Montgomery is remembered for his valuable contributions to the science of flight. At Evergreen, California Historical Landmark No. 813 directs public attention to the site of his final takeoff, Montgomery Hill, named in his honor.

Long before Montgomery's death, however, heavier-than-air pilots had been performing amazing feats. Mechanical improvements followed one another with incredible rapidity. The Wright brothers lengthened their flights from a few hundred feet at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, in 1903 to twenty-five and a quarter miles at Huffman Prairie, Ohio, in 1905. In 1910, Glenn Curtiss made what was described as the "most spectacular flight in American aviation" up to that time. He covered the 142½ miles between Albany, N. Y., and New York City in two hours and fifty minutes flying time. At San Francisco on January 18, 1911, Eugene Ely landed upon, and took off from, the battleship *Pennsylvania*. In July of the same year, Harriet Quimby of Boston received the first pilot's license issued to a woman under American authority.

Meanwhile, Europeans had been wildly acclaiming the accomplishments of such intrepid flyers as Louis Bleriot, Henri Farman, Alberto Santos-Dumont, Louis Paulhan, and Claude Grahame-White. Closer to home, Californians in general and San Joséans in particular had been getting more than enough aerial excitement to keep them alert. Two natives of Santa Clara County—Roy Francis and Robert Fowler—were already well-known in American aviation circles.

Francis, born on Union Avenue near the Los Gatos-Almaden Road, developed a consuming interest in aviation as early as 1907. He was carrying passengers in a highly reliable biplane of his own make in 1911, taking off and landing in the infield of the horse racing track at the San José Driving Park. His mastery of electrical, mechanical, and aeronautical engineering soon had him experimenting in theory and practice with almost every make of plane in existence, including flying boats. He and Lincoln Beechey were credited with being the first two stunt flyers at San Francisco's Panama Pacific International-Exposition in 1915.

The United States Army took full advantage of Francis' skill and knowledge during World War I. Among the most notable of his services were those of instructor, consultant, and compiler of the rules and regulations of the Government's flying fields. Also, according to his resumé, he laid out seventy-five such fields, including the world-famed Kelly Field in Texas. During the early post war period, he served with General William (Billy) Mitchell and, in 1919, was consulted regarding the feasibility of a trans-Atlantic flight.

In 1930, the March issue of the *San Francisco Municipal Record* reported Francis' appointment as superintendent of the city's municipal airport—Mills Field—which is now known as the San Francisco International Airport.

This last appointment was probably the greatest of his entire career. He remained in San Francisco until his death in 1952.

In 1911, a New Yorker named Galbraith Rodgers broke all distance records by flying across the United States from New York to Long Beach, California.

Not to be outdone by Rodgers, the Wright-trained Robert Fowler of Gilroy (later a resident of San José) took off from Los Angeles on October 19 of that same year, and landed near Jacksonville, Florida, on February 17, 1912. He flew only 45 of the 121 days elapsed time, with 72 hours actually in the air. The same as Rodgers, he had a generous share of damage and other hard luck along the way.

On April 27, 1913, Fowler flew across the Isthmus of Panama, thereby claiming for himself the honor of being the first to fly nonstop from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic. He later carried photographer R. A. Duhem when taking the first aerial motion pictures of the Panama Canal.

California newspapers diligently reported Fowler's many ventures between 1914 and 1916. He barnstormed through the South and Midwest, operated flying schools, and helped to organize an engineering company in New York. In 1917, he organized the Fowler Airplane Corporation of San Francisco, which built 275 planes for the Government during World War I.

Fowler's active interest in aviation dated back to 1910, when he unsuccessfully tried to teach himself how to fly in a Curtiss. In 1911, he went back to Dayton, Ohio, where he took three hours instruction from the Wrights, and soloed on August 10.

On marrying Lenore Vargas in 1927, Fowler established his home in San José. His wife, also interested in flying with much gliding time to her credit, died here at the age of 74, in 1965, and he at the age of 82 on June 15, 1966.

At no time during their long careers, did Francis and Fowler have the California aviation field entirely to themselves. This applied particularly to Santa Clara County with its fast growing number of adventurous chaps with "itchy wings."

On April 21, 1910, the *Mercury* reported that George M. Cooper of San Jose was building a bird-like contraption with a "corset arrangement" to hold himself between the wings. A sizeable cut of Cooper's machine illustrated the story, but beyond that, little is known of the enterprise.

By 1911, even the most casual reader noted that aviation was receiving increasing notice from the press. The *Mercury* reported that former bike racer Emile Agraz was taking flying lessons from a man identified only as L. E. Holt. The same paper noted that a "runaway aeroplane" had thrilled a crowd of spectators at the San Jose Driving Park. It seemed that every teenager in the county was reading *Popular*

Mechanics to learn how to make a glider. Reports from College Park, Santa Clara, and Sunnyvale had adults either building airplanes or intending to build them, and one could be forgiven for believing that there were more builders than airplanes in those days.

American entry into World War I in 1917 brought opportunity for closer inspection of practical flying machines. Army pilots occasionally flew to San José from Mather Field near Sacramento or to other not too distant aviation training centers. One such pilot—Lieutenant Spencer Hall, a San Joséan—landed his Curtiss Standard JN4-D in a grain field that eventually became part of the city's civic center. Lieutenant Hall's "ship" became a municipal conversation piece as it stood near the fence along the west side of First Street. On the day of his departure, a host of spectators with crossed fingers crowded the street, hoping that he would miss the high-power electric lines along the Guadalupe River as he took off to the west.

On leaving the service after the war, several San José flyers bought surplus planes from the Government at ridiculously low prices so they could continue their flying. Among them were Lieutenants John C. Johnston, Thayer Todd, and Richard L. Pennington.

Johnston, locally known as Johnny, was commissioned a lieutenant in 1919, and later became a Reserve captain. He established an airport in a grain field on the north side of Alum Rock Avenue between Capitol Avenue and White Road. To land his ship in the prevailing northerly wind, he had to nose down sharply after skimming the four rows of giant eucalyptus trees that lined Alum Rock Avenue. He also had to avoid a huge, widespread Valley Oak in the middle of his field.

Almost every time Johnston took off his propeller wash treated residents along the south side of Alum Rock Avenue to a first class dust storm. The area was not so tightly built up in those days, and the residents were a friendly lot who endured the experience long after the novelty had worn off. In October, 1927, however, they filed a suit to abate the airport as a nuisance. Two years later, the Alum Rock Avenue facilities moved to a more satisfactory location on the east side of King Road, just south of Story.

Meanwhile, Johnston had become a San José tradition. He made countless passenger flights at "\$10 a head for ten minutes." Most of the early aerial movies of the Santa Clara Valley were taken from his "ship." On one occasion he swooped down over White Road and dropped a rope ladder into a speeding automobile to permit aerial acrobat Franklin Rose to climb from the vehicle to the plane.

His most outstanding stunt, however, was advertised as the first airplane funeral in history. This funeral took place under the direction of Thomas Monahan, Undertaker on January 26, 1920. Johnston strapped a casket containing the body of aviation enthusiast Charles J. Abrames to the top of the plane's fuselage. Newspapers of the day described the takeoff from the airport, and noted how he "volplaned" into a wide grassy field in an undeveloped area of the cemetery. From there he taxied up to the grave.

Though Johnston did not carry the first air mail from the Santa Clara Valley, he became first pilot of the valley's first regularly established air mail route. On October 15, 1928, he made his initial daily round trip between San José and Oakland.

Critics of this service branded it "another bit of Government waste." Admirers labeled it "the shortest air mail route in the world." Both had to admit, however, that it would have been less expensive to carry the mail that short distance by truck.

Johnston later became a regular pilot on the long distance air mail routes. He was also a founding member of the Western Aero Club, an organization made up of Santa Clara Valley pilots, aviation students, and mechanics.

Johnston died at the age of 34, when the San Diego-Seattle mail plane, in which he was riding as a passenger, crashed at Burbank, California, on May 17, 1932. The pilot, Harry Crandall died with him.

The previously noted Richard L. Pennington and Thayer Todd established the Pennington-Todd School of Flying on a parcel of Santa Clara land once known as "Albertson's berry patch," and later as the Civic Center.

Though located within the town limits of Santa Clara, this establishment was owned, financed, and operated by San Joséans and, for that reason, could be loosely called a San José-Santa Clara project.

Todd was in the pilot's cockpit when the Pennington-Todd School of Flying opened with one Curtiss "Canuck," the Canadian variant (JN4-C) of the American Curtiss "Jenny" (JN4-D). But business was soon good enough to justify buying a second "ship" of the same make and model.

The great day in Pennington-Todd's existence was April 8, 1920, when Pennington piloted the plane that carried the first United States Mail from this valley by air. The *Mercury* announced the coming flight on the seventh, and published the story of it on the ninth.

Two postmasters participated in this event—Byron Millard of San José and Charles D. South of Santa Clara. The mail pouch contained letters and packages addressed to Postmaster Charles W. Fay of San Francisco and Mayor James Rolph of the same city. The packages contained Santa Clara Valley prunes and a fruit confection called Grandafig.

Millard, who had come from San José in a U.S. Navy recruiting car, was accompanied by three Navy men headed by Chief Electrician Percy A. Merriam. Many other San Joséans represented the City and the Chamber of Commerce. In the crowd of Santa Clarans who greeted them were 1,000 school children and a school band.

As Millard put on his helmet and goggles, someone noted that he had no leather coat, the badge and *sine qua non* of flying in those days. Whereupon, Aloysius Nuttman, a Santa Clara undertaker stepped forward and lent his leather topcoat to the postmaster. It was almost ankle length and hardly an aviator's coat, but it was leather.

While the plane's engine warmed up, the band struck up the national anthem. By then, Millard, who had supposedly begun to contemplate the dangers of flying, was not sure whether he was listening to the "Star Spangled Banner" or "Nearer My God to Thee." In any event, he climbed into the front cockpit, which also held the pouch of mail. A field employee helped

him fasten his safety belt, and seconds later the ship barely cleared the orchard at the north end of the field. It veered westward toward San Francisco's Marina, where it arrived 28 minutes after taking off.

Millard stayed in San Francisco for such festivities as the day provided; Pennington came home alone that afternoon. His return flight was a somber one. His front cockpit contained a coffin for four year old Willie Ginger, killed by a plane at the Pennington-Todd field the previous afternoon.

Ginger and a companion of similar age were playing in tall grass and weeds at the western edge of the field at 12:35 p.m., April 7. Something impelled them to run across the field just as Pennington, coming in with two passengers, was touching down for a landing. Ginger did not make it. The plane's spreader bar (and possibly the propeller) struck him, inflicting instant death. The other lad either stumbled or fell upon his face in fright, permitting the plane to miss him. A coroner's jury later exonerated Pennington.

Two months later, Pilot Justin Dyche shattered his propeller and tore the undercarriage and lower left wing panel off Plane No. 1 in landing on Pacific Grove's Rocky Point. After repairing the damage with corresponding parts from Plane No. 2, he continued southward for a stint of carnival flying at Pismo Beach. There he completely wrecked the plane when it stalled while gliding in for a landing on the beach. Fortunately, neither Dyche nor his passenger got hurt, but the mishap ended the career of the already financially embarrassed firm of Pennington-Todd.

Another barnstorming flyer or two used the Pennington-Todd field for a while, but it eventually reverted to diversified agriculture, and stayed there until the City of Santa Clara put it to public use.

Long before this, however, aviation had taken a firm hold on Santa Clara County. On July 12, 1920, The Western Aero Club, made up of local flying enthusiasts, came into existence. Its founding officers were Karl Rogers, president; J. R. Knutzen, vice-president; C. H. Odell, secretary-treasurer; Johnny Johnston, instructor. Other charter members were

Clyde Arbuckle, R. A. Burgess, Arthur Britton, William Brudwein, H. Coleman, Fred Gurvine, Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Harton, W. Lidley, Dr. Morris, Sam Metzgar, Mrs. Newbre, Charles Newman, Louis Normandin, Frank Puck, J. R. Pennington, Frank Rose (aerial acrobat), Roscoe Russell, R. M. Scherf, Paul Stephany, and Sanborn Young.

On December 1, 1921, most of these members formed the San José Squadron, attached to the U.S. Army Air Service. They thus availed themselves of an opportunity to receive all around aviation instruction through the 440th Observation Reserve Unit at Crissy Field in San Francisco. By 1923, thanks to Congressman Arthur M. Free, they received an Army plane for their own use at Johnston's field in San José.

They thus became reserve pilots, observers, mechanics, riggers, and fitters in a day when Army aviation was under jurisdiction of the Signal Corps.

During these same years, it seemed that no fair or other major outdoor event could take place in San José without an air show of some kind. For example, the 100 Percent Industrial Expositions of the early 1920's filled what was known as Phelan field on the east side of South First Street at Alma Street. This field extended eastward from First Street to the Southern Pacific tracks on Fourth Street; and just across the tracks, in a much larger field, usually planted to sugar beets, barnstorming stunt pilots gathered like yellow jackets at a barbecue.

A sprinkling of Army air officers, with their Sam Browne belts and highly polished riding boots, invariably caught the eye of every spectator. When they took off in their 400-horsepowered Liberty-engined De Havilands, all other flyers faded into insignificance—even the crack stunt flyers who were themselves former Army flyers.

The greatest aviation meet of those days took place in 1922 on White Road, a mile or two northwest of Evergreen. Billed as an "Air Circus," it was promoted by Ivan R. Gates, a professional promoter famous for his black suits, black derby, buff topcoat, and Charlie Chaplin mustache. Almost every kind of plane imaginable showed up for this event. The commanding officer of Crissy Field promised twelve

Army De Havilands (DH 4s), and a number of Army flyers had their own private ships of European make. Crack stunt flyers gathered from all over the state to carry passengers galore at the usual \$10 a head for 10 minutes.

Good newspaper publicity attracted a crowd of almost 20,000 spectators, many of whom stayed in their automobiles, which lined roadways for miles around. A charming young lady, Frances Tuttle of College of the Pacific, was to fly with Captain Lowell Yerex. Other flyers guaranteed to put on a show such as never before seen in San José.

The *piece de resistance*, however, was a parachute jump to be made by aerial acrobat Thornton A. Jenkins who sported the nickname "Jenks," or "Jinx," depending upon who did the spelling. Jenkins was famous for changing from one plane to another in midair, or standing on his head on a top wing panel while his ship was thousands of feet in the air. On this occasion, however, he would use a parachute made by Charles Broadwick who was present to witness the jump.

Jenkins took off about 4:30 p.m. in a ship piloted by Captain Yerex. At 2,700 feet altitude Jenkins emerged from the ship's front cockpit and jumped. His chute streamed out like a great white plume above him, but did not open, though he "fought the ropes" all the way down, trying to get air into its inner folds. The crowd gasped as he splashed earth when he hit the ground, and not a few said they saw daylight between him and the ground when his body bounced from the impact.

Still breathing when help got to him, he was rushed to East Columbia Hospital. He died there at 6:30 that evening despite all possible care given to him by Dr. D. A. Beattie. An autopsy performed by Drs. J. S. Staub and H. S. Dahleen revealed almost every bone in Jenkins' body badly broken, with his spine shoved deeply into his brain.

A sorrowing group of airmen visited Thomas Monahan's undertaking establishment at 293 South Second Street a few hours later to pay their last respects to a departed comrade.

Despite the Jenkins tragedy, this air circus unmistakably put San José into the air age. The thousands of people who witnessed the event never again lost interest in flying. Their numbers steadily swelled throughout the remainder of the decade.

In July, 1928, the Standard Oil Company sent a Ford tri-motor monoplane here as an advertising device. Piloted by F. V. Templeton, it took the company's local manager, E. M. Burnham, and numerous other San José dignitaries on pleasurable flights over the Valley. Also, it was only a matter of time when a Goodyear Rubber Company blimp, here for the same purpose, became a common sight.

Yet the City of San José apparently felt that aviation should be a strictly private enterprise. In 1928 and 1929, the voters twice rejected bond issues for a municipal airport. For several years afterward, the inadequate King Road field remained the center of local air activities.

From 1929 to 1937, however, San José shared the nationally resurgent interest in lighter-than-air craft. The San José Chamber of Commerce and other local institutions underwrote Santa Clara County's \$100,000 quota of the \$460,000 purchase price of 1,000 acres of land near Sunnyvale to be used as a dirigible base. Donation of this land to the Government enabled this county to win the base over stiff statewide competition.

On February 12, 1931, President Herbert C. Hoover signed the bill approving construction of a \$5,000,000 establishment. Construction under the name of United States Naval Air Station got under way almost immediately afterward, with March, 1933, set as completion date.

The U. S. dirigible *Akron*, from Lakehurst, N. J., tied up for a brief visit at this base on May 13, 1932, while the No. 1 hangar was still under construction. On October 15, 1933, six months after formal dedication of the base, the dirigible *Macon* arrived with orders to establish there its permanent home.

Both *Akron* and *Macon* proved ill-fated. The *Akron* crashed into the Atlantic in 1932; the *Macon*, into the Pacific near Point Sur on February 12, 1935.

On September 1, 1933, the base changed its post office name from Naval Air Station to Moffett Field in commemoration of Rear Admiral William A. Moffett who died in the *Akron* crash. The War Department later approved this change of name for the entire establishment.

From 1935 to 1942 Moffett was under Army control, but on April 16, 1942, as the United States got into the swing of World War II, Moffett Field returned to the Navy as a permanent heavier-than-air base—particularly for Lockheed submarine hunters in later years.

The foregoing air activity had a strong effect on San José's airmindedness. Names of such local flyers as Cecil and Robert Reid, Russell Hill, Hudson Mead, and Wayne Clevenger became household terms. Under the name of San José Airport, the 120-acre King Road successor to Johnny Johnston's old field became an instruction center for fledglings. The Reids kept busy at their Garden City Airport, which they established in a leased field at the eastern end of San Antonio St. in 1934. Five years later, however, the State's routing the Bayshore Highway through their premises compelled them to move to a better location just north of the eastern end of Tully Road. There, they bought three separate parcels of land and merged them into a single field known as Reid Hillview Airport.

In 1961, the County acquired the Reid Hillview establishment, making it a publicly-owned facility. Meanwhile, the San José Airport gave way to subdivision and residential development.

Reconsideration of the City's stand on aviation had also taken place. At the suggestion of Ernest H. Renzel, the first Citizens Central Airport Committee, composed of aviation committees from some three dozen fraternal and civic organizations, met on March 14, 1939 to discuss advantages of a municipal airport. By June 4, they examined the following parcels of land suitable in varying degrees for their purpose:

- (1) Mary Ives Crocker Estate, stretching from Newhall Street to Brokaw Road between the Southern Pacific Railroad and Guadalupe River, obtainable at \$300 an acre; (2) Fillmore Tract,

\$300 an acre (description unavailable); (3) San José Airport, King Road, \$325 an acre; (4) Kampfen Land, Story Road, \$400 an acre.

They chose and took an option on 483 acres of the Crocker estate, which offered every necessary feature at an attractive price. On November 27, the committee recommended that the City purchase the Crocker land. A spirited campaign, commencing in January, 1940, proposed that a \$300,000 bond issue be submitted to the public for approval. The following May, San José approved an ordinance increasing its tax rate ten cents on each hundred dollars of assessed valuation during 1941-42 to acquire the land and build an airport.

April 1, 1941, brought the Civil Aeronautics Authority's submittal—and San José's approval—of the City's master plan for a municipal airport. Allowing for governmental delays and time-consuming paper work, construction details, revisions of plans, and allocation of Federal funds, the project progressed rapidly. On August 5, 1947, the Leo F. Piazza Paving Co. of San José got the contract for paving the runway, parking apron, parking lot, and access road. Construction began four days later.

In the meantime, Mr. James M. Nissen, later manager of the airport, had leased 16 acres of the airport's unimproved land, which he and several associates put to their own aviation use in 1946. Both this land and its bumpy 1,900-foot dirt runway reverted to the City in 1948.

Though much work remained unfinished, San José's Municipal Airport was officially dedicated on February 1, 1949, a ceremony highlighted by the Southwest Airways' inauguration of the port's "regularly scheduled commercial passenger and freight service."

This service, which began with six daily flights, soon doubled. Within a few years, the inadequacy of the existing facilities became obvious. The tiny terminal buildings along the north side of Newhall Street could no longer accommodate the burgeoning staff and increasing numbers of passengers. Short, light runways and landing strips severely limited the weight of planes using them.

The fact that only one passenger-carrying line—Southwest (later called Pacific Airlines) Airways—served San José for fifteen years proved another source of concern. This company had a hard time keeping its venerable Martins and DC-3's on time, and along toward the end did not do much better with its new Fairchild 27's. Passengers complained of late arrivals, non-departures, and unavailable reservations.

San José, however, never lost sight of its goal of a first class airport. City Council minutes for those years show the City buying additional land, receiving successive grants of Federal funds, and letting contracts for large scale improvements. The way to many of these improvements was eased on October 3, 1956, when the cities of San José and Santa Clara signed a Declaration of Policy determining each city's influence on the airport. This took care of an exchange of land by the two communities.

The year 1957 proved especially active. June 7 brought dedication of a Federally approved control tower, whose operation the Civil Aeronautics Authority (CAA) assumed the following December. On June 11, San José's voters approved a \$3,500,000 bond issue for further airport improvements. Federal funds for realignment of the Guadalupe River channel followed soon afterward.

In 1958, another Federal grant provided \$107,400 for realignment and acquisition of a Pacific Gas & Electric high power line right of way. Improvements and construction of all kinds continued apace, especially after passage of the \$3,500,000 bond issue. Excavation and surfacing apparatus worked on runways and parking aprons, carpenters and concrete workers erected new main terminal buildings while road builders laid out access roads. Various aviation companies leased large areas along the airport's southeastern and southwestern boundaries; hangars for pleasure planes went up along the southern boundary. Day after day, this and other structural work caught the public's eye.

Most of this development took place during the administrations of City Manager A. P. Hamann and Airport Manager James M. Nissen. Hamann, who

took office in 1950, served until 1969. Nissen, appointed in 1948, carried on after Hamann retired. Both oversaw the main terminal's ground breaking ceremony on April 27, 1964, its opening on September 16, 1965, and its dedication on November 6, 1966.

A large bronze plaque on the interior east wall of the terminal's main waiting room credited not only Hamann and Nissen, but also the City Council members and other officials having much to do with the building's construction.

In May, 1966, well before the terminal building's dedication, the Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA) inaugurated its San José service. This broke the Pacific Airlines' monopoly of San José passenger business. It not only gave this city fast dependable connections with Burbank, Los Angeles, and San Diego, but it also opened the way for all other lines wishing to come here. Air California followed in October, 1967, connecting with Santa Ana, Ontario, Palm Springs, San Diego, and Sacramento. August, 1968, brought United Air Lines, offering service to Denver, Chicago, New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia. And two other major lines—Western and Continental—were applying for entry.²

Western Airlines promised San José a connection with Hawaii; Continental, with the Pacific Northwest and two Southern California cities.

Within a short time, an ever increasing volume of business compelled San José to enlarge the main terminal building beyond the dreams of its early projectors. Structural expansions included long con-

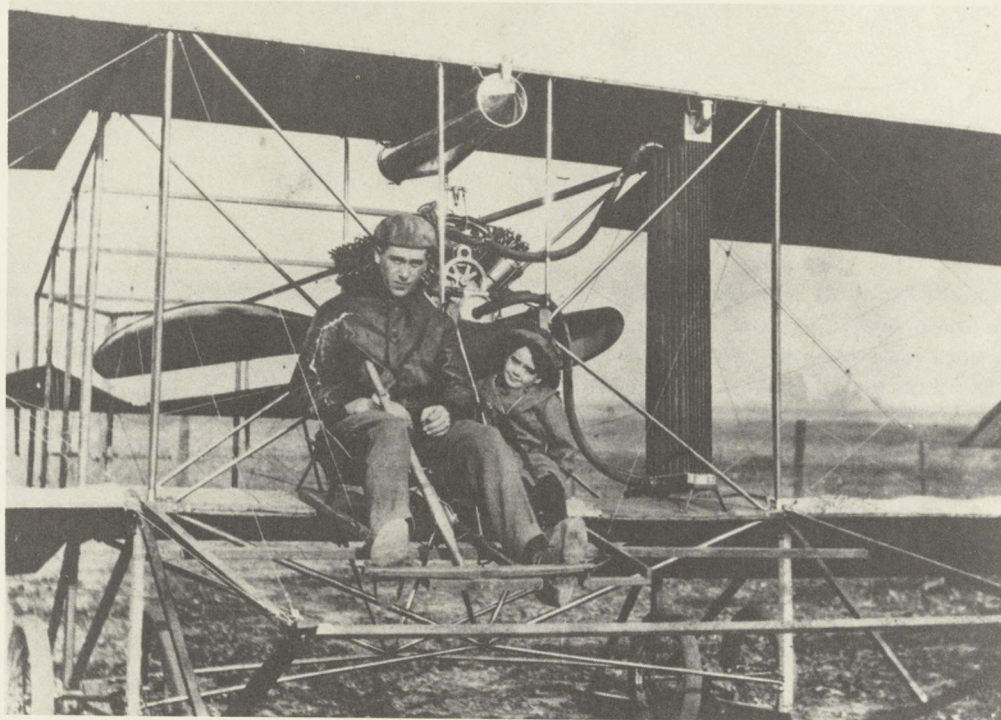
courses, a baggage claim wing, and several boarding lounges. Outdoors, runways were strengthened to accommodate increasingly heavy aircraft. The main runway, 8,900 feet long, was overlaid in 1968 to accommodate 300,000 pound wheel loads, enabling 707's and DC-8's to land here with ease. The lighting system, operating on a twenty-four hour basis, boasted every modern improvement. To the foregoing were added radio type instrument landing systems for the "big ships." Smaller craft used shorter, well lighted but noninstrument runways.

The control tower, under Federal Aviation Administration direction, also operates on a twenty-four hour basis seven days a week. The City installed and operated a complete fueling system for all kinds of aircraft, to say nothing of leasing to fixed base operators and concessionaires abundant space for "aircraft sales, rentals, instruction, maintenance, charter service, and aircraft radios sales."

In 1965, the "propeller jobs" began to give way to the "big jets" of the B707 and DC-8 at the San José Municipal Airport. After arrival of PSA, Air California, and United Air Lines, the volume of all kinds of traffic literally zoomed.

The passenger traffic came not from San José alone, but from all over Santa Clara and circumjacent counties. By developing a first class airport within two miles of the very center of town, San José had made itself a great air center, destined to become the most important of the San Francisco Bay Region.

²The venerable Pacific Airlines eventually became part of Howard Hughes' Air West system, which made for much improved service.



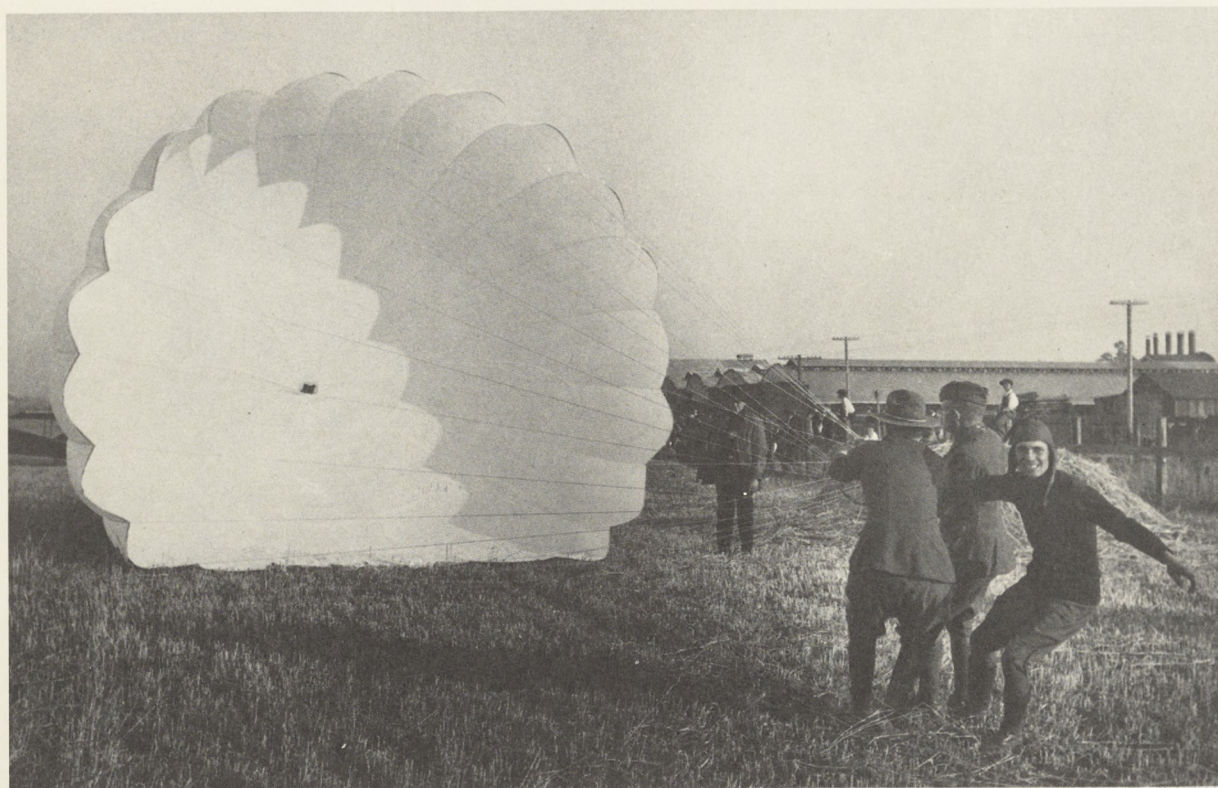
This photo, taken in 1911 at the San José Driving Park (now the Santa Clara County Fairgrounds), shows pilot Roy N. Francis and his young passenger, Ernest Stockton. Francis, who took to flying in 1907, went on to become one of the greatest flyers born in the Santa Clara Valley. He became a flying instructor, competed with Glenn Curtiss in building a flying boat, and held the rank of captain in the Army Air Corps. During World War I, he selected and laid out 75 Government air fields and became manager of Mills Field, now known as San Francisco International Airport.



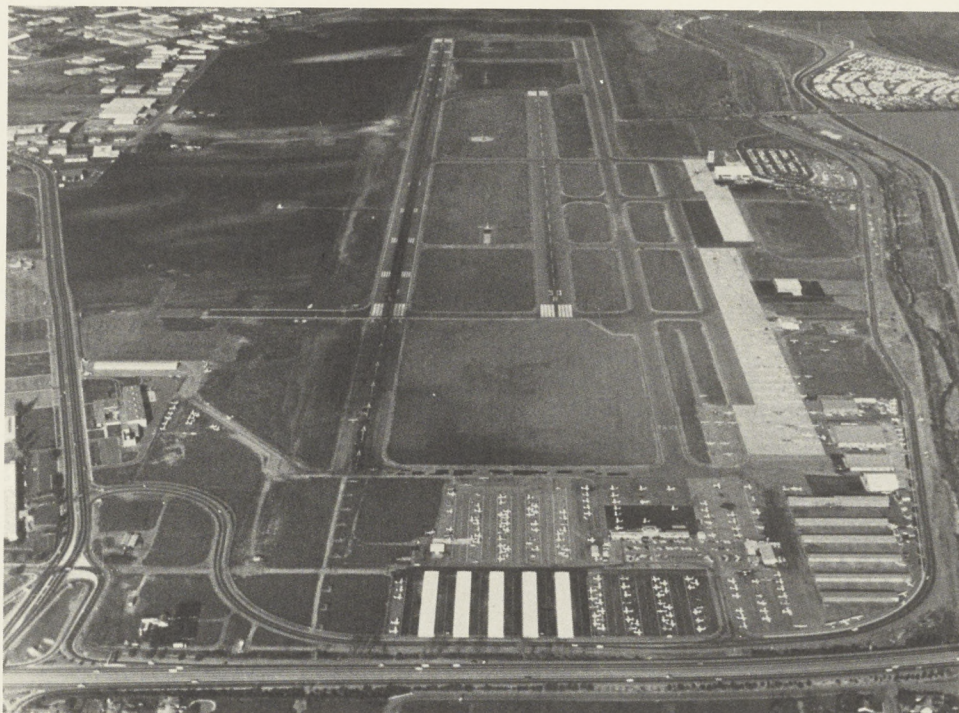
This photo, taken in 1920, shows a group of San José businessmen on a visit to the Pennington - Todd School of flying, which was located on the site of what is now the Santa Clara Civic Center. The man pointing is Roscoe D. Wyatt, manager of the San José Chamber of Commerce.



Standard Oil Co. of California ushered in San José's era of "big ships." The adjoining photo shows this company's Ford Trimotor monoplane, used for advertising, just after it landed here in July, 1928. Left to right, the men standing alongside it are E. S. Allen, E. M. Burnham, F. V. Templeton and E. M. Dovlen. Burnham was manager of Standard's San José office. Templeton was pilot of the plane.



With the passing of the Agricultural Park on The Alameda shortly after the turn of the century, San José was without a county fair or anything akin to one for a long time. But, by 1920, industrialists, agriculturists, and representatives of about every other business put together a large show in circus tents entitled *100% Industrial Exposition*. They held their show in Phelan Field, a large tract of open land extending from First Street to the Southern Pacific Railroad's Fourth Street tracks. The most exciting part of the exposition was an air circus, held in an even larger field on the opposite side of the tracks. Stunt flyers were attracted to it from all over the state, and a squadron of Army flyers regularly came from Crissy Field in San Francisco to make the event even more spectacular by including a parachutist such as the one in this picture.



In 1967 the San José Municipal was the eighth busiest airport in the nation. Some 525 general aviation aircraft of all types called this home base.



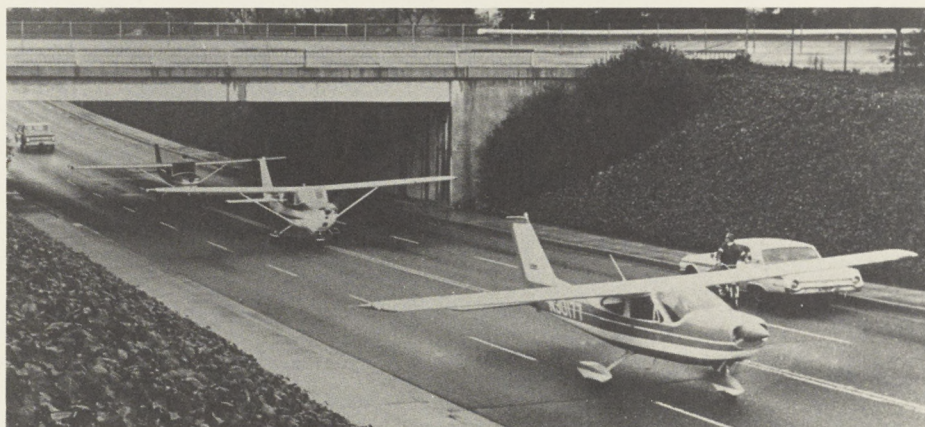
The National Aeronautics and Space Administration donated this F100 jet plane to the San José State Aero Lab in 1969. It had been used for low-speed flight investigations for X15 aircraft. Here a student inspects the afterburner.



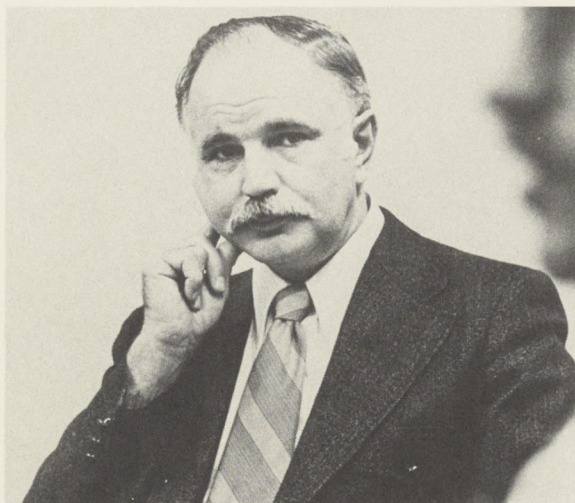
After graduating from the SJS Aeronautics department in 1967, William A. Duzet, Jr., went to work as a flight engineer for United Air Lines. His employment was interrupted by service in the Coast Guard during the Vietnam War.



The Alpha Eta Rho Fraternity was the third chapter formed of this International Flying Fraternity. In the spring of 1947 these members posed: (back row) Nick Roukes, Marvin Edner, Bill Klinker, "Little Mel" Stickney, Mel Stickney, Norman Doyle, Jack Martinel, Mark Guerra; (front row) George Genevro, Mario Benicelli, Pierre Martinet and Harry Hoffman.



In 1969 members of the Flying 20, a student flying club of SJS and successor to the Spartan Flyers, taxied planes on Hedding Street under Highway 17 on their way to a display at the Town and Country Shopping Center.

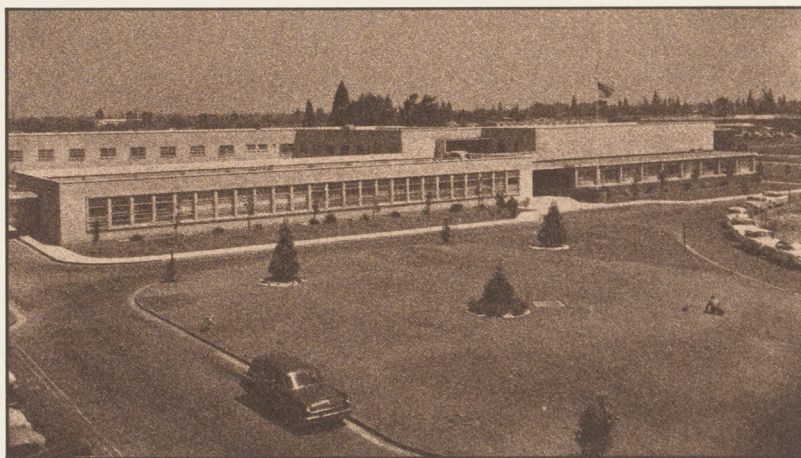


San José State professor Tom Leonard (the department chairman) started the department in 1952. He has been involved in building the aviation program into one of the most outstanding operationally oriented programs in the United States.



22

MEDICINE



CC

1870

1870



Though California had an interesting medical history throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods, San José, with one microscopic exception, found no place in it. Under Spain, the surgeon general was usually the only physician in the entire province, and seldom, if ever, came inland more than half a day's horseback ride from Monterey. And except for Dr. Edward Bale who became a Mexican citizen and acquired a rancho in what is now Napa County, no surgeon general serving under México showed anything resembling a consuming interest in the *país interior*. Even visiting scientists, ship surgeons, and the earliest medical adventurers with suspicious credentials preferred to hug the coastline.

Thus isolated, San Joséans did not get their first glimpse of a medical practitioner of any kind until 1845, when an American expatriate who styled himself Dr. John Marsh came here expressly to prescribe for the fatally ill wife of Antonio Suñol.¹ Marsh, grantee of Rancho Los Méganos in the hills east of Mt. Diablo, was a Harvard graduate who had taken a few units of anatomy during his senior year with intent to become a physician. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, but he never took the medical courses that would have justified his putting the prefix "Dr." in front of his name. He was no "M.D."

A few San Joséans might have received emergency treatment from the surgeon of some military outfit that might have been passing through or camping nearby. The transient Dr. Isaac Chauncey Isbell, lying sick abed at Mission Santa Clara, might have left his bed long enough to come over to San José to administer a pill or two. But there is little conclusive evidence of either.

¹There seems to be some question of coincidence or fast messenger service here. Did Marsh come to San José to attend to anything other than Mrs. Suñol's illness? Or did he just happen to be here in time to take care of something else? Antonio Suñol wrote to Marsh on March 25th, asking him to come to see Mrs. Suñol. On March 27, Marsh participated in the San José meeting that issued what was known as the "Call to Foreigners," which had a great effect on the course of California history.

San José did not get a resident physician of any kind until Benjamin Cory, M. D., rode into town late in the afternoon of December 1, 1847. He was not only the first physician to settle in San José, but also the first to settle in Santa Clara County.

A son of a physician, Cory was born in Oxford, Ohio, November 17, 1822. He graduated from Miami University in his hometown in 1842, and from the Medical College of Ohio in Cincinnati in 1845. He had studied a while under his father before going to medical college, which gave him something of a head start. After receiving his medical degree he joined his father's office for about a year-and-a-half of joint practice to "knock the sharp edges off his academic learning."

On May 1, 1847, he headed overland in a wagon train bound for Oregon City, and from there he came down to San Francisco by ship. Finding San Francisco overrun with physicians—Drs. John Townsend and Victor J. Fourgeaud—he pressed on to San José. Word of Cory's arrival here got around fast, and, according to family tradition, he soon had a practice ranging from Martinez on the north to Monterey on the south. In covering this area by horseback, he had time to jot down enough Spanish words to give him a good command of that language when attending Spanish-speaking patients.

This also facilitated his learning that the *Californiano* method of paying for his services differed radically from that of Ohio. After receiving treatment in the doctor's office, the *Californio* would rise, pick up his hat, and back slowly away toward the door, bowing and thanking the doctor at almost every step. On reaching the door, he would bow a final time, saying, "Thank you doctor, thank you a thousand times. God will pay you."

As the native women became aware of his skills, he became their favorite obstetrician. Time and again after delivering a poverty stricken mother of a child, he left a gold coin in her hand.

Cory, possessing a fine voice, loved to sing—mostly hymns with "In The Sweet Bye and Bye" as his favorite. According to a few stories that have come down the years, his contemporaries often al-

MEDICINE

luded to him as the "Sweet Bye and Bye doctor." If a messenger knocked on his door at two o'clock on a stormy morning to inform him that a man at Gilroy's ranch had broken a leg, Cory uncomplainingly got up, dressed, picked up his bag, saddled his horse, and rode into the storm toward Gilroy, singing almost every foot of the way.

His daughters loved to tell of an experience he had one night when riding homeward from Alviso, where he had been attending an ailing farmer. Just as he mounted his horse, the farmer's wife gave him a large sweet potato grown on her husband's land. The doctor thanked her for it, then wondered where he could put it. His satchel and saddle bags were full. So he rode away, holding the reins in his left hand and the potato in the right.

It was a beautiful moonlit night, with only an occasional cloud casting a deep shadow upon the earth. Cory was singing a fairly new song "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear." Just as he entered the outskirts of San José the figure of a human being emerged from a clump of bushes alongside the road in a manner that identified him as a holdup man.

Cory's song ended mid-word. At the same instant, a cloud obscured the moonlight. The man on the ground "scrooched" down as if trying to get a better look at Cory, then wheeled and dived back into the bushes from which he had emerged.

Cory thought the robber was crazy until looking down, he saw himself holding the sweet potato in the manner of a pistol. The holdup man plainly wished nothing to do with anyone so fast on the draw, and Cory rode the rest of the way home patting the sweet potato singing "Praise God From Whom All Blessings Flow."

During the Cholera epidemic of 1850, Cory and Dr. Louis Hazelton Bascom "attended the City Hospital and furnished all medicines" from November 7 to December 25. When they submitted their joint bill for \$2472 to the Common Council, the Council lopped off \$472 before approving it in February, 1851. Then Cory and Bascom had only to wait until July 15, 1853, before the bill was certified as correct. The City paid it the following month in depreciated

warrants worth much less than their face value.

In December, 1848, Cory took his first fling at politics—an unsuccessful effort to stage a constitutional convention in San José. He fared much better, however, in 1849. He was elected on November 13 to the First California Legislature, took office on December 15, and distinguished himself as a member of the Assembly until adjournment on April 22, 1850. Also during this time he concurrently held two elective offices. He was elected to San José's first common council on April 11, 1850, and took office on the 13th, nine days before his Assembly term ended.

Among other activities, including his medical practice, Cory found time to serve four years on San José's Board of Education, ten years as a trustee of the State Normal School, and ten years as County Physician—plus the time he gave to his church and fraternal affiliations.

According to old-timers who knew him, Cory counted that day lost when he had done nothing to make someone else's life happier. His lifelong love for humanity set an example for every physician living in San José or intending to live in San José. His death on January 16, 1896, tested the panegyric skill of every journalist acquainted with his record. State offices closed in his memory, and the national flag over them flew at half staff.

Cory appears to have been San José's only resident doctor throughout the remainder of 1847 and all of 1848. But the fall of 1849 brought Dr. Bascom who had come overland that year with his wife, Anna Maria Bascom.

Bascom and Cory continued their partnership for a short time after the cholera epidemic. But in 1852, Bascom bought 135 acres of rich farm land bordering on the southern town limit line of Santa Clara, where he lived and farmed until his death on February 22, 1881, at the age of sixty-eight. To his dwelling on this land, he gave the aristocratic name of "Somerville Lodge." For the remainder of his days, Bascom listed himself as "Farmer" instead of "Physician" when registering to vote. The County of Santa Clara ensured the perpetuity of Bascom's name in 1864, when it acquired a strip of his land for a new road to be called Bascom Avenue.

While Dr. Bascom and his wife were still on the way to California, another medical man, Dr. John Townsend, bought 195 acres of land alongside Coyote Creek close to what is now the junction of Schallenberger Avenue and Milpitas Road (Old Highway 17).

Born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, Townsend migrated westward about two years after graduating from Medical College. His unceasing restlessness ultimately carried him all the way to California by way of Ohio, Indiana, Missouri with a period of residence in each of the Midwest states. While living on the Missouri frontier, he was the chief organizer of the Townsend-Stephens-Murphy Party, which in 1844 brought the first wagons through the Sierra Nevada. He was also the first provable American M. D. to settle in California. Others had passed through here, but he stayed.

Unlike Cory, Townsend had several years of California experience before coming to San José. He served as surgeon and aide de camp in Sutter's "army" during the revolt against Governor Manuel Micheltoena in 1845. He also practiced medicine at Sutter's Fort in 1846 and had dealings in Benicia and Monterey, and became the first physician to open an office in San Francisco. He was especially active in San Francisco politics, serving as *alcalde* and as a member of the *ayuntamiento* (town council). As a member of the town's first school board, he helped to establish its first schoolhouse. And in partnership with a Belgian named Corneille de Boom, he directed a real estate development in the Hunter's Point area forty years ahead of its time. Today, in commemoration of his many public services, one of San Francisco's important thoroughfares—Townsend Street—bears his name.

When Townsend's real estate deal with de Boom did not turn out so well as he had hoped, he decided that San José would prove a better venture. Here he established a good medical practice. He worked hard to keep the state capital here—even to offering a generous gift of land to the State toward that end. In July, 1850, he helped to organize San José Lodge No. 10, F. & A. M., the first Masonic lodge between San Francisco and the Mexican border.

Then came the cholera epidemic of that year,

when he worked night and day to save as many lives as possible. When visiting his patients, he apparently took a drink of water from a contaminated glass or ate something from poorly washed dishware. He died on December 8, 1850 of the very disease he was fighting. Old-timers shook their heads in sorrow years later when recalling the double tragedy of his passing. He and his wife died of the same disease within twenty-four hours of each other.

Townsend and Cory were San José's best-known pre-Gold Rush physicians, probably because many of those who came during the rush and the years immediately following it took up other pursuits or died within a few years after their arrival.

Dr. James Clark Cobb mixed his medical career with about everything else that was going on. In 1849, for example, he was one of the nineteen men who subscribed generously to provide a statehouse for the proposed new State of California. He was active in church and civic affairs and eventually took up banking, becoming president of the San José Savings Bank.

The same as many another physician of his day, Cobb contracted the ailment of patients he was treating. He died on April 11, 1872, of phthisis (later called pulmonary consumption and now identified as tuberculosis).

Two other doctors—Peter Van Caneghim and John Plummer Dudley—arrived in time to practice here in 1850. Van Caneghim might have arrived in 1849, but there is no question about his being here on August 8, 1850, when his name appeared in the minutes of San José Lodge No. 10, F. & A. M. And he stayed on the roll of that lodge until the Annual Proceedings reported his death in 1865.

Van Caneghim also appears to have been a warm friend of the Townsends. He, with Dr. Cory and two non-medical men, witnessed the signing of Mrs. Townsend's last will and testament in December, 1850. Aside from that and his practice, his activities received little more publicity than the insertion of his professional card in the newspapers.

Dr. Dudley, native of New York and graduate of Buffalo University, came overland to California's gold

MEDICINE

country in 1849, and to San José the following year. Though he reputedly established an extensive practice here, he abandoned medicine for farming. The first *Great Register of Santa Clara County*, published in 1867, listed him as a farmer living in the Oak Grove Precinct. His 200 acres, bordering the Guadalupe River near Robertsville, became one of the Santa Clara Valley's showplaces.

By the time Dr. Alexander Josephus Spencer, a New Yorker, arrived here in 1852, San José seemed to be acquiring a surplus of physicians. Several of them either had no intention of settling here or, after looking around, decided to follow Drs. Henry Hulme Warburton, Arthur Wellesly Saxe, and Benjamin Franklin Headen (pronounced Hayden) to Santa Clara. Headen, incidentally was another of a growing number of M. D.'s who forsook the pill and scalpel for the plow, scythe, and vine.

Meanwhile, the Common Council, taking advantage of the increasing amount of available medical advice, had become safety and healthminded. On April 19, 1850, the second meeting since its organization, the Council considered a motion to prevent "persons" from running horses at an immoderate speed through the streets... and to prohibit persons from killing cattle within the inhabited parts of the City." The motion was tabled, but taken up again at a future meeting and put into effect. The slaughtering of cattle had to be done well beyond the confines of the town—on Washington Square, now the campus of San José State College.

A week later, City Clerk Thomas B. Godden reported approval of a straight health ordinance concerning the *Acequia*, a ditch that conveyed the town's water for domestic use from a large pond created by Canoas Creek in the area surrounding what is now the intersection of Vine and West Virginia Streets.

Section 1 of this ordinance required "all persons owning lands through which the *Acequia* runs, and all persons who receive any benefit from the same, shall keep or assist to keep the same open and clear from filth..." "... clothes or any other articles in the *Acequia*, which may tend to create filth, or throwing into the same, stone, sticks, or any other nuisance, or

shall ride or drive any horse or horses, cattle or swine, or any other animals through the *Acequia*..." It even prohibited removing soil within twenty feet of the *Acequia* for the purpose of making adobe bricks.

The next two sections concerned maintaining the flow of the water, appointment of an overseer for the *Acequia*, costs of the water to consumers (twenty-five cents a month to owners of lots less than fifty varas square, and fifty cents a month to owners of larger lots).

The sixth and last section dealt specifically with swine. "As swine are fatal enemies to the cleanliness of the *Acequia*, and also to gardens, they shall be prohibited from running at large, on penalty of a fine of five (\$5) for each and every head of swine permitted to run at large in the streets or in the neighborhood of the *Acequia*..."

Before the Council was two full weeks old, it thus put San José's first sanitary and health laws into effect in time to resist, to some extent, the cholera epidemic of that year. This and a primitive knowledge of hygiene prevented the Americans' being anywhere nearly so hard hit as the *Californios*.

But there were still problems to be solved. When the old *Acequia*, polluted or otherwise, could no longer satisfy the community's increasing demand for water, another one was opened to augment the supply.

Unfortunately the second *Acequia* increased the volume of water, it also doubled the chances of cholera. But this apprehension suddenly evaporated when "the Merritt brothers" struck an artesian gusher while drilling an ordinary well on "their place" near the intersection of Fifth and Julian Streets in January, 1854.

Presently, it seemed that everybody in San José and its neighboring areas had "gone for" artesian wells. The *California Register* reported 120 of them ranging from 50 to 450 feet deep in 1857. Titus Fey Cronise's, *The Natural Wealth of California*, published in 1868, noted that the number had increased to "nearly one thousand."

Water from these early wells worked wonders in banishing San José's cholera fears to an indistinct

past—even for persons who barely survived the epidemics of '50 and '52. Yet the doctors still had much work ahead of them. Tuberculosis, smallpox, diphtheria, and scarlet fever had yet to be wiped out, and there was not a hospital anywhere in the county for treatment of these and other diseases and ailments.

Dr. Cory and his fellow practitioners early recognized this deplorable situation and often complained of it—formally and informally. But the Council, despite its early health mindedness, seemed in no rush to put out money for a hospital. They felt that the city needed the money for too many other purposes.

Finally, the County Board of Supervisors got into the act. It appointed a committee of two to meet with a similar committee appointed by the Common Council to discuss ways and means of caring for the sick and indigent. The County would pay two thirds of the cost; the City, one third. The City tartly replied that it would take care of its own sick and indigent.

The situation improved a little in 1855. The County appointed a physician, and the City agreed to pay \$50.00 a month toward care of the sick. The County then rented a small structure known as "the old Levy property" at \$40.00 a month for medical use. The following November, the county advertised for a house and lot to be used for hospital purposes, which resulted in buying "the old Sutter House and twenty-five acres of land in the northeastern part of the city for \$5,500." This deal failed to work out as desired, and the County rescinded its action—even after occupying the place in February, 1856. The sellers had failed to make a good deed.

The County then took a different tack. This time it advertised for "proposals for taking care of the indigent sick, and let the first contract to Dr. G. B. Crane who agreed to furnish all medicines and take care of the patients for \$4,600 a year. After Crane made sure he did not have to attend to more than seven patients a day, the patients were "farmed out" to various buildings and dwellings around town.

By 1860, no one could deny the urgent need for a real hospital—in a single building or a compact group of buildings. The County therefore paid \$4,000 to farmer Hiram Cahill for a 12-acre tract of land

stretching from Los Gatos Creek to what became Dupont Street, with South Street (now Park Avenue) as its northern boundary.

Instead of erecting a new building for hospital use, the Board of Supervisors simply ordered Cahill's farm structures repaired and enlarged. It also ordered a pest house constructed close to Los Gatos Creek a little south of the main buildings. The Board of Supervisors resigned themselves to the fact in 1868 that the hospital would have to move again to cope with the fast increasing number of patients.

This establishment became hopelessly inadequate by 1868, and once more the County had to shop for land. In 1871, it paid J. S. Conner \$12,000 for 114 acres on the west side of the San José - Los Gatos Road (later called Infirmary Road, and still later, Bascom Avenue).

The buildings on the Cahill site were moved soon as possible to the new location, to be used until a new three-story structure, built expressly for hospital use, could be erected in 1875 at a cost of \$14,533.70. The new building, with all of its outlying appurtenances, including water tank, pest house, and potter's field, would form the nucleus of a greater institution to come.

In addition to Dr. Crane, Drs. Augustine Byrne Caldwell, Andrew Jackson Cory, Taliaferro Duncan Johnson, Jacob Newton Brown, Alexander J. Spencer, and Abraham McMahon played important parts in bringing their hospital through its first twenty years.

These men and several of their associates exerted great influence in San José medical circles. Nine of them allying themselves in 1870 to fight quackery, brought forth a loosely knit group under the impressive title of Santa Clara County Medical Society. In 1876, with twelve members, they formally reorganized under the same name, and their successors are still functioning under it. Drs. R. Wilson, Henry E. Dahleen, Milton J. Chatton, and Norman B. Nelson were among those who distinguished themselves as directors of the hospital. Dr. Wilson served twenty-seven years.

And when the Santa Clara County Hospital became the great many-departmented Santa Clara

MEDICINE

Valley Medical Center in 1967, San José's first hospital had come a long way since Dr. Crane attended his seven patients a day in 1854.

Fourteen years after the County Hospital opened its new building on the San José-Los Gatos Road, San José became aware of the need for more than one hospital. This was filled by an institution that we now know as O'Connor Hospital, named after its founder Judge Myles P. O'Connor in 1889.

"O'Connor's," as its friends affectionately called it, originated as a sanitarium dedicated to easing elderly invalids' last days on earth. Later, it devoted more attention to keep them on earth long as possible regardless of age. A change of policy, coupled with structural alteration and constant addition of the most up-to-date equipment, gradually converted it into one of the finest medical institutions in the West.

Its main building, a large two-story brick structure, occupied beautiful parklike premises with its chapel, nurses home, stable, and other appurtenances. The property, which included a cottage in which Mr. and Mrs. O'Connor lived in the declining years, was bounded by Race Street, Auzerais Avenue, Meridian [sic] Road, and Stevens Creek Road (now West San Carlos Street).

Efficient management by the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul brought increasing use of O'Connor's facilities. The names of its skillful surgeons—Frederick Gerlach and J. Underwood Hall—became synonymous with that of the institution. The hospital had hardly entered its second generation when the Sisters discerned the necessity of larger quarters.

Within a few years, preliminary plans were under way for such a project, O'Connors acquired twenty-four acres of land on what is now Forest Avenue just west of Bascom Avenue. Ground breaking ceremonies for a new four-story \$3,600,000 structure took place on July 10, 1951. Changing economy and skyrocketing prices forced the originally computed cost up to \$4,299,000, and still higher before the job was finished.

But construction continued, and the first patients entered the new, modern-in-every-respect building

during the weekend of January 23-24, 1954. The drama, however, did not end. It seemed that the first patients had hardly straightened themselves out in their beds when the need for further expansion became obvious, and plans were drawn for an expansion scheduled for the not to distant future.

In 1897, eight years after the founding of O'Connor Sanitarium, Dr. Lewis J. Belknap decided there should be a hospital more accessible to residents on the east side of the valley. So he built his Garden City Sanitarium on a five-and-a-half-acre parcel of land on the north side of what is now East Santa Clara Street, just east of Coyote Creek. Belknap's 35-room main building and a couple of patient cottages stood near the center of the attractively landscaped grounds. A beautiful palm-lined walkway led from the street to the front door of the main building.

The Garden City Sanitarium advertised its equipment in great detail, listing all sorts of electrical gadgets that hardly cured all the ailments they were supposed to cure. But twenty-three years after its founding, Belknap sold the whole institution to Dr. F. H. Patterson's downtown Columbia Hospital, and the Garden City Sanitarium thereby became Columbia Hospital East. And five years later, Columbia East gave way to Theodore Roosevelt Junior High School.

Columbia Hospital, located at 357 South Market Street, first appeared in the *San José City Directory* in 1913. It occupied a large, two-story building resembling a fashionable apartment house of the day. Its nurses' home, standing at 80 Auzerais Avenue, was a Victorian mansion that had been moved to that site from the ground occupied by the hospital.

Columbia Hospital was controlled by the Columbia Hospital Co., headed by Ellen Kaiser, president; Dr. F. H. Patterson, vice-president; Mrs. F. H. Patterson, secretary. It apparently had a reputable professional staff, and prospered—at least long enough to take over the Garden City Sanitarium. And the two institutions together were advertised as "an outlay of \$150,000" in 1921, the same year that Dr. Patterson relinquished control. Not long afterward, the Columbia's big building at 357 South Market Street became an apartment house.

Meanwhile, there had been a movement toward a new hospital on the east side of town at a cost of \$450,000, raised by community subscription. And on June 4, 1923, the San José Hospital opened its doors to the public. A small item in the *Mercury* of June 3 pronounced this new institution "the only first class and strictly modern hospital between Santa Barbara and San Francisco."

The hospital, on what was known as the Joseph Lee homesite, stands, "on the north side of East Santa Clara Street between Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets." Its chief item of landscaping is a great redwood tree that Lee brought down from the Santa Cruz Mountains and planted in front of his house in 1860.

When opened, the San José Hospital boasted ninety-four beds, and, "of course," the patients could choose their own doctors. Today, it is much larger in every respect, with its annexations in overflowing the original premises and a branch or two elsewhere.

It has also affected that section of the city by attracting enough doctors to the neighborhood to make it a medical center. From its very beginning, its staff bore such distinguished names as Drs. Helen and Dorothea Lee, D. A. Beattie, Charles M. Richards, M. F. Hopkins, T. L. Blanchard, S. B. Van Dalsem, and J. P. Shameau, whose successors have been of the same high quality.

It must not be forgotten, however, that San José has long had a host of small hospitals—or establishments that called themselves hospitals. They were scattered all over town from North Fourteenth Street and Alum Rock Avenue to Meridian Road and The Alameda. They came and went, most of them hardly to be remembered. Some were operated by respectable professionals; others by greedy quacks. But it is unlikely that this community will ever again be plagued by a shortage of medical men that will compel a doctor to ride horseback to attend a patient forty miles away.

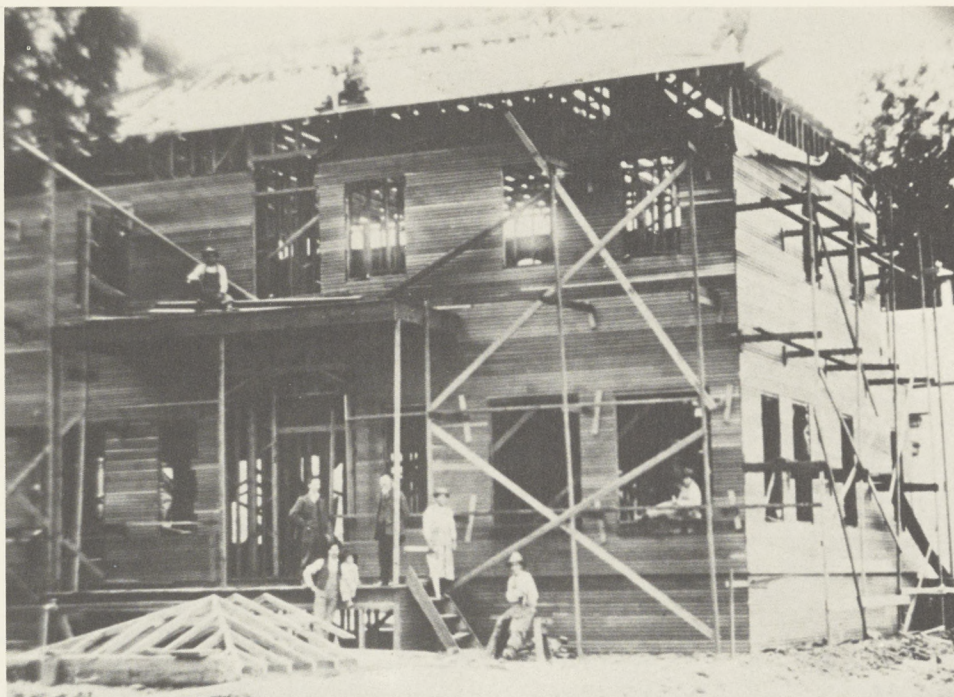
Dr. Benjamin Cory, first physician to settle in Santa Clara County, who came overland from his native Ohio to California via Oregon in 1847. He served as an Assemblyman in the First Legislature of California and as a member of the first Common Council of San José.



Andrew Jackson Cory, M.D. (1832-1892), youngest of the three Cory brothers who came to California. Dr. Cory, or "Jack," as members of the family and intimate friends called him, graduated from Miami University and the Medical College of Ohio the same as Ben did. His route to California in 1860, however, was far different from Ben's Oregon Trail of 1847. "Jack" came by sea, sailing from New York. He took charge of the Santa Clara County Hospital in 1861, an office that he held ten years. He also served as coroner for eight years, six of them concurrently with his hospital duties.



Dr. Elizabeth Gallimore, seated in the buggy, was one of San José's earliest feminine physicians. Her sisters, Frances and Sue Gallimore, taught school in San José and Santa Clara for many years. They lived in this mansion at 1500 The Alameda with the men of this family, who busied themselves with seed farming and other pursuits.



Kuwabara Hospital was constructed at 565 North Fifth Street in 1910. Financed by The Kumamoto Kenjinkai and constructed by Nishiura Bros., this was the first hospital in the South Bay area to provide Japanese-speaking physicians for the care of Japanese patients. Its name commemorates Dr. Taisuke Kuwabara, first Japan-born physician to practice in San José. Dr. J. I. Beattie of Santa Clara, an American, served as Kuwabara's chief of staff for 23 years because no local Japanese had yet received a license to practice medicine in California. When the Nihonjinkai bought the Kuwabara Hospital building in 1933, title passed in trust to "several Nisei citizens," who, in turn, transferred "interest in the building . . . to the San José community" at the outbreak of World War II. The Nisei Service Center eventually became the title holder, and, after the war, leased the building to the Japanese-American Citizens League (JACL). The Japanese-American Citizens League, as sole lessee of the building, has often shared its facilities with many other organizations contributing to the community's welfare.



This photo shows the Columbia Hospital at Market Street and Auzerais Avenue around World War I time.



O'Connor Sanitarium was located on San Carlos Streets between Race and Meridian (circa 1944). (photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)



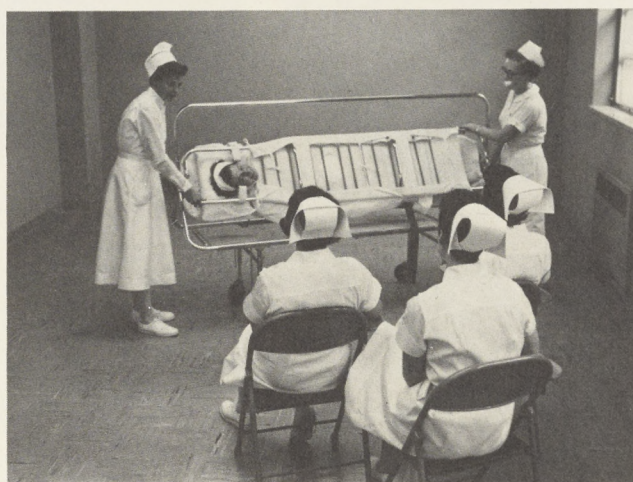
Ohioan Charles Wesley Breyfogle built this house on the northwest corner of Third and St. James Streets, facing the latter. Breyfogle, a physician, served as captain in the Northern Army during the Civil War. On coming to San José in 1871, he took an active interest in local financial affairs. In 1885 he helped to organize the San José Building and Loan Assn. Two years later he became founding president of the Garden City National Bank, now Wells Fargo Bank. Other activities found him as Mayor of San José, promoter of the 1887 City Hall, and member of the Board of Freeholders.

The office staff and crew of San José Rubber Works wear "flu masks" during the great Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918-1919. These masks, fashioned of gauze, prevented a healthy person's inhaling the exhaled effluvium of an infected person who coughed or sneezed. It also prevented a masked infected person from spreading a disease that began on Europe's Western Front during World War I and spread throughout the warring nations to account for 500,000 deaths in the United States alone.





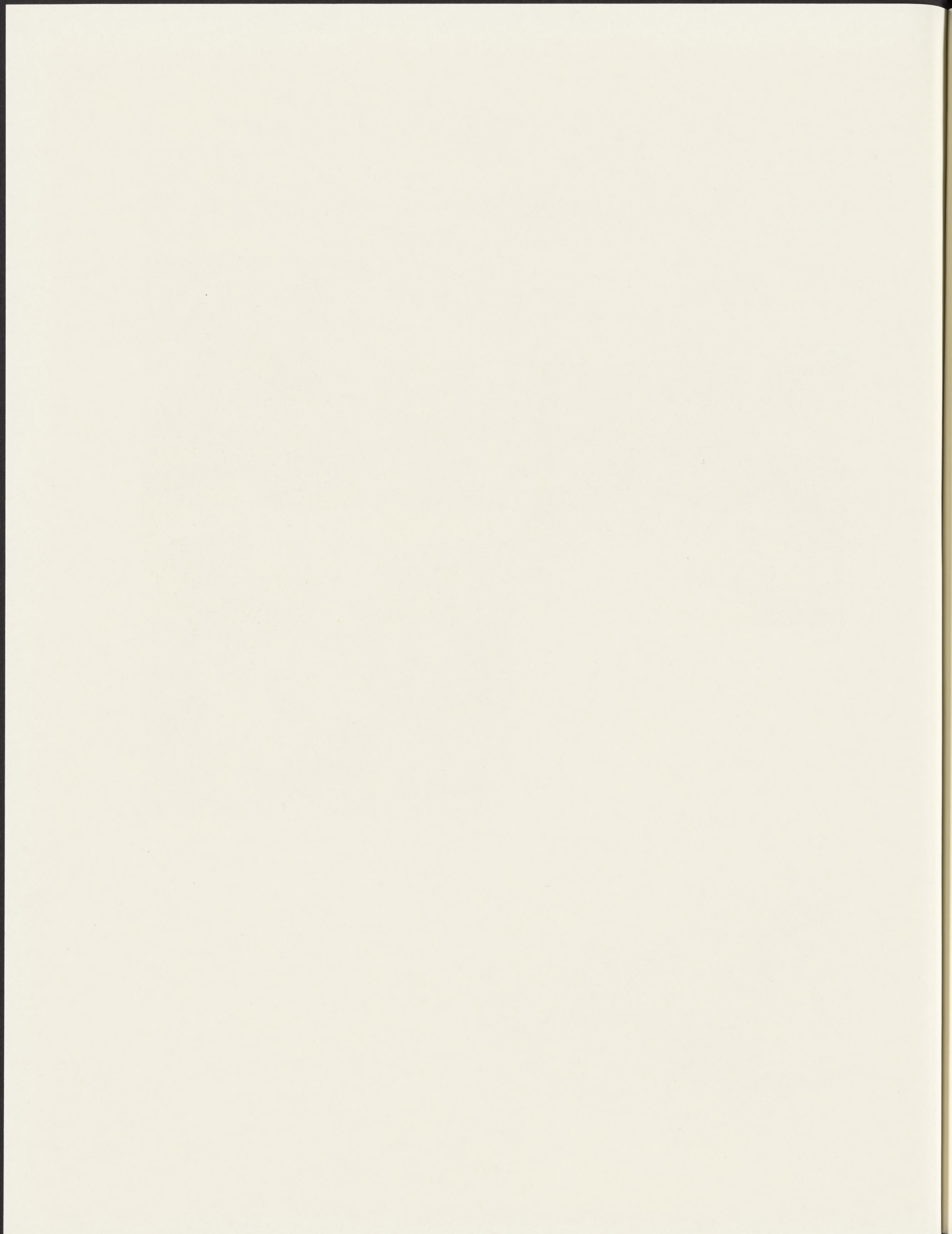
The O'Connor Hospital Nurse's home on Forest Avenue was completed in 1958. *(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)*



Nurses undergo training at O'Connor's Hospital in 1957.

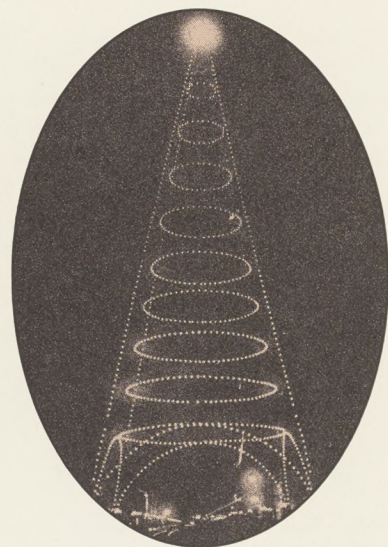
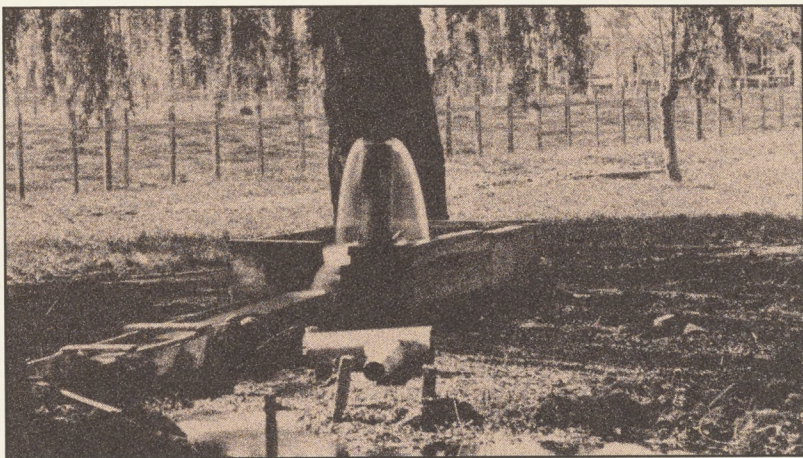


This was the entrance to Doctors Hospital on Lenzen Avenue in 1957. *(photo courtesy of Shirlie Montgomery)*



23

UTILITIES



53

2011/10/13



Electricity

Lighting by electricity came to San José in the fall of 1881 as a result of an editorial written by publisher J. J. Owen of the *Mercury* on May 13. Owen, an ardent champion of all things electrical, had conceived a "high light theory" for eradicating San José's nocturnal darkness. He would build a 237-foot-high tower in the center of the city and place at the top of it a circle of six 4,000 candle power arc lights covered by a giant reflector. This, he reasoned, would send abundant light into every shadowy recess of the community.

The idea found immediate favor with a large number of the townsfolk. A public subscription soon raised \$3,456.75 of the estimated \$4,000 necessary for construction. Following a short delay for adjusting plans to costs, contracts were let to foundryman Frederick Altman and builder J. D. Campbell. The ground breaking took place on August 11, and construction got under way with brick mason Michael Kenney's laying the foundations.

Meanwhile, Owen and his associates had conferred with George H. Roe of the California Brush Electric Company. Roe, born in Ontario, Canada, came to San Francisco at the age of twenty-three in 1875. Largely self-educated, he had been on his own since the death of his father ten years earlier. In the course of his occupation as a money broker, he had taken a Wallace-Farmer dynamo and lamp as security on a loan that the borrower forgot to pay off. Neither item amounted to much, but in arousing his interest in electrical machinery and lighting, they marked a turning point in his life.

Roe soon formed a close friendship with William Kerr, sole Pacific Coast agent for Brush Electric Company equipment, manufactured in Cleveland, Ohio. He next incorporated the California Electric Light Company, which acquired Kerr's rights to that equipment for a directorship and large block of stock in the new utility.

Though Brush products were strictly of Ohio origin under patents held by a former telegraph lineman named Charles Brush, Roe's advertising genius made them synonymous with electricity in Cali-

fornia. The same genius also discerned their business possibilities in San José's electric power. A Brush generator would furnish the electricity for its lights.

Roe installed this generator in the engine room of Thomas J. Gillespie's planing mill on the south side of El Dorado Street, between San Pedro and Orchard, more recently the site of the Greyhound Bus Station. The same big steam engine that powered the mill by day turned the generator by night. The electricity thus generated signaled dedication of the tower at 6:30 p. m., December 13, 1881.

The 24,000 candle power blaze of light from the top of this structure brought worldwide fame to San José. Publishers of *La Lumiere Electrique*, *Journal d'Electricite* of Paris chided France for not being so progressive as San José in lighting.

At home, Owen's supporters wrote enthusiastic letters of commendation. Carefully avoiding mention of any other paper, one subscriber said he could read his *Mercury* by tower light at a point thirteen blocks away. Praise in another form came from a farmer near what is now Morgan Hill. He complained that his farm's egg production had fallen off because the abundant light roundabout had upset his hens' laying time. They could not tell night from day.

Non-subscribers and rival newspapers were not so complimentary. To them the tower was little short of an abomination unto heaven. Even before construction, they labeled it "Owen's Folly," a shameful waste of money, and a hazard to wild ducks and geese in foggy weather. Among the severest critics were the town's gas manufacturers. The tower would not use gas, and its success, if any, would threaten gas producers everywhere. The fact that the tower did not prove a success—even when augmented here and there about town by a dozen arc lights on masts 150 feet high—did not diminish the criticism. It pointed the way for a new and better mode of lighting, and no one knew it better than George H. Roe who had capitalized on the venture.

The "high light theory" passed into oblivion when Owen sold the tower to San José's first electric utility—Roe's San José Brush Electric Light Company—in 1882 to satisfy contractors' liens. This gave

UTILITIES

Roe control of the town's electricity with prospects of a big general market.

The San José Brush Electric Light Company abandoned the engine room of Gillespie's planing mill as soon as practicable. By 1884, its generators were humming in a one-story brick building that stretched from 52 to 56 North Fourth Street. The tower, meanwhile, continued in limited use not for its original purpose, but for color on certain weekends, holidays, and festive occasions. It retained its arc lights until 1891, when the Electric Improvement Company, then holding the lighting contract, rewired and converted it to incandescent lamps. The incandescents remained in service until the structure collapsed on December 3, 1915.

By that time, the most important change to date had taken place in San José's light and power field. In taking over the two contending San José companies in 1902, The United Gas and Electric Company stabilized the city's gas and electric utility situation. That same year, the old Brush Electric's generating plant at 54 North Fourth Street, later used by the Light and Power Company, gave way to a much larger plant built by the United at 17 Otterson Street.

The Otterson street plant, still operating in 1969, supplied electricity not only to households and business establishments, but also to urban and inter-urban car lines. Old-timers remembered it for its huge steam whistle, which could be heard all over the valley in almost any kind of weather. Long mournful blasts from this whistle indicated the general location of a fallen high voltage wire, and directed repair crews to the scene of trouble. On hearing it, residents for miles around observed, "There's a wire down somewhere."

Exactly at midnight of December 31, the Otterson Street whistle joined those of the Southern Pacific's San José roundhouse and the Santa Clara Water Works in announcing arrival of a new year. Together, they formed a perfect lowpitched chord.

Decline of the arc for San José's street lighting soon followed the United's takeover of local facilities. Just as the arc effectively replaced gas, the incandescent lamp would inexorably eliminate the arc.

The cumbersome inefficient arc required too much care to survive in a fast improving service.

Most of the arcs in San José and Santa Clara of that day were located at street intersections. Each was suspended from the midway point of a cable running diagonally across the intersection from one high pole to another. A small windlass on one of the poles paid out and retracted a rope of flexible wire that passed through two pulleys to raise and lower the lamp. Between the late 1880's and the beginning of World War I, it was common to see a power company employee making his rounds in a repair wagon, and later a truck, to adjust or replace an arc's pencil-like carbons. With incandescents, however, his task was much simpler. He simply unscrewed the old lamp from its socket in the center of a plate-like reflector, put a new lamp into the same socket, and left it there until it burned out.

In the downtown business district, incandescent electroliers began to displace arcs at a fairly early date. The early design of this new mode of lighting was quite plain, consisting of little more than an incandescent lamp within a large transparent or white globe atop a slim standard slightly higher than that of its gaslit predecessor. But as time passed, the standard took on fluting, volutes, acanthus, and other classical ornament.

On February 9, 1912, the *Mercury* reported the City's ordering 112 highly ornate electroliers from the Joshua Hendy Iron Works (later Westinghouse) of Sunnyvale. These beauties graced both sides of Market Street from Bassett to San Carlos, and others like them did the same for First Street. Each was topped by a large white central globe surrounded by four smaller ones on lower acanthus-decorated brackets. No other community in Santa Clara County could boast anything comparable to them in beauty or efficiency.

Subsequent improvements in lighting, however, have twice replaced these Hendy products with models featuring taller standards and more powerful lamps. The advent of sodium vapor lamps eventually gave San José's streets their closest approach to daylight during the hours of natural darkness. Similar

improved lighting replaced the quaint single-globe, slim-standard electroliers that lined The Alameda between San José and Santa Clara during that avenue's first forty years as a paved thoroughfare.

Increasing importation of hydroelectric power from the Sierra Nevada, which first reached San José via United Gas and Electric lines in 1902, called for increasing facilities to handle it. Substations of varying sizes began to appear here and there about the valley. One of biggest, erected by the P. G. and E. in 1927, came into existence on the south side of Fox Avenue just west of the Guadalupe bridge.

By the time World War I started in the summer of 1914, San José's small independent gas and electric utilities had become fast fading memories. Their day of fighting one another had passed. Through the United Gas and Electric Company, they had integrated with the gigantic P. G. and E., whose chief concern was keeping pace with California's growth, particularly in Santa Clara County.

If this county's population climbed in an unprecedented manner during World War II, it literally exploded, insofar as public utilities were concerned, in the two decades immediately following the war. Further development of hydroelectric facilities, construction of huge steam generating plants, and use of nuclear energy have enabled the P. G. and E. to cope with this growth in admirable fashion. But improvements and events have followed each other so rapidly that the most diligent chronicler could not keep up with them.

Gas

Until México opened California to foreign trade in the 1820's, candles and fireplaces constituted San José's only means of household illumination. Thereafter, a rare whale oil lamp, bought from a seafaring Yankee trader, might appear in the home of some affluent *Californio*.

Outdoor illumination, however, continued as before—a bonfire or torch, the latter usually fashioned from a large knot of pitch-soaked rag on the end of a stick. American pioneers and Argonauts of the 1840's depended on the same sources of light, but were by no means satisfied with them.

Yet this city did not take the first step toward leaving the candle and oil lamp age until 1860. On July 13 of that year, the Common Council granted to James Hagan a fifteen year franchise to "build and operate a gas plant and mains." On October 6, the San José Gas Company incorporated with a capital stock of \$21,000. The first officers of this company were: Thomas Anderson,¹ president; James Hagan, manager and superintendent; Austin Roberts, secretary. James K. Prior, listed as an officer without mention of status, was probably a director.

Despite protests of nearby residents, Hagan rushed construction of a gas works on the southeast corner of Third and San Fernando Streets. His gas holder, built of redwood three inches thick, had a capacity of 8,000 cubic feet. From it gas, made of coal, moved through mains along Third, San Fernando, First, Market and Santa Clara Streets.

This plant went into service on January 21, 1861, and at the end of its first year, served all of the town's seven street lamps and eighty-four private consumers. Few, if any, customers complained of having to pay \$10.00 per thousand cubic feet for gas. In those pre-railroad days, the gas company's coal supply came by ship from Australia to San Francisco for transshipment by scow or barge to Alviso, and from there by wagon to San José.

Dangers encountered on the last eight miles of this journey during flood season helped to raise the price of coal in San José to \$53.00 a ton. A wagon or mule load of coal might get lost anywhere en route, a circumstance partially confirmed in 1950 when a P. G. and E. ditch digging crew unearthed chunks of high quality Australian coal in Alviso?²

In granting a franchise to the San José Gas Company in 1860, the city authorities reserved the right to reduce the initial gas rate of \$10.00 per

¹Anderson, a San Franciscan, seems to have been the only non San Joséan among the incorporators.

²These chunks of Australian coal may have been consigned to the Quicksilver Mining Co. of New Almaden instead of the San José Gas Company. Both used the same product.

UTILITIES

thousand cubic feet after the first five years if the price of coal dropped. Whether they exercised this right in any great hurry is a question.

The owners of the gas company knew when they had a good thing. During the period in question, they spent \$53,637 on all improvements, materials, transport and labor, and sold \$75,617 worth of gas. Amortization of their original expense and an increasing number of consumers promised a rosy future. In 1876 they optimistically obtained from the County of Santa Clara a perpetual franchise to extend their company's mains to the town of Santa Clara.

Such success inevitably attracted competition. The San José Gas Company had hardly begun to supply Santa Clara's nine street lamps and thirty-seven customers when the Garden City Gas Company organized in San José. This new firm, incorporated on June 20, 1877, was made up of four outsiders and three San Joséans: Z. P. Boyer of Pennsylvania; J. W. Walker and John H. Brucken of Oakland; J. C. Uhler of San Francisco; W. P. Dougherty, Charles B. Hensley and Return Roberts of San José.

The Garden City Company, using a new gas making method called the Lowe Process, established its plant at the Western end of San Augustine Street (now West St. John), alongside the South Pacific Coast Railroad. Its efficient up-to-date apparatus led it into a moderately spirited rate war with the San José company, forcing the price of gas down to \$2.50 per thousand cubic feet. The stronger and better financed San José company dropped it to \$1.50.

Thus ended the Garden City's threat. The San José company bought it and all of its improvements on February 1, 1879, and the price of gas jumped to \$3.50 a thousand.

Twenty-four days after taking over the Garden City, the San José Gas Company reincorporated and increased its capital stock to \$600,000—or 60,000 shares at \$10.00 each. It also continued to operate the Third Street and the San Augustine Street plants until 1888, when all Third Street operations were transferred to San Augustine Street.

Merging of the two gas companies, however, did not bring lasting peace to San José's lighting industry.

Roe's introduction of electricity for lighting purposes into San José in 1881 precipitated a twenty-year war between the "gas people" and the "electric people" who sought to obtain—and hold forever—the City's lighting contract.

Even after Roe's San José Brush Electric Company merged with the San José Gas Company to form the San José Light and Power Company on June 20, 1889, the battle went on—internally and externally. Attorney Charles W. Quilty, who guided the merger, could not get along with general manager Harry W. Edwards. Four months later, Edwards joined W. P. Dougherty, James W. Rea, Charles and Samuel Shortridge and W. DeWitt Tisdale in organizing the San José Electric Improvement Company. And with Edwards as its manager, this new company became the Light and Power Company's implacable antagonist in the fight for the City's lighting plum.

Edwards' Electric Improvement Company gained the City lighting contract, but the Light and Power Company supplied all gas and, perhaps, most of the electricity for purposes other than City Hall and street use.

The feud between the two companies did not end until July 1, 1902, when an outsider, the United Gas and Electric Company, bought both for \$1,250,000. The United, a powerful forerunner of the Pacific Gas & Electric Company, came into existence in 1902 expressly to control all gas and electric facilities south from San Francisco to San José. As one of its earliest projects, it greatly expanded San José's San Augustine Street gas plant. In 1910 its ads in the *Mercury* featured construction of a new 500,000-cubic-foot gas holder on the southwest corner of Montgomery and San Augustine Streets, the largest thing of its kind in Santa Clara County.

San José had 28,000 inhabitants when this holder went into service. But the town was growing fast for that day, and it would soon need more gas than its existing facilities could supply.

Meanwhile, an incredible series of public utilities mergers had involved about every community north of Bakersfield. Small gas and electric plants that had not kept pace with advancing techniques were ab-

sorbed wholesale by one or another of several large, more efficient organizations. And when the big outfits began to merge about the turn of the century, it was a foregone conclusion that a giant would come forth.

The man on the street could barely get the drift of what was going on, but on October 10, 1905, he learned of the giants' birth. On that date, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company incorporated with "capital of \$20,000,000 in common stock and \$10,000,000 in 6 percent cumulative preferred." Other details of the transaction covered issuance of "\$10,000,000 in 5 percent collateral trust bonds and \$4,500,000 in 6 percent debentures . . ."

Actual creation of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company of today came through consolidation of ten big corporations that owed their size mostly to the acquisition of more than 400 smaller companies operating on municipal, county, or intercounty arrangement. It would become better known to the public by its initials—P. G. and E.—than by its full name.

The United, which came into the P. G. and E. through the California Gas and Electric Company, first located its San José offices at 18 South Market Street, but, in 1909, moved them to 48 East San Antonio Street. The P. G. and E. used the same quarters until moving to its own three-storied office building at 86 South Third Street in 1929.

The P. G. and E. kept the veteran Harry Edwards as manager, and with good reason. Having served here with the old San José Light & Power Company and the San José Electric Improvement Company, he probably knew more about local gas and electric conditions than any other person. He stayed on until succeeded by John D. Kuster who died in office and was in turn succeeded by I. B. "Ike" Adams.

The gas plant remained at the foot of San Augustine Street, just beyond the western city limit line until an annexation election brought it into the city in 1911. But expansions and improvements of facilities followed in quick succession. Coal, as gas making material, had long since been abandoned for petroleum, generally referred to as crude oil. Construction of a 3,000,000 cubic-foot gas holder on the

northwest corner of San Augustine and Montgomery Streets in 1925 enabled the company to cope with San José's gas needs for forty years to come. Compared with it, the old United holder across the street, a giant in 1910, seemed no bigger than a tomato can.

Natural gas, piped in from far distant oil fields, replaced manufactured gas in the big holder in 1929. This product, which cost many millions of dollars to develop, proved cleaner and more efficient than any gas made from coal or petroleum. With a few instructions on its use, and certain adjustments to consumer facilities, it easily adapted to both industrial and household purposes.

Though San Joséans accepted electricity for household and other interior lighting, they heeded the admonition of Alexander Pope:

Be not the first by whom the new are tried Nor
yet the last to lay the old aside.

Many refused to give up "tried and proven gas." Others, more venturesome, used gas and electricity simultaneously; if the latter failed, they could revert to the former. For a decade or more about the turn of the century, many houses had lighting fixtures arranged for both. As late as 1960, such dual fixtures hung from the ceilings of a number of fine old mansions, but they were used only for electricity.

San José's era of illuminating gas officially ended on August 9, 1930. On that date an electric light replaced the city's last surviving gas street lamp, which stood in a little parklike dividing strip on Hawthorne Way about midway between First and San Pedro Streets.

Water

Nature long ago divided all animal and plant life into two categories: Spenders and savers. The spenders lived near water and consumed large quantities of it; the savers did the exact opposite. The spenders often wasted water by careless use; the savers seldom had enough to waste. Indeed, the physical makeup of every saver was designed to conserve every bit of moisture necessary to maintain life.

Man has always been a spender. If he did not

UTILITIES

live close to water, his ingenuity developed means of obtaining it. He drilled wells, excavated cisterns to catch rain, and, if circumstances justified the effort, dug ditches, built flumes, and constructed costly aqueducts to bring his life-giving fluid from afar. But no matter how or where he obtained it, he instinctively knew he could not live without water.

Alta California's Spanish explorers never lost sight of this fact when founding a mission or military post. When newly-appointed Governor Felipe de Neve came here from México in 1777 to inspect his jurisdiction, he took careful note of all streams and springs along the way. For him their flow would be a major factor in determining sites for civil settlements—particularly that of San José alongside the Guadalupe River.

San José's first public works project was construction of a small dam across the Guadalupe—or maybe the Canoas—supposedly in the vicinity of the present Auzerais Avenue. Water thus impounded found its way into town for domestic and agricultural purposes by means of an *acequia* (ditch). When the town moved about a mile-and-a-quarter to the south in 1797, the *acequia* brought water from a pond formed by Canoas Creek near the intersection of the present Vine and West Virginia Streets.³

"From the *acequia*," as one writer put it, "most of the citizenry bucketed the water to their homes and used it raw." It could never have passed a modern health laboratory test. Horses and cattle waded in it, small boys paddled in it, dogs swam in it, and cats drowned in it. During the first six years of American occupation, its abundant "unpredictables" contributed to a succession of cholera epidemics, which resulted in the city's first health laws.

Californios contentedly let nature supply their water with minimum assistance, but impatient Amer-

icans decided to prod her a bit. Even after the Common Council passed an ordinance in April, 1850, to prevent pollution of the *acequia*, a new system was in order.

In January, 1854, a couple of gentlemen identified only as the Merritt brothers drilled an artesian well on Fifth Street near St. John. Only a few feet below the surface, they struck a gusher that produced the finest drinking water yet seen in San José. J. B. Shepherd also got a gusher before the month was out, and T. Meyers did likewise in February.

The rush was on. Nine months after the first well came in, Editor Francis B. Murdoch of the *San José Telegraph* took special note of what was happening.

"We walked up to friend William Daniels," Murdoch said, "to see the magnificent artesian well which he has recently dug on his premises.⁴ The augur, a six-inch one, penetrated to the depth of 150 feet when water was struck and flowed copiously out of the opening at the surface. The water flows from a six-inch pipe elevated about 10 feet above the ground."

"Artesian wells are becoming so numerous," the editor continued, "that we can't keep track of them. And if the waters flowing from them were united in one stream, a sufficient supply could be obtained for the wants of a canal between San José and Alviso."

As any other enterprise, artesian wells not only became big business in themselves, but they also spawned other ventures catering to the needs of owners of such wells. A multiplying number of drillers and supply houses delighted newspaper publishers with increasing demands for advertising space. In 1855 San José's drilling firm of Hickox & Barker advertised that they knew their business thoroughly and used a "double iron tubing" superior to every other on the market.

³Unfortunately, the Moraga Map of 1781 was not drawn to scale, and there is some question regarding the beginning point of the original "*acequia*." It, too, may have stemmed from the Canoas Pond dam instead of from one on the Guadalupe closer to town.

⁴Daniels, a justice of the peace, owned the block bounded by First, St. James, Market and Julian Streets.

Santa Clara fruit grower Levi A. Gould got the "artesian fever" about the same time. His ads indicated that he, too, sold a double tube pipe and could supply his customers on "the shortest notice" with "any quantity of redwood or pine aqueduct pipes."

The very name "Artesian" caught the public's imagination. Business houses and other downtown establishments adopted it. Flour miller Ransom G. Moody had his Artesian Mill, powered by water from an artesian well. Dwelling houses and rental properties with artesian wells on the premises were seldom vacant.

Even with the Common Council's ordinance prohibiting the throwing of "dead animals and other filth" into the *acequia*, the ancient ditch's days were numbered. With clear, sparkling artesian drinking water, pure as from the Garden of Eden, who wished to risk another cholera epidemic?

Yet from the very beginning, artesian wells posed a threat or two of their own. In August, 1854, C. A. Dabney brought in a gusher at sixty feet on the southeast corner of First and Santa Clara Streets. It got away from him and flowed uncontrolled for six weeks despite fulminations of the town fathers who ordered it to cease. Even slapping Dabney with a \$50 fine for every day that it flowed produced no beneficial results. To prevent creating a vast municipal mudhole in midsummer, Dabney's torrent was diverted eastward by a ditch to Third Street. There is no record that Dabney ever paid the fine, but reduced artesian pressure eventually cut the volume of water and official apprehension.

Despite their benefit to the community and surrounding countryside, it became obvious to the City and County that artesian wells would have to be controlled. Minutes of the Common Council and the Board of Supervisors for the next forty years frequently mention ordinances and other acts to that effect.

Typical American wastefulness by local farmers, who let their wells run uncapped day and night for no good purpose, compelled the Board of Supervisors to take drastic action. An act passed in May, 1862, provided fines "up to \$500 for well owners who

permitted water to overflow or injure any road, street or alley." Any person who permitted water to flow to waste would be fined in a similar manner. It is doubtful, however, that this ordinance had much effect.

The *Mercury* published frequent articles and letters calling attention to the proliferation of wells and the damage their indifferent owners were doing to the valley. This trouble compounded as drillers went deeper and deeper to obtain flows that one writer said would be "impossible to check."

In 1872, Publisher Owen of the *Mercury* shook an editorial finger at the water wasters. "There are hundreds of these artesian wells," he wrote. "In fact so greatly has the number increased during the last few years, and so reckless has been the waste of water, in the absence of proper regulations regulating [sic] their flow, that the effect is telling disastrously upon the higher portions of the valley — in draining it of its moisture, and in exhausting many wells that once yielded an abundance of water.

"To prevent the useless waste, as now generally permitted, the wells must be securely capped and the water used only when needed. They are the pride and beauty of the Valley, and should be protected as a lasting source of usefulness and wealth."

Owen must have had in mind the observations of lawyer Frederic Hall, whose *History of San José* came off the press only a year earlier. Commenting on the artesian "miracle" of the 1860's, Hall rhapsodized. "Now we behold the artificial currents interlacing like silver threads, the innumerable blooming gardens and fruitful orchards, nourishing the myriads of multiform roots dyeing the leaves with living green—the flowers of various colors of deepest hue; quenching the thirst of living man, and causing him to pause, as he beholds the face of nature, to reflect upon the goodness, the wisdom, the power and the wondrous works of the Creator of all things."

On March 18, 1876, the very year that the *Mercury* published a big feature story on local wells, the State Legislature passed an Act "to regulate use of artesian wells and prevent the waste of subterranean waters in Santa Clara and Los Angeles Counties."

This act apparently had little effect on both urban and rural water wasters in Santa Clara County. Better results were obtained many years later when the Board of Supervisors appointed one of its own members, William A. Z. Edwards, as the County's first artesian well inspector. Edwards rode about the artesian district by buggy or horseback in search of unattended wells. Owners of such wells received legal notice to cease their waste of water, and anyone failing to heed such a notice risked a stiff fine.

Though Edwards accomplished a measure of reform, his efforts might have been more successful if his supervisorial district had not embraced a large section of the main artesian area. Every waster knew him, and could see him coming a mile away.

For a long time, the "experts" insisted that the artesian district included only San José and a large fanned out area to the north. In the 1880's, however, a new drain on the valley's water resources manifested itself in the proliferation of flowing wells on the Monterey Bay watershed south of Madrone.

It was only after nature had appreciably diminished the flow in both areas that the wasters really became concerned. Somehow, they began to recognize the old adage "You'll never miss the water until the well runs dry."

The great artesian period ended in 1916, when a driller brought in a gusher on the Allan M. Standish ranch about midway between Alviso and Milpitas. This well, 235 feet deep, was long advertised as the last of the artesian wells. It spouted a column of water twenty feet into the air and blew the drilling tools from the hole.

Windmills

But long before this, prudent and less conveniently situated users of water had resorted to windmills and other mechanical means of tapping underground reservoirs.

Indeed, the windmill had become a prominent feature of the landscape as early as 1861. On passing through the Santa Clara Valley on June 28 of that year, William H. Brewer of the State Geological

Survey noted the "thriving towns of San José and Santa Clara, but, he added, "the whole country looks dry now." Everywhere he saw windmills pumping "water from wells for the cattle and for irrigating the lands."

In 1867 the *Pacific Coast Business Directory* informed San Joséans of the Stevens Self-Regulating Windmill, manufactured in Redwood City. Another ad in the same publication shows the San José Foundry, at First and San Antonio Streets, manufacturing a windmill of local design. Other products of the day bore such names as Tustin, Cyclone, Star, and Centennial.

The Star Wind Engine boasted "Immense power for deep wells." An ad in the *City Item* (later *San José News*) of September 14, 1883, showed this machine's agent, W. O. Swinnerton, doing business on First Street, "opposite the San José Foundry." The Centennial Windmill, a San José product, was manufactured by T. E. Martin at 213 Santa Clara Street.⁵

Most of these early windmills were built of wood, except for the pump and a few fittings—often by itinerant jacks-of-all-trades. But if he wished, the user could buy a pump from some foundry or supply house and build his own rig.

The fan sails (blades) on these wooden machines often reflected the artistic and mechanical genius of the builder. They might range from four square panels as big as fruit drying trees to a hundred or more lath-like slats not more than half an inch thick and three inches wide.

The big-fanned machines seldom offered anything aesthetic to the viewer, but the slat-sailed (or bladed) products were frequently things of beauty. The slats (or sails) were almost invariably white,

⁵The Centennial listing appeared in the "City Directory" just before San José adopted the present system of street numbering. The Star ad in the "City Item" was published just after adoption of the new system, and reflects Swinnerton's uncertainty regarding east and west, north and south designations.

with each bearing a narrow red or blue transverse stripe that merged with its mates into a solid circle when the fan spun in a lively breeze. Black or colored tips on the slats likewise created a pleasant effect. And the rudder, which kept the fan turned into the wind, customarily bore the trademark or name of the manufacturer.

The City of San José used windmills to fill its volunteer fire department cisterns as late as 1870. One such windmill stood almost in the middle of Market Street at the intersection of El Dorado (now Post).

The kind of receptacle or reservoir that the windmill pumped water into varied with location and purpose. On farm or range land, it might be no more than a drinking trough for livestock. For road sprinkling, it was usually a several-thousand-gallon tank on a strong, ten-or-fifteen-foot high platform with exposed underpinning. For household use in both urban and rural areas, it was a large elevated tank generally enclosed by a structure called a tankhouse, grandiloquently referred to as a water tower in later years.

San José had many such tankhouses, some of them quite ornate. Fashionable varieties of climbing roses covered most of those in the better residential districts, and, with few exceptions, each had a small, strong platform near its top for supporting the windmill.

These tankhouses and their pumping machinery remained part of the San José scene for many years. Late as 1935, they could still be seen in unexpected areas within the corporate limits of the city. Even after the San José Water Company assured the community of efficient piped water service, a noticeable number of cautious property owners kept their windmills—"just in case."

The muffled "clunk" of the picturesque wooden windmill assembly long ago gave way to the "clank" of the all steel and iron machine developed by the Aermotor Company of Chicago in the 1880's. The electric motor replaced steam as power for deep well pumps. Yet the day of the windmill had by no means passed—in San José or elsewhere. In 1957 alone the Aermotor Company reported sales of 7,000 "com-

plete windmill outfits for pumping water," the preponderance of them in the American West.

Man plainly has no intention of giving up the wind as an eternal source of energy.

San Jose Water Company

The subject of piping water "beneath the streets" of San José came up for the Common Council's consideration on October 15, 1851, but little was done about it at the time. A committee appointed to investigate the feasibility of the project did not get around to reporting on it until July 3, 1854. Their report recommended using redwood pipes to convey water from the *Acequia* to fire department cisterns here and there about the city.

By that time, the artesian rush was on, and the redwood pipes project seems to have languished about ten years before it again received noteworthy consideration. Finally, in June, 1864, Donald McKenzie, proprietor of the San José Foundry, got the Council's permission to erect two large wooden tanks on the foundry premises for the purpose of supplying abundant water to the fire cisterns.

McKenzie followed up this advantage with another request. On February 17, 1865, he and his assigns obtained the exclusive right to supply the inhabitants of San José with "good and pure water."

Though the City reserved the right to buy out McKenzie and his associates at the end of twenty years, few believed it would ever do so. Incorporation of the San José Water Company, capitalized at \$100,000, followed on November 26, 1866, with McKenzie as first president. William B. Rankin was first secretary; John Bonner, Peter Carter, and Anthony Chabot the first trustees. With these men to direct its course, their company took full advantage of its exclusive privilege of supplying water to San José and Santa Clara.⁶

Strategically located artesian wells, including the one at McKenzie's foundry, constituted the orig-

⁶*Establishing service in San José proved so demanding that Santa Clara got little attention until 1870.*

UTILITIES

inal source of supply, which soon became inadequate to meet the growth of the community. The company accordingly reincorporated on December 12, 1868, with capital of \$300,000 and a right to take water from Los Gatos Creek. In 1869 Nathaniel Hockett Allen Mason bought controlling interest in the company and took over the presidency.

Tennessean by birth, Mason had come overland to California during the gold days and had acquired much experience as a miner and as president of the Virginia and Gold Hill Water Company of Virginia City, Nevada.

During Mason's presidency of the San José company, the stockholders were assessed \$96,000 for expansive improvements that included a flume to convey water from Los Gatos to Seven-mile Reservoir on what is now Bascom Avenue. By the end of 1871, not only the Seven Mile Reservoir, but also the Three-mile Reservoir on the same road had become realities.

Despite the \$96,000 assessment during Mason's first year as president, the company apparently accomplished these feats with no great financial difficulty. On Friday, June 10, 1870, the *San Francisco Call* reported:

The San José Water Company held its annual election of officers. The following trustees were chosen: N. H. A. Mason, C. X. Hobbs, A. Chabot, Edward McLaughlin and John G. Bray. The trustees elected N. H. A. Mason, President, McLaughlin, Treasurer, Hobbs, Superintendent, and William B. Rankin, Secretary. Bodley and Rankin continued as attorneys. The company is out of debt and has expended \$100,000 to bring mountain water to San José and Santa Clara. The works will be completed and water will be introduced next Wednesday.

Mason was succeeded in 1874 by the English-born Edward Williams, a bundle of energy who served straight through to 1894, and again from 1896 to 1899. Under his direction, the company increased its capital from \$300,000 to \$1,000,000, pushed development of its watershed lands in the mountains, and established the 104,600,000-gallon Lake McKenzie,

completed in 1876. It also ended the nomadic wandering of its business office.

The *City Directory* for 1870 listed this office at 274 San Antonio Street (now about 66 West San Antonio), just behind the foundry, with A. L. Boggs as superintendent. The 1874 *Directory* showed it at 312 First Street (now about 15 South First), with N. H. A. Mason as president and Samuel W. Boring as secretary. Two years later, it occupied rooms in McLaughlin and Ryland's Bank building, directly across the street. From there it moved to the Hayes Building at 323 Second Street, which became 26 South Second Street with renumbering of the city's streets in 1883.

This transience accented the need for a permanent headquarters location, preferably one closer to the scene of physical operations. In the summer of 1888, the company awarded to Josiah J. McDaniel a contract to erect a neat, one-story frame building, with wooden awning and ample floor space, at 374 West Santa Clara Street.

This structure immediately became a landmark. To virtually every citizen of the town, it was "the Water Works." And though it gave way to a magnificent two-story reinforced concrete building in 1934, its site was still the company's home at the time of this writing eighty-one years later.

Meanwhile, Williams had set a record for his successors to equal—if they could. Among other accomplishments, it included creation of the Cambrian Reservoir in 1890 and his company's ownership of 7,000 acres of Santa Cruz Mountains watershed by 1894.

William DeWitt Tisdale, former president of the First National Bank of San José, served as president of the water company from 1894 to Williams' return in 1896. His administration seems to have been more devoted to consolidation of gains than to further expansion. Yet it was marked by two highly important events.

The Town of Santa Clara, relying solely on wells, withdrew from the San José system in 1895 to establish its own water service. Construction began the same year on the mountain reservoir named Lake

Williams, which twice increased its size to attain a capacity of 51,700,000 gallons.

The San José Water Company's fifth president, George W. Cozzens, was a Louisianan who had become a Western cattleman and banker. He took over at the end of Williams' second incumbency in 1899. Cozzens encountered two problems that could have produced disastrous effects. One threatened the company's economic supremacy in this area; the other just missed wrecking its storage and distribution system.

About the turn of the century, an Eastbay counterpart of the Spring Valley Water Company, came into existence under the name of Bay Cities Water Company. This company, largely composed of San Francisco and Oakland citizens, invaded the Santa Clara Valley with intent of draining off 80,000,000 gallons of water a day for sale in Oakland. It bought 1,500 acres of Coyote Creek watershed land south-east of San José, and laid plans for reservoirs, flumes and other facilities whereby it could accomplish its purpose.

This would have cut off water that had been percolating into the valley's artesian belt and other underground storage basins for countless thousands of years. Work on the Bay Cities project had hardly begun under direction of engineer Harry L. Haehl when the San José Water Company joined forces with the valley's ranchers and farmers to oppose it. The ensuing litigation reported in the local press kept the public aroused from 1903 to 1905. But through the able representation of attorney S. F. Leib the San Joséans won a permanent injunction that was upheld by the Supreme Court.

This, in conjunction with construction difficulties, proved too much for the Bay Cities company. Today, only a few scars and remnants of its preliminary work physically testify to its unsuccessful invasion of the Santa Clara Valley.

Cozzens' second moment of uncertainty came with the great earthquake of 1906, the worst since his company first claimed the dignity of a system. On the morning of that "shake," he envisioned damage running into millions of dollars. But after careful inspection of all facilities, he was pleased to report that "the system suffered not the slightest injury."

And Cozzens' successor, George B. McKee who took over in 1907, had his moments in facing a situation entirely unknown to any of his predecessors. In 1912, his last year in office, jurisdiction of his company's affairs passed from San José's municipal authorities to the State Railroad Commission, now known as the Public Utilities Commission.

This not only diminished company control of its own procedure but also subjected it to what may have been considered a complicated bureaucracy. Like it or not, McKee—and Joseph R. Ryland who followed him—had to adapt to new conditions. In regulating public services, the Commission was doing within the state what the Interstate Commerce Commission had been doing on a national scale for more than two decades.

Ryland, who came of two distinguished pioneer San José families, inherited the skill and abilities of both. His presidency of the water company extended from 1912 to 1928. It included incorporation of a new company called the San José Water Works, which acquired all assets of the old company and increased the corporate investment from \$2,710,934.59 to \$4,706,000.00 in only fourteen years.

It was also during Ryland's incumbency that the East Side County Water District came into existence. A bond election on October 14, 1926, provided for construction of a reservoir in the eastern foothills and enabled the Water Works to extend service to the broad area penetrated by the upper reaches of McKee Road and Alum Rock Avenue.

The company's next president, Henry Seymour Kittredge, came from a background similar to Ryland's. A son of Superior Judge Ashbel S. Kittredge, he went to work for the San José Water Company in 1900, while still in his early twenties. Learning the business step by step, he headed for the top rung of the ladder. He became secretary in 1912, and president in 1928.

In 1929, the beginning year of a long-enduring nationwide depression, an Eastern holding firm—General Water, Gas and Electric Company—bought

the majority of San José Water Works stock. Economic conditions were anything but auspicious for local stockholders, but San José continued to grow, and the water company grew with it. In 1937, Kittredge reported with great satisfaction that his company, which had started with one small well, had attained an enviable status. It boasted four impounding reservoirs with capacity of 285,600,000 gallons, eight intake dams, eight storage reservoirs, six pumping stations, six booster stations, and more than 340 miles of main to serve 24,000 customers.

Kittredge had the satisfaction of knowing his company had come a long way since 1866. Its facilities ranged a great crescent-like area with Alum Rock, Wrights and Saratoga at its outer extremities and many square miles of valley floor within its points. But intensive development and complete freedom from encumbrance had to wait for his successor, Ralph Elsmann, who took over in 1937.

Elsmann, a native of Connecticut, devoted his entire working life to public utilities. In 1918, he bought controlling interest in the Kings County Lighting Company of New York. He sold it in 1925 with intent of retiring to a cattle ranch in Nevada, which was no business for a man of his energy and talent. He soon returned to public utilities, becoming executive vice-president of the General Water, Gas and Electric Company, the holding firm that held 79,739 shares—or more than fifty percent—of San José Water Works stock. He became a director of the San José company in 1936, chairman of the board in 1937, and president the same year.

To Elsmann the San José Water Works was a favorite child. His every effort went toward its growth and development. Between 1938 and 1945, he defeated the City of San José's attempt to buy it at an incredibly low price, paid off a note for \$3,000,000 held by a New York bank, reorganized the company's financial structure, and "masterminded" the deal whereby the company bought back all of the stock held by General Water, Gas and Electric.

Other accomplishments during this period included adding two billion gallons of surface storage to the system and construction of a \$129,500 pipeline, forty-two inches in diameter, to increase the flow

from the mountains to Cambrian Reservoir. By 1966 he had added more than \$60,000,000 in such capital improvements as land, buildings, pumping plants, wells, pipelines and every other device necessary to impound, transport, and distribute water to 132,800 customers.

Aside from financing, Elsmann's greatest accomplishment was construction of Austrian Dam, which formed a lake named after him. This structure, on the Los Gatos Creek watershed several miles above the town of Los Gatos, cost \$1,600,000 in 1951, and impounded 2,005,000,000 gallons of water. Its capacity of four times more than all the other lakes and reservoirs combined and proved of inestimable value in keeping the water company ahead of San José's post World War II growth.

By 1967, thirty years after Elsmann assumed the presidency, the San José Water Works far exceeded anything that Donald McKenzie dreamed of back in 1866. McKenzies' artesian well and four little wooden tanks had become 147 pumping stations and twenty-five storage reservoirs with a capacity of many billions of gallons. His few feet of redwood pipe had stretched into 1,547 miles of iron main conveying water to 32,800 service connections throughout an area of 118 square miles. And owing to the foresight of the men who managed its affairs, the water company had already planned for even greater accomplishments in the future.

Water Conservation In General

Until well into the 20th Century, few persons outside the San José, Spring Valley, and Bay Cities water companies realized the necessity of conserving water elsewhere in Santa Clara County. Most of the public felt that nature had provided an inexhaustible supply; there was no need for worrying about it. Except for that diverted by several small dams and ditch systems for irrigation, thousands of acre feet of water continued to run uselessly to San Francisco Bay every winter.

A steadily lowering water table,⁷ however, indi-

⁷Depth or level of the water below the surface.

cated a dangerous depletion of the valley's underground reservoirs and caused great concern for those who knew what was taking place.

This depletion might be somewhat slowed by two or three wet years in succession, but the valley's wells were steadily going deeper and deeper. Two dry years immediately following the unusually wet season of 1911-12 had a sobering effect on many a big water user. More dry years before the end of that decade aggravated the situation.

During the 1920's, the people of Santa Clara County—urban and rural—had begun to take more than passing interest in this area's serious water situation, and resolved to do something about it. After going through all the political approaches and a couple of defeats at the polls, they finally got under as the Santa Clara Valley Water Conservation District.

By 1950, this district had built nine large dams across streams flowing from the mountains around the valley, a monumental work that resulted in bringing up the water level in underground reservoirs. This work, however, does not fit into the category of public utilities and their customers within the corporate limits of the City of San José.

The incredible growth of this area following World War II had begun to make demands on local water facilities that could be met only by importing water from the Sierra Nevada or more distant points. In another half decade, such sources as Feather River and San Luis Reservoir became common topics of discussion. While engineers speculated on the costs of tunnels and aqueducts, politicians argued the merits of this system or that. For or against, their decisions would determine San José's future as a good or bad place to live.



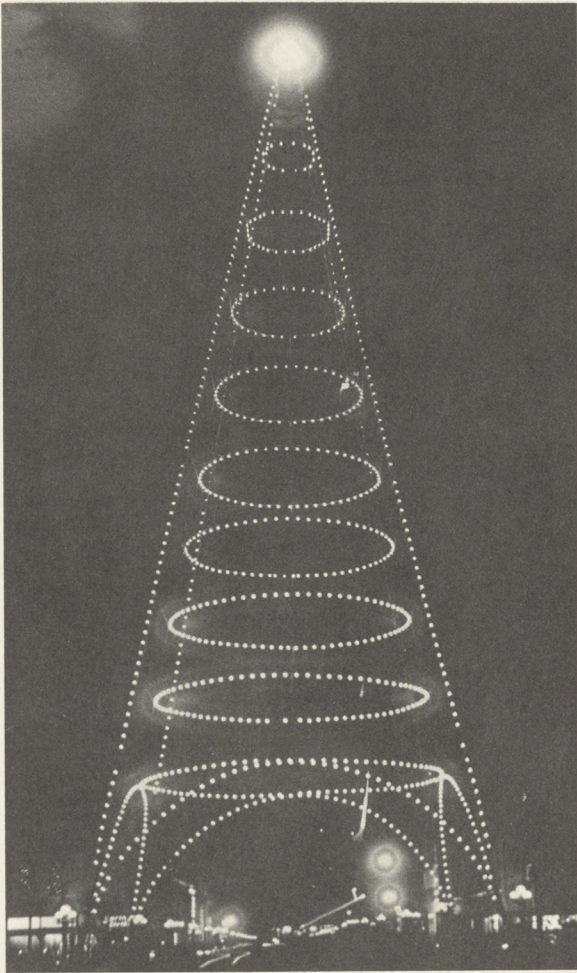
Floods have been a part of San José history. The 1890 flood shown here was from the Guadalupe River. Pictured is Santa Clara Street between Santa Teresa Street and Notre Dame in front of Notre Dame College. The De Anza Hotel building now stands on the site.



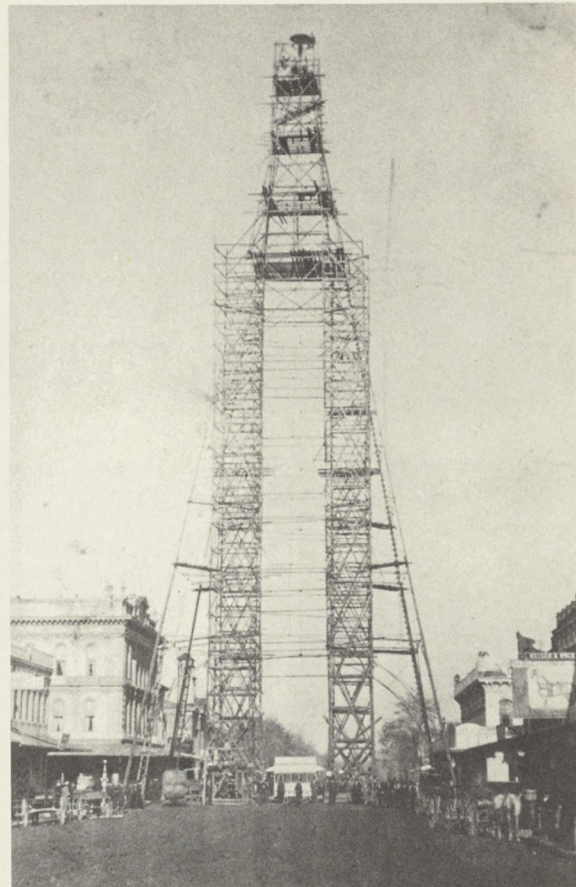
The driver of this auto must have thought he was a speedboat pilot. The original caption of this 1911 flood picture reads, "The Mitchell is safe on land or water." The picture shows the area on San Fernando Street near Locust, and the flood waters are from the Guadalupe River.



San José was badly hit during the wet winter of 1910-11. In March, 1911, the Guadalupe River overflowed its banks and flooded the low-lying parts of the city.



Enthusiasm abounded when the first central electric lighting station in the world was built. Brain child of J. J. Owen, founder and publisher of the San José Mercury, the light tower was a tribute to progress when it was first lit in 1881.



The great Electric Tower straddled the intersection of Santa Clara and Market streets when it was still under construction in 1881. This view is to the north. Note the horsecar of the San José and Santa Clara Horse Railroad passing under the tower.



The San José Electric Tower came crashing to the ground in December, 1915. Erected in 1879, it became world famous, but it was made of iron pipe and the threaded joints rusted through, making it vulnerable to the high winds of a storm.

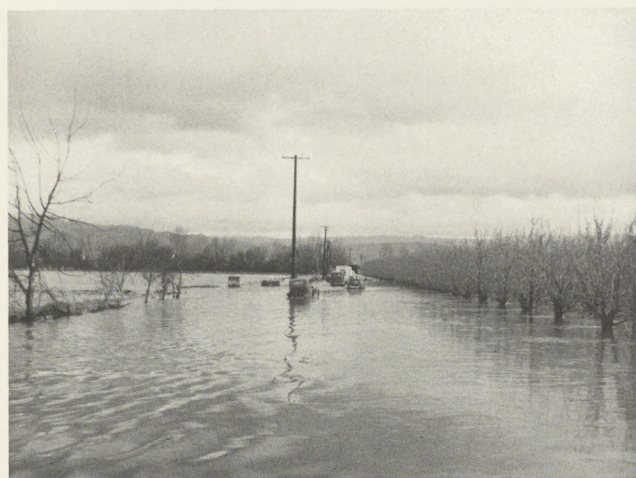


Artesian Well, Near San Jose, Cal.

Artesian wells bubbled out of the ground all over the Santa Clara Valley. This picture, taken at "the Youngers" in 1902, was taken by famed photographer, Alice Hare. *(photo courtesy of San José Historical Museum)*



Downtown San José, at the corner of Santa Clara and River Streets, is flooded in this photo taken on April 2, 1958. *(photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)*



The north San José area was a rich pear-growing area when this picture was taken during the 1952 flood. On the right is the Arthur Chinchén pear orchard.



These trucks are parked in the yard of the San José Water Co. on Santa Clara Street. This photo was taken in May, 1962. *(photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)*



A balloon dam in the Santa Cruz Mountains above Los Gatos stores water for the San José Water Co. This picture was taken in December, 1961. *(photo courtesy of Shirlee Montgomery)*

SPANISH GLOSSARY

- Acequia* — Irrigation ditch or channel
Aguaje — Watering place for cattle
Alcalde — Mayor or chief magistrate
Alferez — Ensign when applied to municipal status
Alguacil — Constable
Arroba — 25 pounds
Ayuntamiento — Town council
Bombero — Fireman
Bojero — Ox driver
Caballadas — Drove of wild horses
La cabecera del partido — Head or capital of district
Californiano — Californian
Californio — Californian
El capitán viejo — The old captain
Carreta — Wooden cart, oxcart
Ciudadano — Towns man or citizen
Comandante — Commander, commanding officer
Comisionado — Commissioner
Correr el gallo — Gamecock
Costumbre del país — Custom of the country
Diputacion — Post of a member of the Spanish Cortes (Spanish Parliament)
Diseño — Sketch, crude map
Distinguido — Distinguished men
Ejidos — Common or public lands
Embarcadero — Wharf, dock, pier, loading platform
Encinal — Live oak grove
Fandango — Old Spanish dance
Fierros — Branding irons, brands
Ganado mayor — Large livestock
Gente de razón — People of reason
Habilitado — Paymaster
Invalido — Invalid, disabled
Jueces de campo — Judges of the field
Juez de paz — Justice of the peace
Juez de primera instancia — Judge of court of first instance
Junta — Council, assembly, board
Juzgado — Town hall, courthouse
Malilla — Card game
Matanza — Slaughter
Meriendas — Light midday meals or afternoon snack
Mesteño/Mesteña — Member of an old association of cattle farmers
Mestizos — Halfbreeds
Mostrenco — Wild, unbranded horse
Olla — Pot, cooking pot
Padrón — Census
País interior — Inland
Palisado — Wall or fence of logs
Peso — Money, weight
Plaza de toros — Bullring
Pobladores — Settlers
Potrero — Colt pasture or farm
Propios — Public lands
Pueblo — Town or people
Pueblo nuevo — New town
Pueblo viejo — Old town
Ramada — Brush-thatched roof
Rancheros — Ranchers
Rancho — Ranch
Realengo (Bienes de realengo) — Possessions of the crown
Reales — Coins
Regidor — Town councilman
Reglamento — Regulations, rules
Remuda — Reserve drove
Riata — Rope for lassoing horses and cattle
Síndico procurador — Trustee, town attorney, counselor
Solar — House lot
Suerte — Farm lot
Suplente — Substitute
Un gran alboroto — Hullabaloo
Vara — Measurement (approximately one yard)
Vecinos del pueblo — Residents of the town
Vina — Vineyard
Visitador — Inspector

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INDEX

- Abrames, Charles J., 470
 Abrego, José, 202
Acequia, 11, 138, 299, 486, 502, 503, 505
 Ackley and Maurison's Stagecoach Line, 95, 96
 Act of Incorporation, 27
 Adams, Daniel T., Hope Nursery, 157
 Adams, George, 139
 Adams, I. B., 501
 Adams, J. H., 338, 339, 340, 341, 344
 Adel, William T., 451
 Adler, Hipolito, 206
 Adult Center Argonauts, 212
 Adult Center Vagabonds, 212
 Adult Education, 208, 209, 211-213
Advantage of Centralized Purchasing in Quantities, 44
 Aermotor Company, 505
 Aeronautics Department (San José State), 215
 Afflerbach, C. H., 271
 Agraz, Emile, 469
 Agricultural Park, 121, 416, 467
 Agricultural Works, 186-187
 Agriculture (see also Farming; Livestock)
 And banking, 230, 234
 Decline in, as business, 163
 Fruit industry, 153-163
 Grapes, 175-178
 Prune crop of 1918, 357
 As state's leading wealth producer, 85
 Versus horticulture, 163
 Wheat, 137-141
 Wine industry, 175-178
Aguaje, 419
 Aikenhead, William, 344
 Ainsley, J. C., Packing Company, 162
 Air California, 475
 Air Circus, 472-473
 Air Shows, 472 (see also Aviation; Balloon Races)
 Aircraft, 467-475
 Airlines, 474, 475
 Airports, 469, 470, 472, 473, 475
Akron, the, 473
 Alameda (California), 106, 107, 108, 381
 Alameda Carriage Factory, 186
 Alameda Foundry, 187
 Alameda, The, 114, 117, 118, 121, 249
 Alcohol
 Consumption conditions, 23
 De Lacy editorials regarding San José saloons, 403
 Liquor tax, 175
 Prohibition (18th Amendment), 178, 341
 Prohibition of sale to Indians, 30
 Temperance publications, 407
 Wine, 175-178
 Alcoholism, 23
 Alden Fruit and Vegetable Packing Company, 158
 Aldermen's Salaries, 28
 Alemany, Joseph S. 249-250
 Alert Hose Company, 303
 Alexander, William G., 232-233, 256
 Allen, Charles E., 29
 Allen, Charles Ewer, 306, 374
 Allen, O. E., 380
 Allen, O. H., 32
 Almadén Vineyards, 177, 178
 Alpine Park, 427
 Alta California
 First capital, 4
 First elected governor, 23
 First governors, 22
 First mission, 3
 Alta Telegraph Line, 381
 Altman, Frederick, 187, 497
 Alum Rock Avenue, 420-421
 Alum Rock Avenue Airport, 470
 Alum Rock Meteor, 422
 Alum Rock Park, 38, 62, 119, 420, 421-422, 423-424
 Alum Rock Park Railway, 120
 Alum Rock Railway Company, 119-120, 121
 Alum Rock Saloon, 421
Alum Rock, San José's Beautiful Resort, 424
 Alum Rock Theater, 457
 Alvires, Claudio, 12, 21
 Alvires, Juan, 23
 Alvarez, Juan, 176
 Alviso (California), 45, 57, 60, 61, 62, 76, 94, 95, 96, 99, 102, 104, 106, 114, 139, 253, 259, 304, 305, 336
 Alviso, Fernandez, 203
 Alviso, Manuel, 203
 Alviso, Ygnacio, 137
 Alviso Mills, 139, 140, 141
 Alviso Railroad, 60
 Alviso Rifles, 354
 Alvitre, Sebastián, 12, 21, 331
 Amador Valley, 5
 American Can Company, 189-190
 American Flag Raisings, 24, 55
 American Plan News, 407
 American River, 84
 American Theater, 456
 American Trust Company, 233
 Ames, Charles Gordon, 275
 "Amos and Andy," 387-388
 Anderson, Alden, 235
 Anderson, John Z., 158
 Anderson, S. Brockway, 374-375
 Anderson, Thomas, 36, 499
 Anderson, William C., 188
 Anderson Dam, 429
 Anderson Prune Dipping Company, 188
 Anderson-Barngrover Company, 188
 Andrew, James O., 259
 Andrews, W. C., 122
 Andrews, William Clark, 383
 Androcio, 338
 Anglo-California National Bank, 234
 Angney, W. Z., 85
 Annexation
 Of Alviso, 45, 61, 304
 Of East San José, 60
 First strip annexation, 60-61
 First three annexations, 61
 Of Gardner District, 43, 304
 Policies, 62-63
 Of Port San José, 61, 63
 And schools, 211
 Strip, 60-61, 63
 Versus incorporation, 63
 Of Willow Glen, 62, 304
 Anthony, Elihu, 254
 Anti-Commintern Pact, 359
 Antioch (California), 5
 Appleton, F. G., 154
 Appleton's Building, 397-398
 Aram, Joseph, 29, 31, 32, 34-35, 77, 153, 154, 155, 157, 254
 Arbuckle, Fatty, 454
 Arc Lights, 497-498
 Archer, Lawrence, 33, 39, 239, 265, 301, 429
 Archer, Mrs. Lawrence, 440
 Architecture
 Of banks, 229, 231, 232
 Of churches, 250, 251, 252, 256, 261, 267, 270, 274, 275, 278
 Of city hall, 32, 39, 418
 Of schools, 210, 215
 Of telephone building, 384
 Of theatres, 451-452, 453
 Archives of San José, 31
 Archuleta, Ygnacio, 12, 21, 22
 Argonauts, 75, 213, 499
 Arguello, José Dario, 23
 Arguello, Luis Antonio, 23
 Arias, Juan Francisco, 331
 Ar-Kel Villa, 429
 Armony Hall, 451
 Arms, Permit To Carry, 21
 Armsby, J. K., Company, 160, 161
 Armstrong, Allen, H., 284
 Arnaz, José, 26
 Arriaga, Julian, 7
 Arrillaga, José Joaquín de, 22, 331
 Arroyo Cantua, 337, 424
 Arroyo de las Llagas, 8
 Arroyo de los Alisos, 8
 Arroyo del Coyote, 9
 Arroyo San Francisco, 3
 Arroyo San Francisquito, 3, 5, 8-9
 Arroyo San Joseph Cupertino, 8
 Arson, 299, 331
 Art and Artists, 437-451
 Art Gallery, 449-450
 Art History Club, 440
 Artesian Mill, 503
 Artesian Wells, 486-487, 502-504, 505-506, 507
 Arthur, Chester Alan, 375
 Asahi Club Park, 428
 "Asleep," 448
 Assman, Frederick J., 190

- Astrolabe*, 332
 Atherton, Faxon Dean, 332
 Athletic Fields, 428, 429
 Atkinson, Marian, 444
 Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Line, 382
 Auditorium Rink, 65, 457
 Auditorium Roller Rink, 457
 Auditorium Theatre, 452, 453
 Auditoriums, 418, 457-458
 Augustana Synod, 273
 Austin, Paul P., 40, 233
 Austrian Dam, 508
 Automobile
 And artists, 448-449
 Auto leasing, 232
 As competition to other modes of transportation, 99, 100, 123-124, 422
 First auto show, 457
 Ford Motor Company, 113
 Increasing numbers of, 422
 Racing, 425, 426, 427
 Traffic congestion, 318
 Auzerais, Edward, 227
 Auzerais, John, 115, 116, 227, 230
 Auzerais Building, 444
 Auzerais House, 94, 98, 100, 213, 374
 Averill Machinery Company, 187
 Aviation, 467-475
 Aviation Meets, 424, 425
 Avila, Francisco, 12, 21
 "Awake," 448
 Axford, Harry, 187
 Axis, the, 360
 Ayala, Juan Manuel, 6
 Ayer, Henry M., 357
- Bachrodt, Arno, 61
 Bachrodt, Walter L., 319
 Bacigalupi, James A., 235, 236
 Bäckesto, Anna C., 425
 Bäckesto, John P., 425
 Bacon, Charles R., 452
 Baggerly, Hiland L., 405-406
 Bailey, Daniel C., 375
 Bailey, Willard C., 44, 357
 Baker, George F., 114
 Baker, J. E., 382
 Baker, Mildred S., 440
 Baker's Extra, 139
 Balbach, John, 185, 186, 300
 Baldwin, C. A., 176
 Baldwin, Thomas C., 467
 Baldwin Locomotive Works, 105-106
 Bale, Edward, 483
 Balfour, Guthrie & Company, 160
 Ballantyne, George H., 111
 Balloon Races, 426, 467
 Balloonists, 467
 Balloons, 467, 468
 Ballou, John Quincy Adams, 154, 155, 156
 Bamber Company, 98
 Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 13
 Banditry, 336-341
 Banfretton, A., 157
 Bank of America, 229, 234, 236
 Bank of Italy, 229, 230, 234, 235-238
 Bank of James Costa & Company, 239-240
 Bank of San José, 228-229, 236, 448
 Banking Act, 235
- Banks and Banking, 227-240
 Architecture of banks, 229, 231, 232
 Bank charge plans, 232
 Branch banking, 231-232, 235, 237, 238
 Innovations in, 232
 Bannister, Edward, 205, 216
 Bargman, P. H., 300
 Barker, Alfred, 429
 Barker, Frank P., 429
 Barnes, Thatcher F., 354
 Barngrover, Hull, and Cunningham, 188
 Barrett, Lawrence, 452
 Barrett, Phil, 257
 Barrett, Richard F., 450
 Barry, James H., 406
 Bartholomew, William Newton, 437
 Barton, Harold, 264
 Bascom, Anna Maria, 259, 484, 485
 Bascom, Louis Hazelton, 29, 154, 204, 259, 484, 485
 Bascom Institute, 206
 Baseball, 426, 428
 Bassett, A. C., 107
 Bassett, Mrs. E. J., 207
 Bassham, William B., 138
 Bassham, William Riley, 26, 373
 Bassham and Kincaid's Mill, 138
 Bassler, Joseph, 300
 Bates, Francis, 449
 Battery, Willard, Agency, 387
 Battle of Julian Street, 116
 Battle of Manila Bay, 355
 Battle of the Mustard Stalks, 353
 Battle of Santa Clara, 353
 Battle of the Titans, 116
 Baugh, Theodore E., 380
 Bautista (unidentified San Joséan), 82
 Bay Cities Water Company, 507, 508
 Bay and Coast Telegraph Line, 381
 Beach, Sarah, 208
 Beale, Edward F., 113
 Bean, James, 274
 Bean, Joel, 274
 Bean, John 187-188
 Bean Creek, 106
 Bean Spray Pump Company, 161, 188
 Beans, Thomas Ellard, 228
 Beans, Mrs. W. K., 440
 Beans, William Knox, 229
 Beans Building, 229
 Bear Flag, 24
 Beattie, D. A., 472, 489
 Beattie, Mrs. D. A., 357
 Beatty, George M., 261
 Beatty, James, 456, 457
 Beaty, Abram S., 33, 301
Beautifying of San Jose, The, 424
 Beechey, Lincoln, 469
 Beeks, William, 95
 Beers, George, 339, 341
 Belasco, David, 452
 Belden, David, 339, 340
 Belden, Josiah, 27, 28, 29, 30-31, 34-35, 43, 55, 64, 75, 116, 137, 142-143, 227, 332-333, 334
 Belknap, Lewis, 59, 488
 Bell, Alexander Graham, 382, 385
 Bell, Father R. H., 467
 Bell, John, 261
 Bell, Richard H., 386
 Bell Telephone Company, 382, 383, 384
 Bella Union Saloon, 397
- Bellamy, George W., 315
 Bellarmine College Preparatory School, 217
 Bellew, Mitchell, 317-318
 "Ben Hur," 453
 Benicia (California), 77, 82, 83, 85
Benicia, the Promise of California, 82
 Bennett, James Gordon, Jr., 382
 Benoist, Louis, 177
 Benson, C. C., 121
 Benson, Frank, 357
 Bentley, Charles H., 161, 162
 Bentley, Robert Irving, 161, 162
 Berford & Company's Express, 95
 Bergin, J. J., 176
 Berkeley (California), 4, 5
 Bernal, José Joaquín, 144, 176
 Bernal, María Refugia, 445
 Berner, Minna, 185
 Bestor, Norman S., 57, 58, 59
 Bestor's Map, pp. 59, 137
 Bethel, Franklin C., 114
 Betts, Eben M., 256
 Biaggi, William, 304
 Biagini, Athanasius, 251
 Bianchi, Gregorio, 251
 Bickur Cholim Society, 267, 268
 Bidwell, John, 333
 Bidwell-Bartleson Company, 64
 Big Basin, 443
 Big Four, 97, 104, 105, 109, 382
 Biggs, Frances, 448
 Bigler, John, 29, 83, 84
 Bigley, Charlie, 44
 Billboards, 60
Biography of a Bank, 235
 Birch, James W., 97
 Bird, Calvert, 115
 Bird, Isaac, 115
 Bisceglia Brothers Cannery, 162
 Bishop, Samuel Addison, 59, 113-114, 116-118, 123, 318
 Black, John Calvin, 212, 213
 Black, John Newton, 43, 44, 319, 322, 342
 Blackmore, John Raymond, 322-323
 "Blacksmith, The," 443
 Blacksmiths, 185-186
 Blain, George, 345
 Blake, C. M., 397
 Blakeslee, Samuel V., 204, 205
 Blanchard, Charles, 177
 Blanchard, Mrs. Marcus, 259, 260
 Blanco, Juan, 189
 Block, E. P., 278
 Block Fruit Company, 94
 Bloody Fourth Ward, 209
 Blue Laws, 21
 Blue Range, 108
 Blue Tent School, 204
 Blum, Joseph, 454
 Board of Capital Commissioners, 85
 Board of Education, 34, 36, 161, 207
 Board of Trustees, 34, 35
 Boca del Puerto de San Francisco, 6
 Bodfish, George H., 32
 Bodley, Thomas, 36, 37, 114, 301, 339
 Boggs, A. L., 506
 Bohnett, Lewis D., Jr., 362-363, 429
 Bolanos, Francisco, 3
 Bollinger, George Y., 322
 Bollinger, Gottlieb H., 271
 Bond, Hiram, G., 159
 Bonn, F., 271

- Bonner, A. H., 99
 Bonner, John, 37, 186, 187, 505
 Bontemps, Jean Baptiste, 154
 Booksin, Henry, 233
 Boring, Jesse, 259-260
 Boring, Samuel Watson, 39, 40, 115, 506
 Boronda, Jose, 202
 Borrego Valley, 6, 8
 Bostwick, Henry, 121
 Bothwell, Earl, 385
 Botts, Charles, 76
 Bowden, F. K., 118
 Bowden, Nicholas, 384
 Bowden, Mrs. Nicholas, 440
 Bowen, John Joseph, 209, 210, 212, 239
 Bowers, J. Milton, 341
 Bowman, George M., 230, 261
 Boyer, Z. P., 500
 Brackett, Edmund, 448
 Bradshaw, Ella Sue, 284
 Brainard, Henry A., 403
 Bramhall, Frank W., 424, 429
 Branch Banking, 231-232, 235, 237, 238
 Brandy, 175 (see also Wine)
 Branham, Isaac, 25, 26, 35, 55, 78, 114, 176, 334
 Brannan, Sam, 284
 Brassy, Ferdinand, 115, 116
 Brasto, S. D., 99
 Braunwarth, William, 278
 Bray, Francis, 139, 140
 Bray, George, 139, 140
 Bray, John Grandin, 228, 506
 Brayton, Isaac H., 255
 Brayton, Wilbur, 177
 Bredenbeck, Arthur, 282
 Brewer, William, 256, 504
 Breyfogle, Charles Wesley, 39, 232, 233
 Brierly B., 262
 Britton, Charlotte, 450
 Britton, John, 188-189
 Broadwick, Charles, 472
 Brohaska, Gustav, 451
 Brohaska, Theodore, 109, 207
 Brokenshire, John R., 385
 Brommer, A. J., 278
 Broughton, Samuel Q., 114
 Brower, Jay, 456
 Brown, Edmund G., 216
 Brown, Elam, 77
 Brown, Harry and Nellie, 451
 Brown, Jacob Newton, 487
 Brown, Richard, 120, 306, 423
 Brown, Verda, 361
 Brown, William C., 322
 Brown, William D., 306, 320, 404
 Browne, J. Ross, 437-438
 Brownshield, Henry, 31
 Brucken, John H., 500
 Brueck, Hermann, 271
 Brunton, Julius and Sons, 387
 Brush, Charles, 497
 Bryan, Charles C., 84
 Bryant, Benjamin, 114, 239
 Bryant, Edwin, 64, 137, 144, 176
 Bucareli y Ursua, Antonio, 6, 7, 10, 249
 Buchanan, James J., 374, 447
 Buck, John, 342
 Buckley, John, 253
 Buckner, Richard B., 36, 37, 373
 Buckner, Robert B., 265
 Budd, James H., 441
 Buehler, J. M., 277, 278
 Buelna, Antonio, 202, 203
 Buelna, Feliz, 24, 25, 26
 Buelna, Joaquín, 202
 Bugbee, Charles D., 451
 Buhot, A. L., 61
 Buhot, Albert E., 385
 Building and Loan Companies, 240
 Bullfighting, 29, 30, 417
 Bunker, David, 361
 Burbank, Luther, 156
 Burbank Chapel, 264
 Burbank Mission, 263
 Burbank Theater, 457
 Burbank Velodrome, 428
 Burgess, Minnie, 405
 Burgess, R. L., 405
 Burke, John P., 119
 Burnett, Dwight J., 114, 354
 Burnett, Eva Kottinger, 445-446
 Burnett, John M., 442
 Burnett, Peter Hardeman, 57, 77, 79, 80, 96, 206, 305
 Burnett Light Horse Guard, 354
 Burnham, C., 380
 Burnham, E. M., 473
 Burns, Mrs. John, 261
 Burton, Felipe, 25
 Burton, John, 24, 25, 55, 315
 Buses, 123-126
 Butler, William, 252
 Butterfield, H. M., 157
 Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 381
 Butterfield Overland Mail Stage, 97, 270
 Butterworth, Samuel F., 335
 Cable Cars, 117
 Cabrillo, Juan Rodriguez, 4
 Cadwallader, Nirum, 425
 Cahill, Hiram, 487
 Cahill Street Station, 110-111
 Calahan, John T., 228
 Calaveras Hills, 22
 Caldwell, Augustine Byrne, 487
 Calhoun, Alexander, 276
 California
 Admitted to the Union, 29, 79, 96, 353
 Bill to divide California into two political entities, 79
 Constitutional Convention, see Constitutional Convention
 Criticism of, by American writers, 332-333
 First civil settlement, 10
 First general election, 26
 First Legislature, see First California Legislature
 First statehouse, 28-29
 Need for land route, 6-7
 Observers' opinions of, 332-333
 As possession of the United States, 25
 California Arrow, 467
 California, 26
 California Associated Raisin Company, 160
 California Brush Electric Company, 497
 California Club, 40
 California Cured Fruit Association, 159
 California Electric Light Company, 497
 California Episcopal Convention, 265
 California Fruit Packing Company, 162
 California Fruit Union, 158
 California Gang, 40
 California Gas and Electric Company, 501
 California Highway Commission, 124
 "California Mining Camp," 438
 California Nursery, 156
 California Pacific Railroad, 104
 California Packing Corporation, 161
 California Pine Box Distributors, 189
 California Pioneers of Santa Clara County, 441
 California Prune and Apricot Growers, Inc., 159, 160
 California Redwood State Park, 443
 California Register, 138, 486
 California Stage Company, 96, 97
 California State Railroad Commission, 123
 California State Telegraph Company, 380-382
 California State Vinicultural Society, 177
 California Theater, 455, 457
 California Theatre, 452
 California Transit, 125
 "California's First Lawgiver," 10
 California's Role in the Civil War, 354, 355
 Callison, Robert D., 345
 Calzia, Bartholomew, 251
 Cambrian Reservoir, 506, 508
 Cameron, Ashley, 97
 Cameron, C. A., 112
 Cameron House, 98
 Camp Frémont, 424
 Campbell (California), 63, 107, 108, 122
 Campbell, Alexander, 272
 Campbell, David W., 320, 321
 Campbell, Henry M., 257
 Campbell, Henry, White Star Line, 125
 Campbell, J. D., 497
 Campbell, O. W., 44, 429
 Campbell, Thomas, 25, 26, 55, 334
 Campbell, W. W., 422
 Campbell, William, 55, 58, 333-334
 Campbell Fruit Growers Union, 159
 Canadian Bank, 237-238
 Candles, 499
 Canners and Canneries, 156, 160-163, 189-190
 Canners League of California, 161
 Canning Clan, The, 161
 Canoas Creek, 43, 59, 137, 138, 502
 Carnaud, J. J., 190
 Carnegie Library, 216
 Carnivals, 426
 Carriage Makers, 185-186
 Carrillo, José Antonio, 175
 Carroll, Thomas W., 320, 321
 Carson, George, 383
 Carter, A., 467
 Carter, Peter, 505
 Carter and Friedlander's Warehouse, 187
 Case, Alfred J., 258, 262
 Case, E. W., 153, 154
 Cassey, Peter, 266
 Cassin, Barbara, 450
 Cassin, Robert E., 444
 Castle, William N., 344-345
 Castle Brothers, 160
 Castro, Francisco, 23
 Castro, Macario, 249, 331
 Castro, Salvador, 25
 Catalá, Magin, 117, 249, 250
 Catlin, George, 443
 Caton, Frederick, 187

- Cattle
Brands, 12, 143
As currency, 142, 143
And 1849 Gold Rush, 144
Industry, 141-144
Slaughtering of, 143-144
Stealing, 315
- Cattlemen, 155
- Cavalry Regiments, 354
- Cedar Brook Park, 427
- Cemeteries, 30, 36, 56, 111, 116, 118, 261, 267, 316, 344, 364, 425, 447
- Census, 63-65
- Centennial Windmill, 504
- Center, George, 119
- Center, Hugh, 119, 120
- Center, John, 119-121
- Central Milling Company, 138
- Central Pacific Railroad, 97, 104-105, 109, 381
- Century House, 118
- Chabolla, Anastacio, 335
- Chabolla, Antonio, 26, 144
- Chabolla, Marcos, 13
- Chabolla, Pedro, 24
- Chabot, Anthony, 505, 506
- Chace, John Derrol, 378
- Chace, John R., 377-378
- Chadbourne, F. S., 99
- Chaize, Louis, 187
- Chamberlain, Neville, 359
- Chamberlin, Winnifred E., 446
- Champagne, 176, 177 (see also Wine)
- Chapin, Dinsmore D., 265-266
- Chapin, Frank E., 122, 123
- Chargin, Joseph A., Jr., 378, 379
- Charters, 317
- Chase, Elmer Ellsworth, 43-44, 161, 162, 229
- Chase Lumber Company, 306
- Chatton, Milton J., 487
- Chavez, Clodoveo, 336, 337, 338
- Chemical Company No. 2, 302
- Chemical Company No. 3, 303
- Cheney, C. D., 37
- Cherry Flat Dam, 422-423
- Child, Stephen, 424
- Chilton & Company, 160
- Chinese Joss House, 360
- Cholera Epidemic of 1850, 29, 484, 485, 486, 487
- Chope, Nellie, 212
- Christenson, R. B., 112
- Christian, John, 190-191
- Chronology of Protestant Beginnings in California, A*, 255
- Churches (see also Missions; Synagogues)
Architecture of, see Architecture, Of churches
Assembly of God, 285
Baptist, 262-265, 272, 279, 280, 281-282, 283, 287, 387, 456
Buddhist, 286
Catholic, 217, 249-253, 287 (see also individual churches)
Centella, 259, 260, 261-262
Christian, 272
Christian Assembly, 286
Christian Evangelical Mission, 283
Christian Science, 284
Church construction after World War II, 253
Congregational, 256, 276-277, 285
- Contribution by blacks to religious life of community, 271, 281
- Cornerstone ceremonies, 249, 251, 253, 278, 280, 286
- During Depression, 264
- Episcopal, 265-267, 270
- Evangelical, 259
- First Protestant services, 254
- First site of Christian worship in San José, 250
- Ground breaking ceremonies for, 261, 268, 270, 277, 278, 286
- Holy Cross, 252
- Holy Family, 251
- Holy Rollers, 277
- Holy Spirit, 253
- Home of Truth, 286
- Latter Day Saints, 284, 287
- Lighthouse, 280
- Listings in *City Directory* and phone book, 253, 266, 269, 277, 279, 284, 285, 287
- Lutheran, 269, 272-273, 277-278, 282-283, 284, 287
- Methodist, 254, 255, 257-261, 264, 269, 270, 272, 274, 278-280, 287, 455
- Methodist Episcopal, 254, 259, 260, 269, 270-272, 282, 286
- Mormon, 284, 287
- Nazarene, 285-286
- Presbyterian, 255-257, 260, 275-276, 277, 280-281, 287
- Protestant, 253-255 (see also individual denominations)
- Quaker, 273-274
- Radio broadcasting of services, 264, 387
- St. Joseph's Church, 30, 63, 187, 216, 217, 249-250, 251, 252, 253, 280, 302, 428
- St. Patrick's Church, 250-251, 253, 275
- San José's first formally organized Protestant Church, 255
- Seventh Day Adventists, 269-270, 286
- Spiritualists, 286
- Swedish, 272-273, 279, 283
- Theosophists, 286
- True Life, 284
- Unitarian, 275
- And World War II, 252, 253, 278
- Ciblich, Jackie, 450
- Cinema, 453, 454, 455
- Ciotti, Anthony, 251
- Citizens Central Airport Committee, 473
- City Assessor, 27
- City Attorney, 27
- City Carriage Manufacturing, 451
- City Charter, 30, 33-34, 43
- City Council
Change from Common Council, 43, 322
Heads of, from 1916 to 1967, 45
- City Gardens, 153
- City Government (see also Government)
Bossism, 40
Charters, 317
City managers, 322-323
City marshal, 27
Courts, 333
Debts, see Debt
Early ordinances, 21
Elections, 25, 26, 27, 29, 31-37, 39-45
Fire department, see Fire Department
First municipal election, 25
First proclamations, 25
First San José election after incorporation, 27
- Incorporation of San José, 26-27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 80
- Mayors, see Mayors
- New charter of 1916, 322
- Ordinances, see Ordinances
- Police department, see Police Department
- Reincorporation of San José, 34
- Reorganization of, 41
- San José land title, 30, 34-35
- San José's entry into self-government, 21
- Second municipal election, 29
- Transition of one form to another, 333
- City Hall
Adornment of, 187, 448
Architecture of, 32, 39, 418
Construction of, 39-40, 417, 418
Desire for publicly owned, 32
New (1958), 45
New era in, 39-40
Proposal to sell to County, 45
Razing of old, 418
San José's first, 32-33
Site of, 32
Use of, for courthouse, 36
- City Hall Gang, 40
- City Item*, 321, 403
- City Ordinances, see Ordinances
- City Reservation, 419-420
- Civic Auditorium, 418, 458
- Civil Aeronautics Authority, 474
- Civil Defense, 361-362
- Civil and Military School, 206
- Civil War, 97, 263, 353-355
- Civilian War Organizations, 357, 358
- Clark, E. A., 374
- Clark, Leland, 212
- Clark, Solomon A., 239, 373-374
- Clark, William, 375
- Clarke, Arthur L., 385
- Clay, Henry, 79
- Clayton, Charles, 153
- Clayton, J. Bradley, 231
- Clayton, James A., 57, 230, 233, 261
- Clayton, Willis, S., Sr., 230, 231
- Clement, Flavius B., 27
- Cleveland, Grover, 375, 376
- Clevenger, Wayne, 473
- Clinch, Bryan, 249
- Clunie, Thomas J., 376
- Coal, 499, 501
- Coast Radio Company, 388
- Coates, Ida May, 440, 450
- Cobb, James A., 238
- Cobb, James Clark, 26, 34, 35, 114, 155, 485
- Cobb, Jane B., 280
- Cochrane, E. O., 176
- Cogswell, Henry D., 403
- Cogswell Fountain, 403
- Cogswell Statue, 418
- Cohan, George M., 445
- Colahan, John Thomas, 37
- Colegrove, George I., 98, 99
- College of Notre Dame, 206, 217, 253
- College Park Association of Friends, 274
- College Park Post Office, 379
- College Park Tower, 110
- College Park Yard, 109, 110
- Collins, Barton L., 323
- Collins, William Henry, 339
- Coloma Gold Discovery, 25, 64, 75, 254
- Colombet, Clement, 58

- Colorado River, 6, 7, 9, 105, 122, 141
 Columbia Broadcasting System, 386, 387
 Columbia Hospital, 488
 Commercial Building, 361, 452
 Commercial Cable Company, 382
 Commercial Land Company, 235
 Commercial and Savings Bank,
 229-230, 235-236, 238
 Common Council
 And acequia dam height, 138
 And annexation, 61
 Bonds for office holders, 27
 Building of sewer system, 58
 Change to City Council, 43, 322
 And fire department,
 300, 301, 302, 303, 305
 First meeting, 316
 First meeting in city hall building, 32
 First meeting in new city hall, 40
 First members of, 27
 First president, 27
 First session of, 27
 Health and safety proposals, 486, 487
 Mayor White's first message to, 29-30
 Members known as aldermen, 27
 Number of members, 27
 And railroads, 101, 102, 114, 115
 Replaced by board of trustees, 34
 Resignations of members, 27, 32
 Resolution to improve streets, 58
 And schools, 207, 208
 And urban transit, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121
 Common School Fund, 36-37
 Communication
 Government service during
 World War I, 386
 Mail, 373-380
 Methods used in wartime, 362
 Press, see Press
 Radio, 386-388
 Telegraph, 380-382
 Telephone, 382-385
 Television, 388-389
 Community Theater, 458
 Company C, First Regiment, 353-354
 Comstock Lode, 93, 382
 Congiato, Nicholas, 250
 Conmy, John J., 398, 402
 Conner, J. S., 487
 Conroy, John C., 25, 26, 27
 Constitutional Convention, 26, 64,
 75-80, 203, 204, 206, 217, 437
 Continental Airlines, 475
 Continental Can Company, 190
 Contra Costa, 6
 Conway, Charles C., 190
 Cook, Grove C., 25, 64, 353
 Cook, Samuel, 449-450
 Cooper, Astley David Middleton,
 440, 443-444, 445
 Cooper, Earl, 425
 Cooper, George M., 469
 Copper, 423
 Corcoran, John H., 384
 Coronado Expedition, 141
 Coronel, Antonio, 202
 Cortés Decree of 1812, 23
 Corwin, Eli, 34, 207, 255
 Cory, Andrew Jackson, 487
 Cory, Benjamin, 27, 28, 29, 31, 64, 75,
 81, 206, 227, 281, 316, 334, 417,
 483-484, 485, 487
 Cory, James Manning, 37
 Coschina, Matthew, 318
 Costa, James Augustine, 239-240
 Costansó, Miguel, 3, 4
 Cothran, E. E., 41
 Cottle, Benjamin Hinckley, 398
 Cotton, John W., 334
 Cottrell, Gordon, 138-139
 Council of Defense, 357
 Court of First Instance, 26
 Courthouse
 Completion of, 36
 Construction of, 448
 Free use of, 85
 Interior ornament carvings, 448
 Photographing of, 418-419
 Courthouse Gang, 40
 Covallesk, John, 342
 Covarrubias, José María, 77, 202-203
 Covill, Dorothy, 44
 Cow Currency, 142, 143
 Cowan, Robert G., 79
 Cowboys, 426
 Cowhides, 142, 143, 144
 Coykendall, H. G., 160
 Coyote (California), 4
 Coyote Creek, 9, 27, 38, 57, 58, 59, 81,
 109, 116, 122, 123, 124, 138, 252,
 418, 419, 420, 427, 429, 485, 488, 507
 Coyote Slough, 106
 Cozzens, George W., 507
 Cozzens Fruit Company, 160
 Crandall, Earle, P., 211
 Crandall, Harry, 470
 Crandall, Jared Burdick, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99
 Crandallville, 304
 Crane, G. B., 487, 488
 Cranwell, Thomas G., 190
 Craven, Henry, 115
 Crespi, Juan, 3, 4, 5, 249
 Crest Theater, 453-454
 Crime
 Against police officers, 342-343
 Arson, 299, 331
 Committed by public officials, 344-345
 Courts, 333
 Disrespect for law enforcement, 342
 During Gold Rush,
 26, 315, 333, 334, 335
 In early San Jose, 30
 Homicide, 331, 333-341
 Idleness and laziness, 331
 Influx of criminals
 during Gold Rush, 315
 Judges, 333
 Kidnapping, 342-344
 Mixture of Spanish
 and English law, 333
 Thievery, 8, 12
 Crittenden, Charles P., 354
 Crocker Art Gallery, 440
 Crocker Bank, 234
 Crocker Estate, 473, 474
 Cross, John, 334
 Crothers, George E., 384
 Crouser, Clarence F., 282-283
 Crouser, W. E., 282-283
 Crouser Week, 283
 Crummey, John D., 188
 Crydenwise, Clark S., 185
 Crystal Springs Reservoir, 3
 Cunan, Joseph, 304
 Cuneo, Clorinda Agnes, 238
 Cuneo, Joseph, 238
 Cunningham, Luther, 188
 Cupertino (California), 62, 63, 99, 122
 Cured Fruit Exchange, 159
 Curl, James D., 27, 316
 Curtis, E. J., 316
 Curtis, H. H., 341
 Curtiss, Glenn, 468
 Curtiss, W. G., 112
 Curtner, A. D., 357
 Curtner, Henry, 233
 Custom House, 142, 203
 Cutler, James M., 374
 Cutler, Simon M., 33, 239, 374
 Cutting Packing Company
 of San Francisco, 161
 "Czar Settlesky," 39
 Dabney, C. A., 503
 Dahleen, H. S., 472
 Dahleen, Henry E., 487
 Dahlgren, Carl, 446
 Dahlgren, Marius, 446
 Dailey, Morris Elmer, 214
Daily Argus, 397
Daily Evening News, 402
Daily Guide, 398
Daily Herald, 402
Daily Morning Times, 406
Daily Press, 402
 Dale, Edward, 176
 Daley, Edith, 357
 Dame, Timothy, 102-103
 Damon, J. F., 397
 Dampman, William, 100
 Dana, Richard Henry, 93, 332
 Daniels, William, 31, 33, 34, 35,
 153, 154, 155, 203, 265
 Davenport, S. J., 114
 David, William R., 34
 Davidson, Leander, 337
 Davidson, Peter, 26, 27
 Davis, Alfred E., 105-106, 107
 Davis, Arthur E., 126
 Davis, David A., 333-334
 Davis, Ella, 281, 282
 Davis, Newton, 100
 Davis, William Heath, Jr., 175
 Davis Transit, 126
 Davison, Charles W., 42-43, 322
 Dawson, David M., 264
 Dawson, E. L., 156
 Dawson, J. M., & Company, 156
 Dawson, James Madison, 156, 161, 162
 Dawson, Thomas Benton, 161, 162
 Day, Jeremiah, 204
 Day, Sherman, 57, 58, 204-205, 258
 de Anza, Juan Bautista, 6, 7, 8
 De Anza Hotel, 388
 de Armona, Matias, 22
 de Arrillaga, José Joaquín, 22
 de Barri, Felipe, 22
 de Bass-Indre, Forges, 190
 de Bert, Auguste, 336, 337
 de Boom, Corneille, 485
 de Borica, Diego, 13, 22, 201
 De Forest, Lee, 386
 de la Guerra, Pablo, 77
 de la Peña, Tomás, 249
 de la Perouse, Jean Francois Galaup, 332
 De Lacy, Hugh A.,
 39, 320-321, 403-405, 406

- De Lacy, Stephen, 403, 406, 407
de Lucchi, Harold, 251
De Luxe Theatre, 455, 456
de Miera y Norena, A. A., 203
de Moreno, Rafael de Jesus, 250
de Neve, Felipe, 10, 11, 12, 22, 201, 502
De Shields, Albert, 187
de Ugarte, Jacobo, 13
de Vargas, Manuel, 201
De Vincenzi, John, 449
de Vries, Carolyn, 442
DeWit, Gerhardus, 375
Deal, Samuel, 340
Deal, W. Grove, 206
Dean, John Marvin, 263
Death Valley in '49, 403
Debt
 Anti-debt clause
 in City Charter, 39, 40
 Freedom from, 37-38
 Funded, 35, 36, 37
 Municipal, 28-29, 30, 32, 33, 35-39
 Statehouse, 36
Deep Water Port Association, 61
Delmas, Antoine, 138, 139, 176
Denham, Clifford, 342
Denninger, G., 278
Denny, J. J., 115
Dent, Lewis, 76, 77
Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, 106
Depression
 Churches during, 264
 Fire department during, 306
 Population during, 65
 Schools during, 212, 213, 215
 Theater owners during, 456
Derby, Mrs. Charles C., 428
Desmond, Daisy Fox, 212
Devine, Belle, 451
Devoe, James B., 29, 397
Dewey, George, 355
DiFiore, D., Canning Company, 162
DiFiore, Dominic, 162
DiFiore, Salvatore, 162
Dill, William, 113
Dillon, Hedge and Company, 97
Dimmick, Kimball H.,
 25, 26, 57, 76, 77, 334, 335
Dinsmore, J. W., 256
Dirigibles, 467, 473
Disciples of Christ, 272
Discovery, 332
Diseases, 487 (see also
 Cholera Epidemic of 1850)
Divine, Davis, 29, 33, 36,
 101-102, 103, 114-115, 153, 154
Dixon, Anne, 383
Doerr, Robert, 428
Dominguez, Jose, 21
Dominguez, Marcelina, 175
Donahue, James, 102
Donahue, Peter, 102-103, 104, 105, 109
Donner, Eliza P., 355
Donner, Mary, 355
Donner Party, 64, 355
Donner Pass, 101
Dorgan, T. A., 445
Doten, Alfred, 467
Dougherty, William P., 61, 115, 500
Douglas, John W., 204, 255, 257, 262
Dowling, Patrick, 250
Down, Charles, 94
Down in the Cinnabar Mines, 438
Downer, Hugh Hall, 452
Drake, Harry, 124
Drake, Sir Francis, 254
Drayage Companies, 94
Drew, John, 452
Drive-in Theaters, 457
Drive-up Bank Tellers, 232
Driver, M. B., 343
Driving Park, 425, 427
Drug Stores, 94
Druids' Hall, 270, 284
Drunkenness, 29, 331, 341
 (see also Alcohol)
Drury, Clifford M., 254, 255
Duarte, Mariano, 23, 202, 203
Dudley, John Plummer, 485-486
Duffie, J., 157
Duhaut-Cilly, Auguste, 175
Duhem, R. A., 469
Dumbarton Point, 106
Duncan, John F., 232-233
Dyche, Justin, 471
Earlston, Robert, 467
Earthquake (1868), 249, 250, 256, 268
Earthquake (1906), 42, 108, 122,
 208, 210, 214, 229, 232, 234, 419,
 440, 448, 454, 455, 507
East San José, 59-60
East San José Fire Department, 304
East San José Homestead Association, 59
East San José Post, 407-408
East San José Sun, 408
East Side County Water District, 507
East Side Growers Exchange, 159
East Square, 417
Echeandía, José María, 23
Eciarc, Tomas, 8
Edbrooke, Willoughby J., 376
Eddy, William Henry, 28
Education, 201-217 (see also Schools)
Edwards, Harry W., 40, 500, 501
Edwards, Nathaniel B., 34
Edwards, William A. Z., 354, 504
Edwards Gashouse Gang, 40
Egbert, John Paul, 256
Eighteen Mile House, 109
Eighteenth Amendment, 178, 341
Eighth Infantry Regiment, 354
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 378
Eisner, Solomon, 267
El Camino Real, 4
El Capitan Viejo, 24
El Pueblo Nuevo, 55
El Pueblo Viejo, 55
Electric Tower Over Market and
 Santa Clara Streets, 39, 231, 398
Electric Utilities, 497-499
Ellery, Nathaniel, 214, 215
Ellis, Salathiel, 446, 447, 448
Ellison, G. W., 263
Elmer Brothers Nursery, 385
Elsman, Ralph, 508
Ely, Eugene, 468
Embarcadero de Santa Clara, 93
Emerson, John C., 31, 397, 400
Emig, William J., 319, 342, 343, 344
Emmanuelli, D., 32
Emory, William, H., 57
Empire No. 1, 301, 302, 303, 305
Empire Theater, 455
Engelman, Maurice, 268
English and Classical School, 205, 216
Enright, Joseph, 186, 187
Enright's Patent Strawburning
 Portable Engine, 186
Epworth League, 258
Erickson, Anna, 274
Erickson, Swen, 274
Espinoza, Miguel, 331
Estudillo, José María, 249
Etheridge, Sylvester, 265, 266
Etter, Mrs. Woodworth, 285
Eucalyptus Trees, 420, 421
Eureka Fire Company No. 1, 300, 301
Eureka Hose Company, 302
Evening News, 405
"Evening School," 212
Evergreen, 468
"Exchange, The," 159
Exploration of Santa Clara Valley, 3-13
Fabling, Rona, 286
Fages, Pedro, 3, 4,
 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 22, 175, 201, 249
Fages Trail, 5, 9
Fair, James Graham, 105, 107, 382
Faire, P. A., 273
Fallon, Thomas, 24, 33, 34, 35, 36, 154, 203
Falvey, Irma, 456
Farallones, 6
Farmers and Farming, 155
 Gas rationing, 361
 Union, 375
 Wheat, 137-141
Farmer's National Gold Bank, 230
Farmers Union Bank, 239
Farmers Union Building, 448
Farnum, Dustin, 426
Farr, Floyd, 388
Farr, Joyce W., 259
Farrell, Leonard B., 357
Farthing, George, Company, 383
Farwell, William, 286
Fay, Charles W., 471
Feather River, 509
Fehren, Fred L., 61
Felton and Santa Cruz
 Railroad Company, 375
Fences, 437
Fernandez, José, 25, 26
Fernandez, José Zenon, 202, 203
Ferrara, Joséph, 236-237
Ferrier, Warren, 204
Fifth Infantry Regiment, 354
Fifth Ward Improvement Club, 303
Fillmore, Millard, 79, 373, 447
Fine Arts Gallery Association, 449, 450
Finley, Cornelius, 341
Fire Alarm System, First Electric, 305
Fire Cisterns, 505
Fire Department
 Chiefs of, 306
 Creation of, 300
 During Depression, 306
 Fire ordinances, 25, 299, 300
 Organization of, 30
 Phone number of, 385
 Private, 304
 Problems within, 305
 Volunteer, 33, 60, 300
 And water use, 505

- Fire Engine Company No. 1, 300, 306
 Fire Fighting, 299-306
 Firemen's Charitable Association, 305
 First Battalion of Mountaineers, 354
 First Battalion of Native Cavalry, 354
 First California Legislature, 26, 77, 80, 81, 203, 204, 484
 First Cavalry Regiment, 354
 First Infantry Regiment, 353-354
 First National Bank, 230-232, 233, 239, 240, 382
 First Regiment, New York Volunteers, 355
 First Street Railroad, 114
 Fischer, Clyde L., 444
 Fisher, Frank, 117
 Fisher, Joseph R., 284
 Fisher, William, 25, 55, 56, 176
 Fitts, William, 99
 Fitzgerald, George, 185, 186, 339
 Fitzgerald, James, 185, 186
 Fitzgerald, O. P., 213, 261
 "Five Hundred-Acre Titles," 56
 Five Wounds Church, 252
 Flag Raisings, 24, 353
 Flannery, Harold J., 44, 420
 Fleming, C. F., 160
 Fleming, George, 160
 Fletcher, Francis, 254
 Fletcher, Thomas, 45
 Flickinger, J. H., 160, 162, 239
 Floods, 11, 12, 43, 78, 84
 Folsom, Joseph Libby, 373
 Font, Pedro, 8, 9
 Food Machinery and Chemical Corporation, 188
 Food Machinery Corporation, 187, 188
 Foote, George W., 266
 Foote, Horace, 99-100, 153, 403
 Foote, Mary Hallock, 438
 Ford Motor Company, 113
 Foreigners, 332
 Fort Ord, 361
 Fort Point, 354
 Fort Tejon, 113
 Foster, E. H., 357
 Foster, Larry, 122
 Foster, William, 27, 28, 29
 Foundries, 185-187
 Four Minute Speakers, 357-358
 Fourgeaud, Victor J., 483
 Fowler, Andrew J., 420
 Fowler, Robert, 468, 469
 Fowler Airplane Corporation, 469
 Fox, Bernard Simon, 154, 157
 Fox, Katherine, 384
 Fox, Richard D., 154, 156
 Fox, Theron, 429
 Fox California Theater, 456
 Francis, Roy, 425, 468, 469
 Franck, Frederick C., 118
 Frank, George & Company, 160
 Franklin, Harvey, 267, 268
 Franklin Engine Company, 302
 Franklin Hose Company No. 3, 302
 Fraser, Andrew, 264
 Fraud, 34
 Frazer, Virginia A., 319
 Free, Arthur M., 357, 377, 472
 Freer, Matthew, 333-334
 Freimark, Max, 285
 Frémont, John C., 24, 79, 397, 401
 French Garden Nursery, 157
 Freund, Iser, 267, 268
 Frisbie, John B., 77
 Froehling, Richard, 283
 Frontier Village, 427
 Frost, A. J., 263
 Frost, Etta, 383, 384
 Frost, Irene, 320
 Fruehling, William, 186
 Fruit
 Canners, 160-163
 Containers, 188-190
 Dried, 155, 158-163
 Growers, 153-163
 Processing machinery, 158-163, 187-188
 And railroads, 157-158
 Fry, William, 282
 Fuller, Ansel D., 58
 Fuller, Benjamin, 320, 322
 Funded Debt, 35, 36, 37
 Gage, William E., 441
 Galindo, Juan C., 333
 Galindo, Juana, 24
 Gallagher, Joseph, 250
 Galli, A., & Company, 237
 Galvez, José de, 3, 6
 Gamble, James, 380-381
 Gambling, 80
 Anti-gambling laws, 21, 30
 Increasing, 23
 Licensing of, 29
 Relaxation of regulation against, 22
 Ganshirt, Paul, 304
 Garcés, Francisco, 7, 8
 Garden City Airport, 473
 Garden City Bank, 232-233
 Garden City Bank Building, 386
 Garden City Brass Foundry, 187
 Garden City Electrical Company, 387
 Garden City Gas Company, 500
 Garden City Pottery Company, 44
 Garden City Sanitarium, 59, 488
 Garden (Movie) Theater, 457
 Garden Theatre, 453, 454, 455
 Gardner Annexation Club, 303
 Gardner Annexation Boosters' Club, 59
 Gardner Boosters' Club, 303
 Gardner District, 32, 43, 59, 304
 Garnett, J. Herndon, 263
 Garrison, Cornelius K., 101
 Garrison, John H., 27, 299-300
 Gas Companies, 499-501
 Gas Rationing, 124, 361
 Gas Works, 36
 Gates, Freeman, 207
 Gates, Ivan R., 472
 Gavin, Thomas J., 187
 Gavitt, Q. D., 36
 Gay, Milus, 425
 Gay Theater, 457
 Gayle, Noa, 388
 Geary, John W., 77, 79
 Gehrig, Lou, 428
 Gelwicks, Daniel W., 402
 General Water, Gas and Electric Company, 507-508
 George, Charlotte, 444
 George, Givens, 33, 400
 Gerlach, Frederick, 488
 Giannini, A. P., 235-238
 Giannini, Attilio, 236-237
 Giannini, George, 236
 Giannini, Luigi, 236
 Giannini, Mario, 238
 Giannini, Virginia, 236-237
 Giannini Foundation of Agricultural Economics, 238
 Gibbs, Addison Crandell, 103
 Gibson, Riley, 388
 Gila River, 6, 7, 8
 Gilbert, Benjamin F., 214, 215
 Gilbert, Edward, 77
 Gilkyson, J. W., 384
 Gillespie, Thomas J., 497, 498
 Gillette, Lida Mae, 117, 382, 383
 Gilliland, Allen T., Jr., 388-389
 Gilliland, Allen T., Sr., 388
 Gilmore, George, 188
 Gilmore, S. D., 188
 Gilroy (California), 108, 109, 125, 336
 Gilroy, John, 64
 Giltner, Francis, 85
 Ginger, Willie, 471
 Gliders, 468, 470
 Globe Building, 186
 Globe Wagon and Carriage Works, 186
 Godden, Thomas B., 27, 486
 Gold
 Discovery of, 25, 64, 75, 254
 Mining interests, 85
 Gold Rush (1849)
 Beginnings of, 26, 75
 And cattle industry, 144
 And crime, 26, 315, 333, 334, 335
 Effects of, 64
 And fruit growers, 157
 And physicians, 485
 Politics during, 75-80
 Population patterns during, 75
 Problems during, 25
 San José's role in, 26
 And schools, 204, 213
 Gold Rush (1862), 423
 Golden Gate, 6, 10, 79
 Golden Gate Packing Company, 161
Golden Hinde, 254
 Goldstein, Franz M., 268, 439
 Gomez, Francisco, 3
 Gonzales, Ana Maria, 21
 Gonzales, Manuel, 12, 21
 Gonzales, Romulo, 336-337
 Good Government League, 40, 42, 317, 321, 399
 Goodrich, Edwin Brandon, 423
 Goodrich, Levi, 31, 32, 33, 84, 214, 301, 423
 Goodrich Quarry, 107, 376
 Goodwin, Clarence B., 44, 306, 362
 Goodwin, Nat, 452
 Goodwin, Paul J., 257
 Goose Town, 43
 Gordon, Frank, 426
 Goseby, Perley F., 357
 Gould, George, 111
 Gould, Jay, 382
 Gould, Levi Ames, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 503
 Gourley, James, 301
 Government (see also City Government)
 Alcade system, 22, 23, 24
 California's break with Mexico, 24
 Constitutional Convention, see Constitutional Convention
 First California general election, 26
 Need for organized civil government, 75
 Permanent seat of, 82, 83

- Provisional government of Mexico, 23-24
Public officials, 21-45
Seat of, 75-89
State officials, 77
Syndicate form of, 26
- Graft, 34-35, 409
Graham, Jack, 429
Graham Field, 429
Grand and Ancient Forest, 442
Grandallville, 59
Granger, F. S., 121-122
Grant, Ulysses S., 374
Grape Stakes, 437
Grauman, Sid, 454, 455
Graves, Mary, 335
Gray, Frank M., 384
Gray, Mary E., 239
Grayson, Andrew J., 437
Greco, Victor, 162
Greco Canning Company, 162
Greek George, 338
"Greek Girl", 440
Green, Thomas Jefferson, 80, 82
Green Point Dairy and Transportation Company, 106
Greeninger, Adolph, 41, 185, 186
Greenwood, L. B., 263
Greer, John L., 34
Greystone Quarry, 376
Griffel, Charles D., 274
Griffin & Skelly, 160
Grijalva, Juan Pablo, 7
Grimes, Hiram, 55
Grinnell, L. O., 262
Gronouski, John, 379
Ground Breaking Ceremonies
 Airport main terminal, 475
 For churches, 261,
 268, 270, 277, 278, 286
 For electric tower, 497
 For hospitals, 488
 For Municipal Rose Garden, 428
 For railroads, 103, 104, 105
Groves, George H., 354
Growers Bank, 234, 238
Guadalupe Lake, 43
Guadalupe Parkway, 251
Guadalupe River, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 27, 29,
 43, 55, 56, 57, 59, 61, 99, 109, 115,
 137, 138, 139, 153, 154, 210, 249,
 262, 284, 304, 417, 470, 486, 502
Guardians of the Garden City, 44, 301
Guerin, Michael, 318, 319
Guggenlime & Company, 160
Guinn, A. M., 321
Gulnac, William, 137
Gunn, Jasper D., 34, 37, 301, 316, 344
Guptill, Lovell, 342
Gutierrez, Agustin, 404
Gutierrez, Manuel, 203
Gwaltney, Malcolm, 257
Gwin, William M., 77, 79, 397
- Haehl, Harry L., 507
Hagan, James, 36, 499
Hageman, Herbert, 445
Haight, Henry H., 213
Hale, Oliver A., 122
Haley, Edward, 306, 320, 321
Haley, W. D., 402
- Hall, Charles P., 453
Hall, Frederic, 13, 22, 81, 84, 207, 208, 503
Hall, J. R., 354
Hall, J. Underwood, 488
Hall, Spencer, 470
Hall, W. T., 423
Hall, Warren F., 95, 96, 99
Hall, William Henry, 96
Hall's Hall, 453
Halleck, Henry W., 76, 77, 79
Halsey, Theodore V., 384
Halstead, P., 77
Ham, A., 160
Ham, C., 160
Hamann, Anthony P. "Dutch,"
 44, 45, 62, 63, 65, 474-475
Hamer, Fred, 94
Hamilton, Alonzo B., 65, 316
Hamilton, Laurentine, 255-256
Hamilton, W. C., 276
Hamilton, Zeri, 333
Hammond, James W., 265
Hanchett, Floyd, 124
Hanchett, Lewis E., 121, 122, 426, 467
Hanchett Park, 121, 123, 418, 467
Hanks, Julian, 25, 27, 28, 77, 138, 334
Hanna, Edward J., 253
Happy Hollow, 429
Haraszthy, Agoston, 175
Harden Hand Grenade, 404
Harding, Warren G., 377
Hardmount, William, 336
Hare, George H., 381
Harlan, Orren A., 160
Harmon, Charles Henry, 439, 440, 444, 445
Harmon, Ida, 444
Harper, W. F., 263
Harrell, J. H., 423
Harris, May C., 382
Harris, Nicholas R., 237, 403
Harrison, Benjamin, 376
Harrison, Cornelius G., 115, 230
Hart, Brooke, 342
Hart, E. P., 278
Hart, Fred, 387
Hart, James, 239
Harvester Teeth, 190-191
Harvesting Equipment, 187, 190
Harwood, David M., 176
Haskell, Daniel N., 320, 345
Haskins Motor Railroad, 120
Hastings, Lansford W., 77
Hathaway, Parker, 428
Hatman, David, 185
Haven & Company, 160
Hawkins, Henry, 281
Hawley, William G., 377
Hay, Colin B., 187
Hayes, Charles M., 233
Hayes, Elystus L., 400
Hayes, Everis Anson, 40-41, 42, 61, 317,
 384, 399, 400, 402, 406, 407, 427
Hayes, Harold C., 400
Hayes, Jay Orley, 40-41, 42, 159, 317,
 384, 399, 400, 402, 406, 427
Hayes, Nicholas, 452
Hayes, Rutherford B., 374, 375
Hayes Building, 506
Hayes-Chynoweth, Mary, 284
Hayward, Charles, 455
Hayward, F. Roy, 320, 321
Headen, Benjamin Franklin, 486
Heald's College, 386
- Healey, Charles T., 58, 415
Healey, John J., 253
Health Ordinances, 486
Heathens, 4
Hebard, Lewis, 300
Hecox, Adna A., 254
Hedburg, James N., 304
Henderson, Henry, 262
Hendy, Joshua, 187
 Iron Works, 498
Heney, Richard, 176
Henley, Thomas J., 79
Hensley, Charles B., 115, 382, 500
Hensley, Samuel J., 305
Hensley Block, 374, 375
Henning, Wilbur F., 61
Henry, James H., 118-119
Heple, Margaret, 125
Heple, Ralph, 125
Heple's Highway Auto Stages, 125
Herald, 399, 400, 405, 406, 407
Herald Argus, 402
Herbert, George N., 160
Herenius, A. M. L., 273
Hernandez, Antonio, 331-332
Heron, Edith, 449
Herrmann, Adolph Theodore, 58, 59
Herrmann, Charles Frederick William, 58
Herrold, Charles David, 264, 385, 386-387
Herrold Laboratories, 387
Hersey, Philo, 158
Hertell, Charles, 323
Hertz, Heinrich, 386
Hester, Craven P., 33, 84
Hester Theater, 457
Heydenfeldt, Elcan, 206
Heydenfeldt, Solomon, 83, 84
Hichborn, Franklin, 41, 42, 317, 408-409
Hichborn Papers, The, 42
Hickox and Barker, 502
Hieber, George, 251
High Holy Days, 267, 268, 269
Higuera, Jose, 176
Hijar-Padres Colony, 202
Hikers and Hiking, 422
Hilgard, Eugene W., 178
Hill, Andrew Putnam, 440, 442-443, 445
Hill, Mrs. John B., 261
Hill, Russell, 473
Hinaga, Russell, 428
Hinds, George Washington, 230
Hinds, John W., 232
Hinds, Orrin F., 207
Hinds, Samuel James, 402
Hines, William, 399
Hippodrome, 456
Hiroshima, Japan, 363
*Historical Atlas of
 Santa Clara County*, 59, 60, 438-439
*Historical Directory of
 Santa Clara County Newspapers*, 408
Historical Society, Santa Clara County, 34
History of California, 80
History of Coast Counties (California), 321
History of San José (Hall), 13, 503
History of San José (James and McMurry),
 13, 78, 81, 233, 279
History of Santa Clara County, 259
Hitler, Adolph, 359-360
Hittell, Theodore H., 80
Hoag, Hoag, and Bamber, 97-98
Hobbs, C. X., 188, 506
Hobbs & Gilmore, 188

- Hobson, David, 274
Hobson, Jesse, 274
Hobson, Stephen, 274
Hobson, Thaddeus W., 233
Hoff, A. H., 467
Hoffman, Arthur W., 253
Hogue, William T., 279
Hoick, John, 283
Hoisholt, Estelle, 449
Hollenbeck, J. C., 176
Holliday, Cyrus, 105
Holloway, Adam, 36, 37, 301
Holman, Alfred, 399
Holmes, John M., 343-344, 419
Holt, L. E., 469
Holtz, Ella, 361
Home Missions Society, 263
Homesteading, 35
Homicide, 331, 333-341
Hook and Ladder No. 1,
300-301, 302, 306
Hoover, Herbert, 358, 473
Hope Nursery, 157
Hoppe, Hawkins & Company, 373
Hoppe, Jacob D., 26, 29, 30, 57, 76, 206, 373
Horace Mann School, 209, 418
Horner, John, 97
Horses
And cattle industry, 141, 143
Horse racing, 80, 425, 426
Horseback riding, 422
As means of transportation, 93-94
Horticultural Hall, 452-453
Hospitals (see also Medicine)
Early, 487
Ground breaking ceremonies for, 488
Lack of facilities, 36, 487
Modern, 488-489
Need for, 487
Hotels, 94, 98, 420, 421
Houghton, Sherman Otis,
27, 32, 33, 35, 355, 451
Houston, Alexander H., 97, 103
Howe, Elias, 447
Hoy, William H., 97
Hubbard, Van Dyke, 323, 342
Hughes, Edwin, 259
Hughs, Thomas, 317
Hume, James B., 323, 340
Hummer, James, 282
Hunkins, Stephen Byron, 232
Hunt, Rockwell D., 205, 210
Hunt Brothers, 161
Hunter, Mr. and Mrs. Clifford, 445
Husted, Fred R., 43
Hutton, James D., 55-56, 58
Hyde, William Fletcher, 379
Hydroelectric Power, 499
Hyland, T. A., 265

"I Did Not Raise My Boy To
Be a Soldier," 356, 357
"Ideal Head," 440
Illiteracy, 21, 201
Imperial County (California), 8
Incandescent Lamps, 498
Incorporation
Of California cities, 27
To keep trains out of
neighborhoods, 110, 112
Of Milpitas, 113
Of San José, 26-27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 80
Of Willow Glen, 62, 110
Inderrieden, J. B., Company, 160
Indians
Defrauded by upper class, 333
Early troubles with,
8, 12, 21, 22, 23, 25, 63
And law enforcement, 315
Military hostilities against, 353, 354
Murders of and by, 331
Pima, 6
Portraits of, 443
Prohibition of sale of liquor to, 30
Role in development of
early California, 3-13
And wheat production, 137
Yuma, 6, 8
Industry
Canning 156, 157, 160-162, 189-190
Cattle, 141-144
Fruit, 153-163
Heavy, 185-191
Solar salt, 141
Wheat, 137-141
Wine, 175-181
Infantry Regiments, 353-354
Ingram, J. W., 272
Iron Horse, see Railroads
Irons, C. E., 262
Isbell, Isaac Chauncey, 483
Isbell, Olive Mann, 203
Iturbide, Agustín, 23

Jacks, David, 454
Jackson, Abraham Jones, 354
Jackson, David E., 64
Jackson, Helen Hunt, 332
Jackson, William J. 319
Jacoby, H. C., 271
Jails, 331
James, Bessie Rowland, 235
James, Marquis, 235
James, Ronald R., 45
James, William F., 13, 78, 81, 209, 233, 279
Jamison, Arnold, 61
January, William Alexander, 109, 402
Japanese Friendship Garden, 429
Jehu, 94, 97, 99
Jenkins, Desmond T., 441-442
Jenkins, Thornton A., 472
Jenny Lind, 373
Jewell, Izetta, 454-455
Jewett, William S., 437
Jitney Bus, 318
Johnson, Albert, 338
Johnson, Andrew, 374
Johnson, Hiram Warren, 104
Johnson, Jacob O., 383
Johnson, Joseph W., 36, 37
Johnson, Lyndon B., 379
Johnson, Samuel T., 234
Johnson, Taliaferro Duncan, 487
Johnson Cutoff, 93
Johnson Guard, The, 354-355
Johnston, John C., 470, 471, 473
Jones, A., Jr., 397
Jones, Herbert C., 163, 274
Jones, Spencer H., 94
Jones, Thomas Ap Catesby, 203
Jones, Zachariah, 254
José Theatre, 454, 456

Journalism, see Press
Judah, Theodore Dehone, 104
Junction House, 100
Junior Police, 319
Juzgado, 24, 29, 55, 63, 203, 255, 373

Kaiser, Ellen, 488
Kamp, H. D., 271
Karesh, Joseph, 267, 268
KCBS, 386, 387
KDKA, 387
Keane, Charles, 345
Kearney, Alfred C., 187
Kearney, Denis, 417
Kearney, Thomas E., 187
Kearney Pattern Works, 187
Kearny, Stephen W., 25
KEEN, 387, 388
Keith Kelly Club, 317
Kelley, A. M., 376
Kelley, Benjamin, 319
Kelley, Louise, 429
Kelley, Thomas, 376
Kelley Park, 429
Kellner, A., 271
Kelly, Claude, 264
Kelly, George, 404
Kelly, John L., 376
Kelly, W. S., 261-262
Kennedy, James Faris, 154
Kennedy, John F., 379
Kennedy, William Walker, 212
Kenney, Michael, 497
Kensington Post Office, 62, 379
Kern, Edward, 24
Kern County, 113-114
Kerr, William, 497
Kewen, E. J., 77
Keyes, C. C. 112, 113
Keyes, George D., 112
Keyes, Robert Cadden, 26, 315-316, 334
Kibby, Leo P., 354, 355
Kidder, George S., 320, 321
Kidward, James A., 320, 321
Kilpatrick, M. M., 281
Kimberlin, James Monroe, 205-206
Kincaid, William, 138
King, Abram, 233
King, Thomas Butler, 79
King, Thomas Starr, 401
King Carlos III, 4, 6, 11
King's Quickening Word, 387
Kingsbury, Helen E., 439-440
Kip, William Ingraham, 265, 266
Kittredge, Ashbel S., 507
Kittredge, Henry Seymour, 507-508
Klinkert, William, 251
KLIV, 388
Kneiss, Gilbert H., 105
Kneiss, Karl E., 121
Knight, Goodwin, 216
Knight, John Marshall, 319
Knights of Columbus Building, 452
Knox, John Jay, 230
Knox, Sarah L., 448
Knox, William J., 228
Knox & Beans Bank, 228
Knox Block, 126, 228, 230, 383
KNTV, Channel 11, 388-389
Knutzen, J. R., 471

- Koch, Valentine, 41
 Kocher, Rudolph, 271
 Kohler, Charles, 175
 Korean Conflict, 363-364
 Kotzebue, Otto Von, 175
 Kottinger, John W., 445
 Kottinger, Joseph, 446
 KQW (radio station), 264, 386, 387
 Kramer, J. W., 264
 Krieg, Robert, 239
 KSJO, 388
 Kuchenbeiser, Frederick, 186-187
 Kuster, John D., 501
 KXRK, 388
- Labastida, 202
 Ladies and Pastor's Christian Union, 258
 Lake, Albert, 188
 Lake of the Guadalupe, 43
 Lake McKenzie, 506
 Lake Monahan, 43
 Lake Williams, 506-507
 LaMotte, Victor J., 229
 Lamson, Allene Thorpe, 342
 Lamson, David, 342
 Land Improvements, 474-475
 Landscaping and Landscapers,
 157, 417, 418, 419, 424, 428
 Lane, Herrick, 257
 Langensee, Philip John, 446, 447-448
 Langford, Arthur B., 357, 405
 Langley, Samuel, 467
 Lanyon, Milton, 449
 Larios, José María, 22
 Larkin, Thomas O., 56
 Lassen, Peter, 64, 185
 Lassen County, 185
 Lassen Peak, 64
 Lassen Volcanic National Park, 64, 185
 Lasso de la Vega, José Ramon, 201
 Lasuén, Fermin, 201
 Law Enforcement, 315-323 (see also Crime)
 Lawrence, Albert Chester, 137
 Lawrence, William H., 355, 379
 Lawrence Expressway, 140, 353, 355
 Lawrence Station, 137, 355
 Laws, C. C., 281
 Le Beau, Ronald B., 306
 Leavenworth, Mark, 38
 Lee, Joseph, 489
 Leffler, Kate, 261
 LeFranc, Charles, 176, 177
 LeFranc, Marie, 177
 Legislative Building, 78
 Legislative Hall, 28, 31
 Legislature, First,
 see First California Legislature
 Legislature of a Thousand Drinks, 80, 101
 Leib, Frank, 189
 Leib, S. F., 118, 507
 Leininger, Carl J., 429
 Leininger Community Center, 429
 Leiva, Abdón, 336, 337, 338
 Leland, Mrs. Raymond B., 361
 Lendrum, Burns & Company, 156
 Lenz, E. B., 454
 Lenzen, Theodore, 39, 40, 383
 Lester, William W., 277
 Letcher, Clarence, 65
 Letcher, William Stapp, 154
- Levine, Elaine, 408
 Levine, Morton, 408
 Levitt, Joe, 388
 Levy, A., and J. Zentner Company, 112
 Levy, Herman, 115
 Levy, Jacob, 267
 Levy, Jesse, 268
 Levy, Meyer, 267, 301
 Levy Lot, 231
 Lewis, Edmonia, 446, 448
 Lewis, Jackson, 301
 Lewis, William J., 58, 101, 104
 Liberty Amusement Company, 456, 457
 Liberty Bonds, 215, 357
 Liberty Theatre, 456
 License Tax, 31
 Lick, James, 137, 139, 153, 187
 Lick House, 233
 Lick Mills, 137, 139, 140
 Lick Observatory, 99, 422, 424
 Lick Station, 111
 Lidwine, Sister, 441
 Light and Power Company, 498
Light in the Valley, 445
 Lightson, Frank, 29, 32, 35, 300, 301
 Limantour, Jose Yves, 333
 Lincoln, Abraham, 268, 374, 401, 447
 Linder, F. A., 273
 Lingua, Henry, 305-306
 Lion, Gustave, 122, 235
 Lion, L. and Sons Company, 235
 Lion, Lazard, 235
 Lippett, Francis, 77
 Liquor Tax, 175
 "Little Egypt," 443
 Live Oak Park, 417
 Livermore, H. P., 86
 Livermore Valley, 9
 Livery Stables, 94
 Livestock, 12, 141-144
 Llano de los Robles, 4
 Llewelling, John, 154
 Locicero, Nicholas, 124
 Lodge, James, 271
 Loew, Marcus, 456
 Logwood, Charles, 386
 Long, Alvin, 385
 Long, Joseph, 189
 Longley, H. C., 270
 Loomis, Patricia, 454
 Lord, Hersie F., 421
 Lorenzana, Gertrudis, 203
 Loreto, Baja California, 10
 Lorigan, Barthol, 427
 Lorimer, Harold J., 283
 Loryea, Harry, 421
 Los Angeles, 10
 Los Gatos (California), 63, 108, 122, 381
 Los Gatos Creek,
 43, 59, 106, 428, 487, 506, 508
 Los Gatos Manufacturing Company, 98
 "Lost Pleiad, The," 441
 Lotz, Albert, 438
 Lotz, Matilda, 438
 Lotz, Paul, 438
 Loughran, Thomas F., 408
 Love, John Lord, 339
 Lovett, W. E., 339
 Lovett, William E., 31
 Lowe, Fred, 189
 Lowe, James R., 36, 115, 157, 265
 Lowe, Waldo, 229
- Lowe Process, 500
 Lowed, James R., 266
 Lowry, Joseph A., 408
 Lubliner, Morris, 267, 339
 Lucky, William Thomas, 213, 214
 Luna Park, 121, 122, 425-426, 467
Lurline, 343
Lusitania, 356
 Lutz, E. H., 278
 Lyle, George W., 405
 Lyman, Chester Smith, 56, 57,
 58, 59, 75, 204, 254, 255, 417
 Lynch, John J., 44, 306
 Lynchings, 342-344, 419
 Lyndon, James F., 322
 Lyndon Block, 399
 Lyne Harry J., 253
 Lyons, Peter Paul, 456
- Mabury, Hiram, 238
 Mabury, Woods, 238-239
 MacArthur, Douglas, 363
 MacDougal, George B., 214
 Machine Politics, 40-41
 MacKay, John, 382
 Mackaye, David Loring, 212
 Maclaren, Robert F., 281
 Macomber, H. Kirk, 425
Macon, 473
 MacQuarrie, Thomas, 215-216
 Madden, John, 272
 Madland, Leland L., 230-231
 Madrone, 62, 63
 Magenheimer, Ludwig, 37
 Magette, William, 282
 Maggi, Paul, Restaurant, 456
 Maginot Line, 360
 Magnent, Olivier, 137, 284
 Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 356
 Mail, see Postal System
 Main, H. H., 402
Maine, 355
 Malarin, Mariano, 230
 Malovos, Frances, 449
 Manganese, 422, 423
 Manly, William Lewis, 403
 Mann, Horace, 208
 Manning, Dan, 385
 Manning, Joseph, 253
 Mansfield, L. H., 270
Map of the City of San José, 57
Map of the Pueblo de San José, 56
 Maps, 56-59, 423, 425
 Marcellus, E. P., 340
 Marconi, Guglielmo, 386
 Marconi Wireless Telegraph, 386
 Marcus, Isidor, 268
 Mardikian, George, 388
 Margason, Albert Shelton, 318
 Market House Committee, 30
 Market Space, 417
 Market Square School, 207
 Market Street Station, 109, 110
 Market Street and
 Willow Glen Railroad, 115, 116
 Markham, Charles Edwin, 214
 Marsh, John, 483
 Marston, L. R., 279
 Marston, Ward, 353
Martial Spirit, 355

- Martin, Calvin C., 33, 300
 Martin, Charles J., 39, 41
 Martin, John, 121
 Martin, Joseph, 426, 467
 Martin, Josephus P., 34
 Martin, T. E., 504
 Martin, William Wisner, 256
 Marvin, Charles H., 57
 Marvin, John G., 206
 Mascovich, Steven, 304
 Mason, Nathaniel Hockett Allen, 506
 Mason, Richard B., 56, 334
 Masson, Paul, 176-178
 Mathers, James, 255, 257, 334
 Mathews, Henry D., 42
 Mathews, William, 301
 Matlock, David J., 383
 Matlock, Joseph, 342
 Matthews, William B., 33
 Maurer C., 384
 Maximillian, 138
 Maxwell, James C., 386
 May, Earl Chapin, 161
 May, Richard M., 25, 26
 Maybeck, Bernard, 177
 Mayfair Theater, 457
 Mayne, W. T., 279
 Mayors, 27-45, 227, 317, 322
 Mays, Ed, 342
 McArdle, John F., 240
 McCabe, Philip T., 177
 McCain, F. I., 113
 McCall, Abijah, 344
 McCall, Raymond, 212
 McCarthy Era, 275
 McCarver, M. M., 76-77
 McCloskey, Thomas, 116
 McColl, Mrs. L. M., 261
 McCoy, William Wirt, 36, 239
 McCracken, Elizabeth, 203-204
 McCracken, Lida Mae, 382
 McCune, John, 397
 McCurdy, V. T., 234
 McCurdy Youth Center, 257
 McCutchen, William, 84
 McDaniel, Josiah J., 506
 McDonald, Angus D., 108
 McDonnell, Donald, 253
 McDougal, John, 77, 83
 McFarland, William, 96, 98
 McFerrin, Esta, 285-286
 McGeoghegan, John T., 230, 345
 McGeoghegan, T. J., 42
 McGill, J., 32
 McGroarty, Sister Julia, 441
 McKee, Albert F., 401, 402
 McKee, George B., 39, 507
 McKenzie, Donald, 186, 187, 505, 508
 McKenzie, Johnny, 40, 41
 McKenzie Gang, 40
 McKenzie Machine, 42
 McKenzie-Rea Gang, 40
 McKinley, William, 40, 377, 419, 442
 McKinstry, Elisha W., 80
 McLaughlin, Charles, 97, 99, 103, 104, 105
 McLaughlin, Edward, 229, 230, 235, 251, 420, 506
 McLaughlin and Ryland Bank, 229, 234, 446, 447, 506
 McLean, Robert, 257
 McMahan, Abraham, 487
 McManimon, Eddie, 382
 McMillin, John Y., 115
 McMurry, George H., 13, 78, 81, 207, 209, 233, 279
 McMurry, William S., 115, 116
 McNally, John, 252, 253
 McNaught, John, 405
 McPherson, Amy Semple, 280
 McPherson, John C., 189
 McQuilkin, Harmon H., 256-257
 Mead, Hudson, 473
 Medals and Medallions, 447
 Medicine
 Cholera epidemic of 1850, 29, 484, 485, 486, 487
 And Common Council, 486, 487
 Health ordinances, 486
 Hospitals, 36, 487-489
 Physicians, 64, 483-487
 Meek, John, 332
 Melbourne, Edwin, 80
 Melbourne, H. C., 80
 Melone, Henry Clinton, 29
 Mendelowitz, Daniel, 449
 Menker, John C., 262
 Menker Hall, 262
 Menzel, Hugo, 385
 Menzies, Archibald, 175
 Mercantile Trust of San Francisco, 233
 Merchant's Exchange, 380
Mercury, see *San José Mercury*
Mercury Herald, 400, 402
Mercury News, 400
 Mercury Printing and Publishing Company, 398
 Merriam, Percy A., 471
 Merritt Brothers, 486, 502
 Mesa, Guadalupe, 315
 Mesa, Valerio, 21
 Metal Box and Printing Industries, Ltd., 190
 Meter Maids, 320
 Methodist Episcopal Conference of California, 31
 Methodist Relief Association, 258
 Methodist Women's Missionary Societies, 258
 Metropolitan Adult Education Program, 213
 Meyer, Emil, 283
 Meyer, Martin, 268
 Meyers, T., 502
 Mexico
 End of California as possession of, 24, 25
 Land laws, 142
 Provisional government, 23
 U.S. war with, 24, 25, 55, 353, 356
 Micheltorena, Manuel, 333, 353, 485
 Mieras, E. E., 285
 Military, see War
 Militia, 354, 355
 Millard, Byron, 377, 471
 Millard, Levi, 99
 Miller, Elizabeth, 440
 Miller, George A., 258-259
 Miller, Grant, D., 343
 Miller, Harvey, 388
 Miller, Henry, 106, 337
 Miller, J. J., 232-233
 Miller, Mary Glenn, 382
 Millis, Walter, 355
 Mills, J. H. A., 108
 Mills Field, 469
 Mills and Millers, 137-141
 Milnes, C. G., 270
 Milpitas (California), 4, 63, 112, 113
 Minerals, 423
 Mining, 423
 Minns, George Washington, 213, 216
 Minns' Evening Normal School, 213, 215
 Minor, Peter O., 31, 33, 34
 Minsin, Herman F., 215
 Minton, Henry Collin, 256, 280
 Mirassou, Pierre, 176, 178
 Mission Pass, 5
 Mission San Antonio, 8, 249
 Mission San Carlos Borromeo, 4, 7, 8, 9, 249, 373
 Mission San Diego de Alcalá, 3
 Mission San Francisco de Asís, 249
 Mission San Gabriel, 249, 332, 373
 Mission San José, 5, 11, 22
 Mission San Juan Bautista, 11
 Mission San Juan Capistrano, 249, 373
 Mission San Luis Obispo, 249
 Mission Santa Clara, 4, 10, 11, 93, 249, 437, 445
 Mission Theater, 455
 Missions, 285
 (see also Churches; Synagogues)
 First, 7, 249
 Role of, in early California, 9
 Site chosen by de Anza, 8, 9
 Vineyards, 175, 176
 And wheat production, 137
 And wine industry, 153
 Mitchell, Frank M., 263
 Mitchell, Harry G., 385
 Mitchell, William, 469
 Mitty, J. J., 253
 Moffett, William A., 473
 Moffett Field, 360, 361, 473
 Monahan, Thomas, 43, 470, 472
 Monterey
 American flag raising at, 24, 353
 As competitor for state capital, 82
 Constitutional Convention, 26, 64, 75-80, 437
 Custom House, 142
 de Anza's decision to leave, 8
 Early exploration of, 3-8
 Establishment of, as capital of California, 76
 Harbor of, 3
 Named first capital of Alta California, 4
 Presidio of, 4, 7, 9, 23
 Seat of California government, 10, 76
 Settlement at, 3
 Stagecoach service to, 95
 Montesano, Philip M., 448
 Montgolfier, Jacques Etienne, 467
 Montgomery, George, 27, 316, 323
 Montgomery, John B., 24
 Montgomery, John J., 467-468
 Montgomery, T. S., 112, 160
 Montgomery, Thomas S., 232
 Montgomery Hill, 468
 Montgomery Hotel, 94, 112
 Montgomery Theater, 458
 Monuments, 419, 442
 Moody, Charles, 32, 36, 301
 Moody, Daniel B., 114
 Moody, Mrs. G. P., 261
 Moody, Ranson G., 33, 34, 35, 138, 154, 155, 503
 Moon, Clinton, 342

- Moon, Frank, 60
 Moore, John H., 26, 34, 114, 116
 Moore, Paul, 428
 Moore, Persis B., 286
 Moose Lodge, 427
 Mooshake, Frederick, 206
 Moraga, Gabriel, 5, 9,
 10, 12, 13, 21, 22, 201, 331
 Moraga, José Joaquín, 7, 8
 Moreno, Teodoro, 336-337
 Morgan, J. H., 206, 207
 "Morning of the Crucifixion," 443
Morning Times, 398
 Morrill, H. C., 354
 Morris, S., 267
 Morrish, J. Elmer, 229
 Morrison, James, 35
 Morrison, Thomas F., 232
 Morrow, W. C., 402
 Morse, P. A., 77
 Morton, C. M., 439
 Moss, J. Mora, 177
 "Mother and Child," 440
 Mother Lode, 75, 113, 423
 Motorcycle Racing, 426, 427
 Motorcycle-Riding Traffic Officer, First, 318
 Moulton, Stillman A., 115
 Mt. Hamilton, 9, 58, 99, 256
 Mt. Hamilton Post Office, 100
 Mt. Hamilton Road, 39, 100, 420-421, 446
 Mt. Hamilton Stage Company, 99, 100
 Mt. Hamilton Stage Lines, 100
Mountain Democrat, 402
 Movie Theaters, 453, 454, 455-457
 Movies, Aerial, 469, 470
 Mueller, Joseph, 251
 Mueller, Mary Little, 212
 Muench, J. J., 264
 Munger, Theodore, 276
Municipal Record, 43
 Municipal Rose Garden, 428
 Munier, E. P., 176
 Munro-Fraser, J. P., 31, 259, 260-261, 271
 Muntz, W. H., 161
 Murders, see Homicide
 Murdoch, Francis B., 154, 207,
 397, 400, 401, 402, 404, 406, 502
 Murdoch, John Graham, 402, 406
 Murgotten, Alexander Philip, 407
 Murgotten, Helen, C., 402
 Murgotten, Henry C., 402
 Murieta, Joaquin, 422
 Murphy, Bernard D., 38-39, 119, 230, 235
 Murphy, Daniel, 64, 75, 114
 Murphy, James T., 402
 Murphy, John, 342
 Murphy, John M., 25, 29, 31,
 32, 33, 64, 75, 354, 374
 Murphy, Martin, Jr., 38, 230, 235
 Murphy, Martin, Sr., 64
 Murphy's Block, 402
 Murray, Charles, 342
 Murray, Hugh A., 83, 84
 Music Hall, 451-452
 Music Hall Building, 383, 439
 Mussolini, Benito, 359
 Mustol, Samuel J., 358

 Nagasaki, Japan, 363
 Naglee, Henry Morris, 176, 177,
 228, 418, 419, 420, 421, 440, 442
 Naglee Park, 228
 Nailen, Richard, 44, 301, 306
 Narrow Gauge Depot, 107
 Narvaez, Agustín, 23
 Natatorium, 422
 National Artillery of San Jose, 355
 National Association of Cannerymen, 161-162
 National Axle Corporation, 426
 National Defense, 356, 357
 National Guard Company B, 355, 356, 357
 Native Sons and Daughters
 of the Golden West, 422
 Natural Gas, 501
Natural Wealth of California, The, 140, 486
 Nazi Party, 359
 Negrete, Castillo, 202
 Neighborhood Movie Theaters, 457
 Neligh, Robert, 57, 75
 Nelson, Anton and Godfrey, 94
 Nelson, Elsie, 450
 Nelson, Norman B., 487
 Nesmith, Loring Gale, 233
 New Almadén Cavalry, 354
 New Almadén Mine, 57, 94, 98,
 101, 107, 108, 205, 259, 335,
 403, 423, 437, 438, 439
 New Almadén Vineyards, 177
 New California, 3
New Metropolis, The, 211
 New York Volunteers, 38
 Newark (California), 106
 Newhall, Henry M., 102-103
 Newspapers, see Press
 Nicholas, Charles M., 269
 Nieto, Jacob, 268
 "Night School," 212
*Ninety Years of Education
 in California*, 204
 Nipper, Carl, 112, 113
 Nissen, James M., 474-475
 Nobili, John, 250
 Nolan, William, 454
 Nommensen, Leo, 281
 Norelius, Eric, 273
 Noriega, José, 25, 315
 Normal School, see
 Schools, Normal school
 Normandin, Amable, 185, 186
 Normandin-Campen Company, 185-186
 North Side Horse Railroad, 114, 115, 116
 Norton, Arthur, 190
 Norton, Edwin, 189-190
 Norton, Linn, 94
 Norton Tin Can and
 Plate Company, 189-190
 Notre Dame Institute, 441
 Novitiate of the Sacred Heart, 176
 Nurseries, 153-163
 Nuttman, Aloysius, 471

 Oak Hill Cemetery, 36, 56, 111,
 116, 118, 261, 267, 316, 344, 425, 447
 O'Brien, Maurice, 376
 O'Connor, Myles P., 251, 440-441, 446, 488
 O'Connor, William, 315
 O'Connor Art Gallery, 441, 442
 O'Connor Hospital, 441, 488
 O'Connor Sanitarium, 441, 488
 Octopus, the, 122
 Odell, C. H., 471
 O'Doherty, George, 37, 353, 401, 402
 O'Donnell, William, 37, 157, 417
 O'Donnell's Zoological Gardens, 417, 418
 Oehler, Fred, 361
 O'Farrell, Jasper, 56
 Official White Survey of 1850, 57
 Ogan, John Martin, 420
 Ogden, Carlos, 363
 Oil Lamps, 499
 Olcott, Chauncey, 452
 Old 41, 301
 Older, Cora Baggerly, 405
 Older, Frémont, 405
 Older, Mrs. Frémont, 428, 441-442
 Oldfield, Barney, 425
 Olvera, Agustín, 202
 Olympic Theater, 453
 Omnibus Bill, 79
 One Statement Banking, 232
 Oneal, Louis, 42, 86
 Opera House, 305, 451, 452
 Orange Mills, 138, 139, 210
 Orbon, J. G., 210
 Orbon, W. G., 138
 Orchards, 153-163
 Ord, James L., 334
 Ordinances, 21, 25, 28, 29, 30, 31,
 34, 36, 299, 300, 318, 363, 486
 Oregon and California Stage Company, 96
Oregon, 57, 79, 96, 102
 Ormsby, Waterman Lily, 97
 Ortega, José Francisco, 3, 175
 Ortega, José María, 175
 Orton, Richard, K. 354
 Outdoor Art League, 418, 424
 Overfelt, Mildred L., 429, 446
 Overfelt Botanical Gardens, 429
 Overland Four, 124
 Overland Mail Company, 97
 Overton, Jacob, 266
 Owen, Isaac, 205
 Owen, James Jerome, 60, 61, 85, 103-104,
 108-109, 139, 344, 353, 398, 399,
 401, 404, 497-498, 503
 Owen & Cottle, 398
 Owen's Folly, 497

 Pabst, William H., 234
 Pace, Joseph, 283
 Pacheco, Dolores, 24, 25, 26
 Pacheco, Juana, 29
 Pacheco, Romualdo, 340
 Pacheco, Ygnacio, 23
 Pacific Airlines, 474, 475
 Pacific and Atlantic Railroad, 58, 101, 102
 Pacific and Atlantic Telegraph Line, 381
 Pacific Auto Stage, 124
 Pacific Carriage Factory, 185
 Pacific Coast Business
 Directory (1867), 139
 Pacific Gas and Electric Company,
 474, 499, 500, 501
 Pacific Greyhound, 124
 Pacific Greyhound Lines, 125-126
 Pacific Postal Telegraph
 Cable Company, 382
 Pacific Railroad Act, 104
 Pacific Shingle and Box Company, 189
 Pacific Southwest Airlines, 475
 Pacific Telegraph Line, 381
 Pacific Telephone and
 Telegraph Company, 384-385
 Pacific Transport Securities, 125

- Pacifica (California), 3
 Packard, M. W., 31
 Padre Theater, 456, 457
 Paine, Thomas, Memorial Foundation, 137
 Pajaro River, 9
 Palmer, Francis, 256
 Palmer, William, 106
 Palo Alto (California),
 3, 5, 9, 63, 103, 121, 122
 Palomares, Francisco, 26
 Palou, Francisco, 5, 6
 Panamá Railroad, 270
 Parachute Jump, 472
 Parades, 103, 215, 417
 Pardee, George C., 214
 Parker, Lewis Foster, 354
 Parker, Seth, 387
 Parks, 417-429 (see also Sports Events)
 Parks and Recreation Commission, 429
 Parks and Recreation Department, 424
 Paterson, Frank H., 357
 Patrick, John, 374
Patriot, 398, 406
 Patriotism, 357, 358, 362
 Patterson, F. H., 488
 Patterson, George, 61
 Patterson, Newton Preston, 257
 Patterson, W. S., 316
 Pattie, James Ohio, 332
 Patton, J. Q., 111
 Paty, John, 332
 Paul Masson Champagne Company, 177
 Payne, Charles A., 318
 Payne, G. Logan, 406
 Payne, George, 406
 Payne, Robert, 406
 Peabody, Patrick H., 388
 Pearl Harbor, 360
 Pearson, Floyd, Peninsula Rapid
 Transit, 126
 Peebles, Cary, 155
 Peelor, Harold Gustave, 439, 445
 Peerless Stages, 112-113, 124-125
 Pellerano, Nicholas, 235-236
 Pellier, Louis, 153, 154, 155, 157, 176, 418
 Pellier, Pierre, 176
 Pellier Survey, 153
 Pellier's City Gardens, 418
*Pen Pictures from the Garden
 of the World*, 100
 Peña, José, 203
 Penial Mission, 285
 Peninsula Land and
 Development Company, 418
 Peninsula Rapid Transit, 126
 Peninsular Railroad, 121, 122, 123
 Peninsular Railway, 113, 122, 252, 422
 Penitencia Creek, 122, 419, 420, 422
 Penitencia Reservation, 420
 Penmanship, 212
 Pennington, Richard L., 470, 471
 Pennington-Todd School of Flying, 470-471
 People's Horse Line, 116
 People's Telephone and
 Telegraph Company, 384
 Peralta, Luis María, 64
 Permits, 21
 Perrot, Leopold, 177
 Pershing, John J., 356
 Pfeiffer, Jacob, 251
 Pfister, Adolph, 34, 35,
 38, 114, 139, 227, 374
 P.G. and E., see
 Pacific Gas and Electric Company
 Phelan, James D., 428, 441, 442, 453
 Phelan Field, 472
 Phoenix Packing Company, 160
 Phylloxera, 178
 Physicians, 64, 483-487 (see also Medicine)
 Piazza, Leo F., Paving Company, 474
 Pickering, George Emory, 323
 Picket Fences, 437
 Pickwick Stages, 125
 Picnics and Picnickers, 103, 120,
 417, 418, 420, 421, 422, 425, 427
 Pico, Antonio María, 24, 26, 77, 418
 Pico, J. R., 354
 Pico, Pio, 175, 333
 Pieper, E. O., 384
 Pieper, John Henry, 58
 Pierce, Franklin, 374, 447
 Pierce, Sarah, 191
 Pima Indians, 6
 Pinard, Jennie, 385
 Pinero, Lorenzo, 315
 Pinyero, José María, 250
 Pioneer Carriage Factory, 185
 Pioneer Drug Store, 439
 Pioneer Horticultural Society, 154
Pioneer Register and Index, 202, 203
 Pirates, 202
 Pizzo, Joseph, 379
*Plan for the Development of
 Alum Rock Park*, A, 424
Plan of the Pueblo de San José, 57
 Planz, Henry, 336
 Plaza, The, 39, 40, 417, 418
 Pleasanton (California), 5
 Plummer, Charles, 44, 304, 306
 Point Lobos, 380
 Point Reyes, 4, 5, 7
 Police Department
 Appointed chiefs, 322-323
 Chiefs of police, 316, 317, 320-323
 Civilian police force during
 World War II, 361
 Creation of office of captain of, 33
 Crime during Gold Rush, 315
 Detectives, 323
 Elective chiefs, 320-322
 First college graduate, 323
 First motorcycle-riding
 traffic officer, 318
 First officer murdered
 in line of duty, 323
 First woman appointed, 320
 Improvements and
 innovations, 320, 322
 Junior police, 319
 Marshal's office, 315-316
 Need for, 30
 Office training programs, 317
 Phone number, 385
 Quality of personnel in 1969, 320
 Titles of early
 law enforcement officers, 315
 Traffic policing, 318-320
 Unionizing, 317
 Politics, see Government
 Polk, James K., 75
 Pollard, William D., 272
 Pollock, John, 444
 Pomeroy, A. E., 401
 Pomeroy, Charles W. 33, 34, 35, 37, 186, 228
 Pomeroy, David, 188
 Pomeroy, Edgar, 339-340
 Pony Express, 270
 Population
 Changing patterns of, 262
 Difficulty in recording, 65
 Doubling of between 1960
 and 1969, 61
 During Depression, 65
 Early growth, 11, 12
 1851 decrease in, 65
 General growth of, 63-65
 Growth during and following
 World War II, 61, 65, 178, 185, 238,
 268, 273, 282, 305, 377, 378,
 424, 509
 Increases in, 11, 26, 33, 45, 65
 163, 185, 211, 299
 Need for gas due to increase in, 500
 In 1940, 378
 Patterns during Gold Rush, 75
 Port San José, 61, 63
 Portal, Jean Baptiste, 176
 Porter, Daniel Jewett, 37, 301
 Porter, Norman, 398
 Porter's Block, 398
 Portolá, Gaspar de, 3, 4, 5,
 6, 7, 9, 22, 141, 249
 Portsmouth Square, 380
 Post, Alfred B., 229
 Postal Service
 Air mail service, 377, 470, 471
 Branch post offices, 379-380
 Civil service rules, 376
 Construction of first post office
 building in San Jose, 376
 Construction of new
 main post office, 379
 Diversion of mail service from
 Willow Glen to San Jose, 62
 During World War II, 361
 Establishment of first federally
 operated post office, 437
 Expansion of, 377-378
 First air mail sent from
 Santa Clara Valley, 377, 471
 First carriers, 375
 First flying postmaster, 377
 First official post office, 373
 First pilot of first airmail route, 470
 First postmaster, 99
 Modern changes in, 379-380
 Newspaper editorial regarding
 mail delivery, 403
 1934 post office building, 378
 Overall record of
 San José post office, 380
 Postmasters, 373-379
 Reorganization of
 San José post office, 376-377
 Shift from U.S. Post Office
 to U.S. Postal Service, 379
 Postal Telegraph, 382
 Postal Telegraph Cable Company, 382
 Poulain, Augustus, 138, 139
 Poulsen Laboratories, 386
 Poulson, Perry, 273
 Powell, John, 122
 Power, Edward, 229, 446, 447, 448
 Pratt, Lowell C., 276
 Presidio of Monterey, 4, 7, 9, 23
 Presidio of San Diego, 23
 Presidio of San Francisco, 10, 23, 361
 Presidio of Santa Barbara, 23

- Presidios
 First, 7
 Role of, in early California, 9
 Site chosen by de Anza, 8, 9
- Press
 Foreign language newspapers, 407
 Miscellaneous publications, 407-409
 News Services, 406
 Newspapers, 397-407, 449
- Pressfield, Harry, 258
- Prevost, Louis, 153, 154, 157, 417, 418
- Prevost Survey, 154
- Prevost's Gardens, 154, 155, 417, 418
- Price, Fanny, 109, 207, 208
- Price, J. W., 426, 467
- Price, John B., 33
- Price, Rodman, M., 76, 77
- Prindiville, James Francis, 323
- Prior, James K., 36, 499
- Prisons (see also Crime)
 Prohibition of construction
 of state penitentiary, 81
 San José's first prison, 29
- Prohibition (Eighteenth Amendment),
 178, 341
- "Promised Land, The," 437
- Property Taxes, 30, 31
- Protection Hose No. 2, 303
- Prudón, Victor, 202
- Prusch, Emma, 428-429
- Public Executions, 333-334, 340-341
- Public Improvements, 38, 39, 40, 42,
 44, 45, 50-58, 418, 419, 420, 424, 425
- Public Library, 38, 39, 60
- Public Lynchings, 342-344, 419
- Public Schools, see Schools
- Public Squares, 38
- Public Transit, see Urban Transit
- Pueblo de San José, 10, 93
- "Push, The," 42
- Pyle, Edward, 259, 334-335
- Pyle, Thomas, 335
- Pyle Company, 162
- Quaker Meeting House, 278, 279
 (see also Churches, Quaker)
- Quicksilver Mining Company, 107, 499
- Quigley, John, 141
- Quilty, Charles W., 500
- Quimby, Harriet, 468
- Quinby, John Alonzo, 37-38, 44, 103, 451
- Quincey, Richard Henry, 119-120
- Quivy, Peter, 35
- Raborg, Benjamin, 445
- Racing, 425, 426, 427
- Radford, Joseph D., 230
- Radio, 264, 386-388, 453, 456
- Rafferty, Frank, 318
- Railroads (see also individual railroad lines)
 Accidents, 120, 122, 423
 California's first interurban
 rail transit system, 38
 Changes in, 107-108, 111
 Construction of, 114-115
 Cutbacks in service, 108
 Desirability of, 29, 30
- Diesel, 111
- During and following
 World War I, 108, 112
- Effect of, on San José, 30
- Electric cars, 99, 113,
 117-119, 120, 121, 123, 421
- End of era for Santa Clara County, 108
- Expansions and improvements, 109-110
- Freight business, 112, 157-158
- And fruit industry, 157-158
- Ground breaking ceremonies
 for, 103, 104, 105
- Modern, 108-113
- Port railroad, 60-61
- Proposed, 30
- State Railroad Commission, 110, 507
- Steam, 100-107, 120, 421
- Transcontinental line, 101, 104-105
- Versus stagecoach, 97, 98, 99
- Ralstin, Paul, R., 264
- Ralston, William Chapman, 101
- Rampone, Leroy, 427
- Rampone, Raymond, 427
- Rancho Atascadero, 119
- Rancho Bosquejo, 185
- Rancho Castec, 113
- Rancho de las Laureles, 202
- Rancho Laguna Seca, 56, 176
- Rancho Potrero de Santa Clara, 56, 57
- Rancho Quito, 203
- Rancho Refugio, 175
- Rancho Rincon de San Francisquito, 203
- Rancho Santa Teresa, 144, 176
- Rancho Yerba Buena, 144
- Randall, Charles V., 467
- Randolph, Edmund, 417
- Range, Howard, 100
- Rankin, William B., 505, 506
- Ranson, Laander, 58
- Rathbun, Howard W., 231
- Rationing, 124, 361
- Ravlin, W. T., 263
- Ray, Martin, 177
- Rea, James W., 40, 41, 121-122, 500
- Rea, Thomas, 234
- Rea Building, 234
- Rea-McKenzie Gang, 40
- Reading, Pierson B., 77
- Real, José María, 250
- Records of California Men in
 the War of the Rebellion*, 354
- Recreation, see Parks; Sports Events
- Redevelopment, 418
- Redman, Joshua W., 30, 153
- Redmond, Ed, 454
- Redwood Cavalry, 354
- Redwood City Salt Works, 141
- Redwoods, 443
- Reed, Charles Cadden, 57
- Reed, Elliott, 154, 301, 381
- Reed, James F., 25, 34-35, 57, 58,
 81, 82, 138, 315, 334, 417
- Reed, Thomas H., 43, 44, 357
- Reed Field, 429
- Reform Ticket, 41-42
- Reid, Cecil and Robert, 473
- Reid Hillview Airport, 473
- Reitzel, Marques, 449
- Relief Hose No. 5, 303
- Religion, 249-287 (see also Churches)
- Remero, Antonio, 21
- Renzel, Ernest H., 429, 473
- Report*, 440
- Reporter*, 403, 406
- Republic*, 399
- Resources of Santa Clara Valley,
 California*, 420
- Revenue
 Ordinances, 28, 30, 31
 Sources of, 175
 Taxes, 30, 31
 From wine and brandy, 175
- Revere, Joseph Warren, 24, 437
- Rezanov, Nikolai Petrovich, 332
- Rhodes, A. L., 33
- Ribeiro, Henrique, 252
- Rich, Hyman, 267
- Rich, Jacob, 114, 115, 116-117, 118-119, 267
- Richards, Johnnie, 41
- Richardson, Horace, 32, 206-207
- Richardson, Robert C., 360-361
- Richmond, Edmund Nutting, 161, 162
- Richmond-Chase Company, 161
- Richter, Herman, 427
- Ridder, Bernard H., 400
- Ridder, Joseph, 45, 400
- Riddle, Frank, 100
- Rifenbark, Mrs. Mark, 361
- Riley, Bennett, 75
- Riley, John, 345
- Rio Guadalupe, 9
- Riordan, Patrick W., 251
- Rivera y Moncada, Fernando, 3, 5, 6,
 8, 9, 10, 22
- Robbins, Skeeter Bill, 426
- Roberts, Austin, 499
- Roberts, B. T., 278
- Roberts, Return, 500
- Robinson, Alfred, 332
- Robinson, Charles Mulford, 418, 424, 425
- Roccati, Aloysius, 251
- Rock, John, 156
- Rodeo, 426
- Rodgers, Galbraith, 469
- Roe, George H., 497-498, 500
- Rogers, Joseph, 231
- Rogers, Karl, 471
- Rolph, James, 471
- Roman, Richard, 77
- Romero, José Antonio, 202
- Romeu, José Antonio, 13, 22, 201
- Rommel, Erwin, 360
- Roose, John, 124
- Roosevelt, Franklin D., 359, 378
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 377, 405
- Roper, Ernest, 100
- Rose, Edward J., 408
- Rose, Franklin, 470, 472
- Rosenberg Brothers, 159
- Ross, Frank Harris, 100, 320, 321
- Ross, Franklin H., Jr., 100
- Ross, Fred C., 100
- Rothermel, L., 40
- Rowland, W. R., 338, 339
- Rowley, Albanus, B., 139
- Royal Theater, 457
- Roze and Hartman Canning Company, 162
- Ruckel, Joseph L., 55
- Rucker, Samuel N., 40
- Runyon, A. W., 263, 279
- Russell, Lawrence, 158
- Russell, W. H., 77
- Ruth, Babe, 428
- Ryland, Caius Tacitus,
 36, 229, 230, 235, 425

- Ryland, F. P., 230
 Ryland, John W., 376-377
 Ryland, Joseph R., 507
 Ryland Block, 233
 Ryland Park, 425
- Sacramento (California), 82, 83, 84, 93, 97
Sacramento, 57
 Sacramento Packing and Drying Company, 161
 Sacramento River, 4, 84
 Sacramento Valley Railroad, 102
 Safe Deposit Bank, 236
 Safe Deposit Block, 229, 230, 446
 Sainsevain, Pierre, 77, 137, 175, 176, 334, 417
 St. Homestead Association, 116
 St. James Community Center, 419
 St. James Hotel, 94, 378, 419
 St. James Park, 36, 207, 275, 343-344, 418-419, 442
 St. James Square, 36, 38, 56, 101, 102, 207, 417, 418, 419
 St. James Square School, 208
 St. John Square, 417
 St. Joseph's Church, 30, 63, 187, 216, 217, 249-250, 251, 252, 253, 280, 302, 428
 St. Patrick's Church, 250-251, 253, 275
 St. Philip's Mission, 266
 Sainte Claire Club Building, 441, 442, 446
 Sakamoto, Tommy, 428
 Sal, Hermenegildo, 331
 Salinas Valley, 9
 Saloons, 403, 443
 Salt, 141
 Sampson, William T., 355
 San Andreas Lake, 5
 San Andreas Reservoir, 3
San Antonio, 3, 4, 6
 San Augustine Street Gas Plant, 500, 501
 San Benito County Jail, 187
 San Bruno Hills, 101, 103
San Carlos, 6
 San Diego
 As competitor for state capital, 82
 Early conditions, 3
 Founding of, 3
 Indian uprising in 1776, 8
 Presidio of, 23
 Settlement at, 3
 San Francisco
 As competitor for state capital, 82, 84, 85
 Consolidation of City and County of, 27
 Exploration of, 5-6
 de Neve's visit to, 10
 Presidio of, 10, 23, 361
 San Francisco Bay, 3
 San Francisco Electric Improvement Company, 117
 San Francisco and Marysville Railroad, 104
 San Francisco Merchants' Exchange, 380
 San Francisco & San José Railroad, 38, 58, 60, 97, 102-103, 104, 105, 109, 154, 381
 San Gabriel (California), 6-7, 8
 San Joaquin River, 4, 5, 9
 San José
 Assessment rate, 28
 Bill to incorporate, 26
 Boundaries of, 13, 27, 55-59, 61
 As California's first civil settlement, 10
 Corporate limits, 57, 59
 Debts of, 28-29, 30
 Designated first capital of California, 26
 Early ordinances, 29
 Early surveying of, 32, 55-59
 1859 act to incorporate, 35
 Election date, 27
 Expansion of corporate limits, 59
 First American civil capital of California, 77
 First city resolutions, 25
 First maps of, 55-57
 First mayor of, 27
 First move for cityhood, 26
 First municipal election, 25
 First prison, 29
 Founding party, 10
 Growth of, 55-65
 (see also Population, Increases in,)
 Incorporation of, 26-27, 30, 32, 34, 35, 80
 Laying out of town, 25
 Maps of, 55-59
 Reincorporation of, 34
 Removal of capital from, 28, 29
 As seat of government, 75-89
 Second municipal election, 29
 Self-government, 12, 21
 Stagecoach service, 94-95, 97
 As state capital, 75-89
 San José Academy, 205, 206
 San José Adult Center, 212, 213
 San José Agricultural Works, 187
 San José Airport, 473, 474
 San José and Alum Park Railroad, 421, 422, 424
 San José Art Association, 438-439, 441
 San José Art Center, 449
 San José Art League, 449
 San José Arts Commission, 450
 San José Brass Foundry, 187
 San José Brush Electric Light Company, 497-498, 500
 San José Building and Loan Association, 161, 232
 San José Cable TV System, 389
 San José City Lines, 124
 San José Community Players, 458
San José Daily Beacon, 408
San José Daily Evening Patriot, 402
San José Daily News, 403
San José Daily Patriot, 402
 San José Deep Water Port Association, 61
 San José Driving Park, 425, 469
 San José Electric Improvement Company, 498, 500, 501
San José Evening News, 400
 San José Farmers Union, 375
 San José Foundry, 186, 190, 504, 505
 San José Fruit Packing Company, 156, 161
 San José Gas Company, 499-500
San José Herald, 41
 San José High School, 208, 209, 210, 216, 357, 420, 429
 San José Historic Landmarks Commission, 211, 429
 San José Historical Museum, 429, 443, 444, 445, 446, 448, 450
 San José Home Guard, 357
 San José Homestead Association, 116
 San José Horticultural Association, 452
 San José Hospital, 489
San José Independent, 406
 San José Institute, 216
 San José Junior College, 215
 San José Light and Power Company, 500, 501
 San José-Los Gatos Railway, 121-122
San José Mercury, 59, 60, 61, 62
 Anniversary editions, 399
 Business office, 399-400
 Circulation, 399
 Control of San José's newspaper field, 400
 Conversion from weekly to daily paper, 398
 Expansion of, 400
 Move of *News* to *Mercury* plant, 406
 Name change, 398, 402, 406-407
 Purchase of, by Hayes Brothers, 41
San José Mercury Herald, 400, 402
San José Mercury News, 406
 San José Municipal Airport, 473-475
 San José Municipal Rose Garden, 428
 San José Municipal Stadium, 429
 San José Music Hall, 451-452
 San José National Bank, 234
San José News, 402-406, 408
 San José Nursery, 154
 San José Opera House, 451, 452
San José Patriot, 401-402
San José Pioneer, 407
San José Post Record, 407
 San José Public Library, 448, 449
 San José Railroad, 113, 121, 123
 San José Rotary Club, 425
 San José and Santa Clara Horse Railroad, 38, 99, 114, 116, 117, 118, 119
 San José and Santa Clara Railroad Company, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121
 San José, Saratoga, and Los Gatos Railroad, 121
 San José Savings Bank, 238, 239, 485
San José Semi-Weekly Tribune, 401
San José Spectator, 409
 San José Speedway, 427-428
 San José Squadron, 472
 San José State College, 144, 215, 362, 440, 449, 458
 San José State Teachers College, 215, 317
San José Telegraph, 397-398
 San José Terminal Railroad, 61
 San José Theater, 451
 San José Theater Guild, 458
 San José Transfer and Storage Company, 94
San José Tribune, 33, 400-402
 San José Unified School District, 211
 San José Water Company, 301, 505-508
 San José Water Works, 138, 507-508
San José Weekly Visitor, 397
 San José Zouaves, 354
 San Juan Bautista Hills, 5, 62
 San Leandro (California), 3
 San Lorenzo River, 98
 San Luis Obispo (California), 8, 76
 San Luis Reservoir, 509
 San Martín, 8
 San Mateo County, Creation of, 27
 San Pablo Bay, 4
 San Rafael (California), 56
 Sands, Clarence R., 264-265
 Sanitary Can Company, 189
 Sanor, Michael, 65
 Santa Ana River, 8
 Santa Clara (California), 22, 63
Santa Clara Argus, 402

- Santa Clara County
 Auto club, 65
 Census, 65
 First church, 249
 First complete map of, 58
 First physician, 64
 One-man chamber of commerce for, 64
 Published historical data of, 407
 Santa Clara County Agricultural
 Commissioner, 163
 Santa Clara County Agricultural Society, 154
 Santa Clara County Fair, 426, 446, 449
 Santa Clara County Fairgrounds,
 124, 418, 425, 426, 450
 Santa Clara County Fruit Exchange, 159
 Santa Clara County Historical Society, 34
 Santa Clara County
 Horticultural Society, 452
 Santa Clara County Hospital, 487, 488
 Santa Clara County Medical Society, 487
Santa Clara County Review, 408
 Santa Clara County Rose Society, 428
 Santa Clara Interurban Railway, 121, 122
 Santa Clara and Pajaro Valley Railroad,
 105, 108-109, 110, 208, 381
Santa Clara Register, 397, 400
 Santa Clara Street School, 208, 210, 212, 416
 Santa Clara Valley
 Early aerial movies of, 470
 Exploration of, 3-13
 Initial entry into, 4
 Initial siting of, 3
 Paintings of, 437, 444, 446
 Spanish expeditions into, 3-13
 Surveys of, 56
Santa Clara Valley, 403
 Santa Clara Valley Agricultural
 and Horticultural Society
 (Santa Clara Valley Agricultural
 Society), 121, 155, 418, 467
 Santa Clara Valley Fruit Company, 160
 Santa Clara Valley Medical Center, 487-488
 Santa Clara Valley Nurseries
 and Botanical Gardens, 154
 Santa Clara Valley Water
 Conservation District, 509
 Santa Clara Valley Watercolor
 Society, 450
 Santa Cruz, 22, 82, 105, 106,
 107, 108, 125, 381
 Santa Cruz and Felton Railroad, 106
 Santa Cruz Gap Turnpike, 98
 Santa Cruz Mountains, 98, 106, 111,
 125, 178, 442-443, 506
 Santa Cruz Stage Line, 96, 98
 Santa Fe Railroad, 105
 Santa Rosa Square, 417
 Santa Ynez River, 7
 Saratoga (California), 63, 99
 Saratoga and Pescadero Turnpike, 99
 Saratoga Summit, 94
 Sauffrignon, Francois, 115
 Saunders, A. H., 257
 Savage, James, 113
 Sawmills, 299
 Sawyer, Eugene Taylor,
 397, 402, 405, 438, 451, 457
 Saxe, Arthur Wellesly, 486
 Scatena, L., & Company, 237
 Scatena, Lorenzo, 235, 237, 238
 Schallenberger, Moses, 400, 405
 Scheutzen Park, 425
 Schilling, Herbert Emile, 40
 Schinahan, Jan, 456
 Schley, Winfield S., 355
 Schmidt, Rupert, 442
 Schoof, Gerhard, 440
 "School for Scandal, The," 453
 Schools
 Adult education, 208, 209, 211-213
 Architecture of, 210, 215
 Art classes, 439-440, 442, 445, 446, 449
 College enrollment ceiling, 216
 Common Council's role in
 school system, 207, 208
 Construction of, 208-209
 Cornerstone ceremonies, 213, 214-215
 Division into districts, 208
 During Depression, 212, 213, 215
 During World War II, 211, 212, 215
 Elementary, 208-209
 Establishment of a university, 31
 First, 207-209
 First superintendent of, 255
 High schools, 209-216
 Junior high schools, 211
 Kindergartens, 208, 209
 Normal school, 38, 210, 213-215,
 303, 417, 440, 441, 446
 Parochial, 216-217
 Public school system, 31-32, 206, 207
 Shortage of school funds, 36
 State funds for, 207, 208
 State university, 205
 Superintendent of, 34, 206, 207, 211, 213
 Taxes, 206, 207
 Technical high school, 212, 216
 Unified school district,
 organization of, 211
 Schoonmaker, Frank, 177
 Schubert, Adolph V., 453
 Schurra's Candy Factory, 187
Scooper, 402
 Scott, George, 375
 Scott, Jasper S., 187
 Scott, W., 263
 Scrip, 29, 30
 Scull, Joseph H., 34
 Sculpture and Sculptors, 446-448
 Seattle-Astoria Iron Works, 190
 Second Massachusetts Cavalry, 355
 Security Bank Building, 449
 Security Bank and Trust Company, 234, 236
 Security Savings Bank, 233
 Security State and Savings Bank, 233-234
 Security Warehouse and
 Cold Storage Company, 111
 Seefeld, Charles A., 206
 Selfridge, Robert F., 379
 Sellman, Adolph, 341
Semi-Monthly Letter, 409
 Semorillo, Paolo, 236-237
 Sempervirens Club, 443
 Semple, Robert Baylor, 77, 79, 217
 Serda, Lawrence, 250, 340-341
 Serpa, John L., 379
 Serra, Junipero, 3, 4, 7, 249, 373
 Settle, Campbell Thompson,
 39, 118, 158, 321, 404
 Settles, Claude N., 362
 Seven Mile Cottage, 98
 Seven-Mile Reservoir, 506
 "7 in 1" Drive, 358
 Seventh Army, 360-361
 Sewer System, 58
 Seymour, E. C., 85
 Shafer, W. Robert, 379
 Shannon, Christopher, 318
 Shannon, William E., 77
 Shartzter, Hiram, 114, 239
 Shaw, Woolsey, 420
 Sheaf, W. N., 118
 Shearer, Arthur, 36, 374, 397
 Shelton, Christopher A., 154
 Shepherd, J. B., 502
 Sheppard, W. M., 77
 Sherebeck, Peter S., 27
 Sherwood, Winfield S., 77
 Shimizu, Frank Kamejiro, 189
 Shistuk (Shestuc), 419
 Shoemaker, William B., 320
 Shortridge, Charles,
 398-399, 402, 406-407, 500
 Shortridge, Samuel, 500
 Sierra Azul, 108
 Sierra de Santa Lucia, 3
 Sierra del Chasco, 9
 Silent, Charles, 114
 Sim, George W., 261
 Simpson, Joseph, 29
 Sinclair, Fred W., 234
 Sinton, Richard Harcourt, 228
 Sisters of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 217, 253
 Sisters of Notre Dame, 216, 217, 441
Sketch, The, 441
 Skinner, Henry C., 206
 Skip Stop Bus System, 123
 Skyscrapers, 231, 232, 233
 Sloat, John D., 24, 55
 Slocum, William Neil, 398
 Smith, China, & H. H. Winchell, 157
 Smith, Mrs. E. O., 440
 Smith, Ella, 439
 Smith, Frazer, 64
 Smith, Herbert Booth, 257
 Smith, Jedediah, 64, 332
 Smith, Mrs. L. T., 357
 Smith, Matilda, 446
 Smith, Ralph J., 215
 Smith, Sidney M., 451
 Smith, William, 271
 Smith Creek Hotel, 100
 Smith Manufacturing Company, 188, 426
 Smith-McKay Printing Company, 407
 Smout, Eloise, 261
 Snedaker, Harry, 319
 Snell, Ebenezer, 276
 Snell, George, 388
 Snell, Rachel, 276
 Snider, Serafino, 251, 253
 Snyder, Andrew, 337
 Snyder, John, 176
 Snyder, M. P., 210, 424
 Society of Friends, 273-274
 Sodality Park, 428, 429
 Soderstrom, Ernest, 380
 Sola, Pablo Vicente de, 23
 Solar Salt, 141
 Solari, Louis, 428
 Soler, Nicolas, 201
 Somerville Lodge, 484
 Sorasio, James, 252
 Sorenson, Carl K., 124
 Soto, Anthony, 253
 Soule, Joshua A., 260
 Sourisseau Building, 383
 South, Charles D., 471
 South-East Horse Railroad, 115
 South Pacific Coast Railroad, 98,
 104, 105-107, 108, 110, 111, 381

- South Pacific Coast Railroad Warehouse, 94
 South Pacific Coast Railway Company, 107
 Southern Development Company, 456
 Southern Pacific Motor Transport, 125
 Southern Pacific Railroad, 120,
 121, 353, 428
 And annexation of San José, 61, 62
 Branch lines, 98, 107
 Cahill Street station, 110-111
 Coast division, 110, 111, 112
 Depot, 114, 115
 Early names, 58, 208
 And fruit industry, 160
 Incorporation of, 105, 381
 Lawrence station, 137
 Market Street station, 94, 110, 111
 Modern, 108-111
 Monopoly of steam trackage in
 Santa Clara County, 111
 As principal stockholder of
 Pacific Greyhound Lines, 126
 Subsidiaries of, 113
 Southwest Airways, 474
 Spanish-American War, 355-356
 Sparks, George Phillips, 230
 Speaker Optical Company, 439
 Spellman, D., 250
 Spencer, Alexander J., 33, 420, 486, 487
 Spencer, Francis Elias, 37, 384
 Sperry Flour Company, 138
 Sports Events, 427, 453
 (see also Baseball; Racing; Tennis)
 Spring Valley Water Company, 507, 508
 Stafford, William, 31, 32
 Stagecoach, 93, 94-100, 104
 Stahl, Jesse, 426
 Staley, V., 373
 Standard Radio and
 Television Company, 388
 Standish, Allan M., 504
 Stanford, Leland, 103, 105, 107, 109
 Stanford University, 107, 448
 Star Wind Engine, 504
 Starbird, George, 211, 428
 Starbird, Ray, 323
 Stark, James, 451
 Stark, Sarah Kirby, 451
 Stark Theatre, 451
 State Archives, 83-84
 State Banking Act of 1909, 235
 State Capital
 Battle over, 75-89
 Cities considered, 76-77, 81-84
 Move to Vallejo, 65, 84
 San Jose as, 75-89
 State Foundry and Pattern Works, 187
 State House, 78
 Conditions of acquisition of, 34
 Construction of, 84
 Purchase of, 34-35
 Sale of, to Santa Clara County, 30
State Journal, 397
 State Legislature, Second Session, 82, 83
 State Railroad Commission, 110, 507
 State Square, 417
 Staub, J. S., 472
 Steamships, 26, 104
 Steiger's San Jose Pottery, 383
 Stephens, Elisha, 64, 176
 Stephens, William D., 357
 Stephenson, Joseph A., 257
 Stern, Daniel K., 316
 Stern, Marcus, 267, 301
 Steuart, William M., 77
 Stevens, A., 271
 Stevens, W. S., 156, 161
 Stevens Creek, 8
 Stevens Self-Regulating Windmill, 504
 Stevenson, Jonathan Drake, 38, 355
 Stewart, Richard, 320
 Stewart, W., 263
 Stewart, W. Frank, 423
 Stewart, William Morris, 84
 Stidger, William, 259, 264
 Stock, Francis, 301
 Stock, Frank, 233
 Stockton, Robert F., 56, 153, 154
 Stockton, Stevenson P., 176
 Stockton Avenue Meeting, 274
 Stokes, James, 24, 56, 334
 Stokes, Ty, 426
 Stone, O. B., 262
 Stowell, Levi, 26
 Strait of Carquinez, 4
 Stratton, Joseph Otis, 420
 Streets (see also Annexation;
 Surveys of San José)
 Changes in names of, 60
 Early maps of San José, 56-59
 Improvements to, 38, 39, 40, 50-58
 Lighting, 498, 499, 500, 501
 Numbering system, 403
 Paving of, 40, 42
 Widening of, 43
 Strip Annexation, 60-61, 63
 Studio Theater, 457
 Subway, 319
 Sullivan, Leo, 454-455
 Sullivan, Tim, 319, 426
Sun, 408
 Sundown, Jackson, 426
 Sunlite Baking Company, 388
 Sunnyvale (California), 5
 Suñol, Antonio, 24, 25, 59, 137, 153,
 175, 176, 250, 373, 417, 483
 Suñol Mill, 138
 Sunset Telephone Company, 383, 384
Sunshine, Fruit and Flowers,
 100, 233, 239, 269, 399
 Sunsweet Growers, Inc., 160
 Suntan Special, 108
 Surveys of San José, 25, 34, 55-60
 Sussman, Leo, 121
 Sutherland, James A., 280
 Sutter, John A., 77
 Sutter's Fort, 24, 93
 Sweeney, George, 380
 "Sweet Bye and Bye Doctor," 484
 Swett, John, 401
 Swimming Pools, 421-422, 427
 Swine, 486
 Swinnerton, W. O., 504
 Swiss-American Club, 427
 Sykes, Charles Loring, 319
 Synagogues, 260, 267-269
 (see also Churches; Missions)
 Taft, William Howard, 377
 Takahashi, Honen, 286
 Tallow, 142, 143, 144
 Talmadge, J. A., 97
 Tarleton, George Washington, 155
 Tarlow, Al E., 449
 Taxes
 License, 31
 Liquor, 175
 Property, 30, 31
 Rate of taxation, 30, 31
 Revenue, 30, 31
 School, 206
 Taylor, Bayard, 78, 86, 437
 Taylor, Ella Adele, 276
 Taylor, F. A., 399
 Taylor, William, 255, 257-258
 Taylor, Zachary, 79
 Tefft, Henry A., 76
 Telegraph Service, 380-382, 397
 Telephone Service, 382-385
 Television, 388-389, 453, 456
 Telleen, Johannes, 272
 Templeton, F. V., 473
 Tenney, Mrs. H. M., 440
 Tennis, 428
 Thayer, H. P., 384
 Theater Chains, 456
 Theaters, 451-458
 Thee, Etienne, 176, 177
 Thievery, 8, 12 (see also Crime)
 Third Infantry Regiment, 354
 Thomas, Charles F., 374
 Thomas, E. E., 160
 Thomas, Fred L., 441
 Thomas, Isaac Ford, 451
 Thomas, Samuel, 342
 Thompson, C. J., 279
 Thompson, J. E., 402
 Thompson, Jacob, 77, 79
 Thompson, Robert P., 36
 Thompson, Thomas, 272
 Thompson and West's Historical Atlas,
 59, 60, 438, 439
 Thomson, Everett C., 257
 Thorn, Stephen, 265
 Thorne, Stephen, 274
 Three-Mile Reservoir, 506
 Threshing Machines, 186, 187
 Thurmond, Thomas Harold, 343-344, 419
Times-Mercury, 398, 399, 407
Times-Star, 407
 Tingley, George B., 27, 78, 80, 82-83
 Tiny Building, 374
 Tisdale, William DeWitt,
 230, 233, 500, 506
 Tisdale, William Lawrence, 230
 Tisdall, James V., 306, 316, 317, 320
 Tobin, P. R., 112
 Todd, Thayer, 470, 471
 Tojetti, Dominic, 440
 Torrent Engine No. 2, 301, 302
 Tourtillott, Levi L., 437
 Town of East San José, 59-60
 Towne, A. N., 107
 Towner, W. K., 264, 387
 Townsend, John, 26, 64,
 81, 100-101, 483, 485
 Townsend, Mrs. John, and Son, 446
 Townsend-Stephens-Murphy Party,
 93, 176, 485
 Tozzo, Egisto, 252
 Traffic
 Congestion, 318
 Ordinances, 318
 Problems, 419
 Signals, first, 319
 Tran, William, 99

- Transportation
 Beasts of burden, 93
 Boats, 93
 Buses, 123-126
 Driving conditions for stagecoaches, 100
 Early means of, in Santa Clara Valley, 93-94
 Railroads, see Railroads
 Rented, 94
 Stagecoach, 93, 94-100, 104
 Trolleys, 117, 118, 120, 123
 Urban transit, 113-123
 Wagons, 94
 Wheeled vehicles, 93
 Traveler's Home, 300
 Treasurer, 27
 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 25
 Tres Pinos, 337
 Tressler, George Victor Augustine, 282
 Trimble, John, 114
 Trinity College (Washington, D.C.), 441
 Tripp, C. J., 232-233
 Tripp, Herbert R., 375
 Trolleys, 117, 118, 120, 123
 Truckee River, 101
 Truckee Summit, 93
 Truman, Harry S., 401
 Tubac (Arizona), 6, 7, 8
 "Tuesday Group, The," 450
 Tully, E. C., 85
 Turner and Dahnken, 455
 Tutorici, Ignatius, 251
 Tuttle, Frances, 472
 Tuttle, Hiram D., 229
 Twain, Mark, 359
 Twelve Mile House, 109
 Twenty-One Mile House, 337
Two Years Before the Mast, 93
 Twohy Building, 112

 Uhler, J. C., 500
Union Gazette, 407
 Union Guard, 354
 Union Hotel, 98
 Union Iron Works, 102
 Union Pacific Railroad, 104
 Union Savings Bank, 239
 Unique Theatre, 454, 455
 United Airlines, 475
 United Gas and Electric Company, 498, 499, 500, 501
 United Nations, 363
 United Service Organization (U.S.O.), 361
 United States Can Company, 190
 Unity Society, 275
 University of the Pacific, 205-206, 217, 286, 379, 439
 University of Santa Clara, 358
 University of Santa Clara Prep School, 217
 Upper Room Mission, 285
 Urban Transit, 113-123
 U.S. Land Commission, 333
 U.S. Mail Line of Stages, 95, 96, 97
 U.S. Naval Air Station (Moffett Field), 473
 U.S.O., 361
 Utilities
 Electric, 497-499
 First privately financed public utility, 36
 Gas, 499-501

 Water, 501-504, 505-509
 Windmills, 504-505

 Valencia, Antonio, 334-335
 Valle, Rafael del, 202
 Vallejo (California), 81, 82, 83
 Vallejo, Mariano G., 21, 81-82, 83
 Vallejo, Ygnacio, 12, 21
Valley View, 408
 Van Caneghim, Peter, 398, 485
 Van Schaick, Lewis H., 114
 Van Voorhies, William, 33
 Vancouver, George, 332
 Vandyne, H. M. Leonard E., 354
 Vapor Lamps, 498-500
 Vargas, Lenore, 469
 Vasona Cutoff (Vasona Junction), 110
 Vasquez, José Tiburcio, 12, 21, 22
 Vasquez, Tiburcio, 250, 336-341
 Vaudeville, 453, 454, 455, 456
 Vendome Hotel, 94, 99, 100, 321, 383, 428
 Vendome Stables, 100
 Verger, Rafael, 249
 Vermeule, Thomas A., 27, 35, 76, 77
 Versailles Treaty, 359
 Vestal, DeWitt Clinton, 115, 353
 Vetterli, Reed, 342
 Viader, José, 249, 250
 Vicens, Guillermo, 249
 Victoriano, 315, 353
 Victory Loan Drive, 357, 358
 Victory Pledge, 362
 Victory Theater, 453-454, 456
 Vietnam Conflict, 363-364
 Vignes, Jean Louis, 175
 Villa, Pancho, 356
 Villa de Branciforte, 22, 23
 Villard, Henry, 107
 Villavicencio, Rafael, 201
 Vineyards, 153, 175-178
 Visalia Electric Railway, 123
 Viscaino Expedition of 1602, 3
 von Kotzebue, Otto, 332
 Vowinle, Henry, 427

 Waalkes, Ida May, 320
 Wagener, Samuel Hopkins, 375-376
 Wagonmakers, 185-186
 Wahlquist, John T., 216
 Waite, Edwin G., 86
 Wakefield, John B., 266
 Wakefield, Richard C., 42
 Walk, George E., 272
 Walker, J. W., 500
 Wallace, Donald, 100
 Wallace, E. T., 402
 Wallace, William T., 36, 37, 305, 451
 Wallin, J. L., 273
 Walter, Allan M., 277
 Walton, S. L., 384
 War (see also individual conflicts)
 Attitudes of the *California* toward, 353
 Casualties, 355, 363, 364
 Civilian organizations, 357, 358
 Communication methods used during, 362
 Cost of, 355
 Defense, 356, 357, 361-362
 First military draft, 360
 Flags, 358
 Money-raising drives, 357-358
 Morale, 358
 Posters, 358
 Rationing, 124, 361
 Santa Clara County involvement in, 353-364
 San José draft board, 361
 San José as military center, 360
 Wars of liberation, 363-364
 Women in the armed forces, 362
 War Bonds and Stamps, 362
War History of Santa Clara County, 357
 War Thrift Stamps, 358
 War Work Council, 357
 Warburton, Henry Hulme, 486
 Ward, Bert P., 61
 Warren Dried Fruit Company, 160
 Washburn School, 216
 Washeim, Charles, 382
 Washington, C. W., 282
 Washington Hose No. 1, 302
 Washington Square, 31, 38, 56, 101, 213, 216, 417
 Washington Square School, 207, 208
 Water, 486-487, 501-504, 505-509
 Conservation, 508-509
 Deep Water Port Association, 61
 Early delivery of, 11
 Wells, see Artesian Wells
 Water Works, 506
 (see also San José Water Works)
 Watkins, Benjamin Franklin, 275
 Watkins, James R., 187
 Watson, Fred, 44
 Watson, John H., 29, 31
 Wayne Basket Company, 189
 Webb, H. Price, 212
 Weber, Charles M., 64, 137
 Weekes, James W., 25
Weekly Argus, 402
Weekly Visitor, 205
 Wehner, William 176
 Weinstock, Harris, 159-160
 Welch, Mrs. DeWitt, 467
 Welch, James R., 160, 407
 Welch, Robert, 428
 Welch Livery Stable, 124
 Wells, Alexander, 83-84
 Wells, Proctor, 40
 Wells Fargo Bank, 233
 Wells, Fargo and Company, 98, 110, 234, 323, 340, 381
 West, F. T., 334
 West, Thomas M., 334
 West, William B., 155
 West End (of San José), 303
 West Julian Street Foundry, 187
 West San José Christian Endeavor Society, 263
 West Side Fruit Growers Association, 159
 West Side Relocation Project, 110
 Westerlund Company, 189
 Western Aero Club, 470, 471-472
 Western Airlines, 475
 Western Pacific Railroad, 97, 103, 104, 105, 111-113, 156, 160
 Western Union, 381, 382
 Westminster Foundation of Northern California, 257
 Wheat, 137-141
 Wheeler, Osgood C., 262

- Whisman, John, 94-95
 White, Archibald W., 354
 White, Bolton, 277
 White, Charles, 25, 26, 35, 58, 59, 81
 White, Edward, 188-189
 White, Thomas, 29-33, 300, 417
 White House Men's Clothing Store, 231
 White Sulphur Springs, 420
 White Survey, 32, 57
 Whiteman, William, 227
 White's Park, 417
 Whiting, C. J., 206
 Whitlock, Wilson, 335
 Whitman, George, 29, 316
 Whitney, C. E., 141
 Whybark, George, 341
 Wicox, Elbert J., 37
 Wilcox, Harvey, 176
 Wilcox Block, 231
 Wild Land Fire Fighting Techniques, 62
 Wilder, A. E., 122
 Wiley, Orton, 285
 Wilke, O., 271
 Willey, Charles F., 301
 Willey, Samuel H., 204
 Williams, Charles Washburn, 404, 405
 Williams, Edward, 383, 506
 Williams, John M., 31, 35, 36
 Williams, Marcus, 34, 259
 Williams, S. R., 176
 Williams, Thomas, 337
 Willow Glen, 5, 61, 62, 110, 115, 122, 304
 Willow Glen Cottage, 61
 Willow Glen Post Office, 379
 Willow Glen Theater, 457
 Wilson, Charles Lincoln, 102
 Wilson, Gene, 427
 Wilson, John, 32
 Wilson, John R., 36, 373, 375, 427
 Wilson, R., 487
 Wilson, Woodrow, 356, 377
 Winchell, Theodore C., 340-341
 Windmills, 504-505
 Wine, 175-178
 Winn, A. M., 77
 Winslow, A. E., 379
 Wireless Telephone, 385
 Withers, Oscar, 341
 Wolfe, A. F., 282
 Women's Armed Forces, 362
 Women's Committee of
 One Hundred, 441, 442
 Women's Foreign Missionary Society, 263
 Women's Mobilized Army, 357
 Wood, William S., 315
 Woodleigh, Alma, 439
 Woodruff, Jacqueline McCart, 82
 Woods, Arthur L., 123
 Wooster, C. W., 118, 119
 Wooster, Clarence M., 399
 Worden, Lionel J., 378-379
 Work Progress Administration (WPA), 422
 Workingmen's Party, 417
 World War I, 356-358, 359
 Aviation and aviators, 469, 470
 Bus transportation, 126
 Dissemination of news during, 362
 Electric power, 498, 499
 Financing of, 357-358
 Government communication
 service during, 386
 Parks, 422, 424
 Post-war crime trends, 341
 Post-war decline of railroads, 108
 Post-war transportation, 94, 108
 Railroads, 108, 112
 San José postmaster during, 377
 And San José State College, 215
 World War II
 Air bases, 473
 Armed forces innovations, 362
 Bus transportation, 124
 Churches, 252, 253, 278
 Conditions in Europe
 leading to, 359-360
 Defense literature, 362-363
 Dissemination of news during, 362
 Draft, 361
 End of, 363
 Financing of, 362
 Parks, 424, 428
 Police department, 317, 321
 Population growth during & following,
 61, 65, 178, 185, 238, 268, 273,
 282, 305, 377, 378, 424, 509
 Postal service during, 361
 Post-war artists, 446
 Post-war crime, 341
 Radio station construction and
 operation freeze during, 388
 Rationing, 124, 361
 Schools, 211, 212, 215
 Treatment of Japanese-
 Americans during, 362
 U.S. casualties, 363
 U.S. participation in, 360-363
 Women allowed to enlist during, 362
 World's Columbian Exposition
 (Chicago), 440, 445
 Worswick, George D., 41, 42, 317
Worswick Reformers, The, 42
 Wozencraft, O. M., 77
 Wright, Eli, 86
 Wright, George W., 77, 401
 Wright, T. M., 60
 Wright Brothers, 467, 468, 469
 Wrights Summit, 106, 108
 Wychoff, Ralph, 234
 Wylie, James S., 256
 Wynne, A. L., 259-260
 Yamada, Jiggs, 428
 Yard, Sydney, 445
 Yates, Chapman, 34, 37
 Yeomanettes, 362
 Yerex, Lowell, 472
 Ynojoso, Antonio, 26
 Yocco, Gioachino, 153
 Yoshida, Morizo, 269
 Young, Hugh, 185, 186
 Young, Samuel Crockett, 254, 334
 Young, Thomas S., 263
 Young People's Union, 258
 Younger, Coleman, 155
 Youth Science Institute, 424
 Yuma Indians, 6, 8
 Zarwell, H. C., 278
 Zoo, 417-418, 421

